

M. TULLI CICERONIS
AD M. BRUTUM
ORATOR.

A REVISED TEXT
WITH INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS
AND CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

BY

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(b) toq· robustiusq; quā hoc humile deq; dictū est· Summissus h. q̃m illud deq; iā dicā· Amplissimū hoc in genere uerborū· uel minimū suauitatis aut etsi uel plurimū· Est enī plenius q̃m hoc enucleatū· Quā h· illud ornatū copiosiusq;· summissus·

(c) aptam numeri uidendū sit· Sunt tt quam bigui putent qđ sit orationis simillimus· Quadecausa ratione potissimū ppt similitudinē adhibeat in fabulis· qđ ille dactilicus numerus examitrorū magniloquentiae sit cōmodatior· Ephorus h leuis ipse orator & pfectus ex optima disciplina peanas eqr aut dactilum· fugit h spondeum & trocheum· Quo enī p uersus ur genere numerorū· is omnia ferre uocauerit· Nam de laudib· multa diximus· quib· sit alia p spicuentia ētraria· Quamtū autē sit

EXTRACTS FROM THE CODEX ABRINCENSIS.

M. TULLI CICERONIS
AD M. BRUTUM
ORATOR.

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ntum Ciceronis Orator scriptis omnibus, non dico aliorum, su
praestet, si scire vultis, adolescentes optimi, accipite ipsi
; qui cum ad Leptam scriberet, 'Oratorem', inquit, 'meum
ehementer gaudeo; mihi quidem sic persuadeo: me quicquid h
lo, in illum librum contulisse; qui si est talis, qualem tibi v
liquid sum; (sin) aliter, non recuso quin, quantum de illo lib
dicii fama detrahatur' [ad Fam. vi 18 § 4]. *Quocirca videtis q*
atore liber; in quo secum ipse Cicero quodammodo certarit. I
ceteros scriptores superarit; hoc certe se ipsum vicisse profite
ligentia perdiscendus liber, ex quo nunc demum possit vis

NIBONUS LEONICENUS, *Praefatio in Marci Tullii Oratorem*, '
sentences of the first printed preface to the *Orator*, transcr
ons) from the copy in the British Museum].

Libros Tullii de Oratore perfectos, itemque Oratorem et Brutum integros esse ...rios summe gaudeo.

POGGIO, *Ep.* 17; *London*, 25 *June*, 1422.

...Vibi pridemcum visum est aliqua annotare, tum exercendi ingenii gratia, tum ...pluribus conferrem: qui huius opusculi incuria hominum corrupti, et rerum ...ue parum intellecti (incommodis?) laborarint, suppetias occurrerem. Sunt ... complures, qui vehementer aliquas annotationes concupiscunt: et quia est ...i, hoc est, praecipui eloquentiae luminis: et quia in eloquentiae studiis, ipsius ... Tullii iam in senium vergentis, omnium operum ab ipso editorum longe ...issimum.

VICTOR PISANUS, 1492; *commentariorum ed. Aldina* 1546, p. 455.

... de optimo genere scriberet (Tullius), eius generis exemplum exhibet in hoc ...taque convenit hunc libellum vel in primis a studiosis magnifieri atque ...

MELANCHTHON, 1534; *ib.* p. 614.

... esset igitur hoc opus tam praeclarum, tam perutile, et in primis dignum ...operam iuventus, nec id multi etiam ingenio et diligentia praediti, sine duce ...ongo possent animo consequi, porrexi manum, viam nescientibus ostendi ...i fallor, diligentia, ut si quid errarent, minimum tamen errarent.

STREBAEUS, 1536; *ib.* p. 495–6.

PREFACE.

Among the minor incidents which attended the revival of learni
Italy, few perhaps are more interesting to scholars than the unexpe
discovery at Lodi, in 1422, of a complete manuscript of the rheto
works of Cicero, its rapid transcription by eager copyists, and its u
countable disappearance three years later. The news of this disco
in the north of Italy was hailed with delight, even in distant Engl
but our only record of that delight is to be found in the letters of
distinguished Florentine, Poggio Bracciolini, who was invited to Eng
after the council of Constance by Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winche
and who despondently lingered, for two years and more, in a
where he failed to find any of our ancient manuscripts, and where
lovers of learning, he complained, were but few in number. More
half a century had elapsed since Petrarch had lamented near the e
of his life, that the copies of the *de Oratore* which he met with,
always imperfect (*epistolae rerum senilium* xv 1); but the fortu
discoverer and first transcriber of the complete Quintilian could
look forward to copying the *Brutus*, which had hitherto been e
unknown, and the *de Oratore* and *Orator*, which had only been cu
in a fragmentary form. His delight at the prospect could hardly l
been shared by a statesman so absorbed in the affairs of the realı
his host, Henry Beaufort. It would have been more highly appreci
by one who was Beaufort's nephew, and, from this year forward,
unfortunate opponent,—Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, who, it wil
remembered, was the earliest benefactor to the library of the Unive
of Oxford. He is also known as the patron of that Italian sch
Lionardo Bruni, whose Latin rendering of the *de Corona* of Der
thenes, and the corresponding speech of Aeschines, may be seen in

a French Cardinal, and himself a professor of rhetoric at Rheim after a laborious life, in the course of which he produced, among other works, a Latin translation of the *Ethics* and the *Politics* of Ari was compelled near the end of his days to maintain himself corrector of proofs for the press, and died in poverty about th 1550. From the story of such unmerited misfortune it is a re turn for a moment to two recent names of happier memory in con with the *Orator*,—to Otto Jahn, the accomplished scholar and ar logist, combining the study of ancient art and modern music, marvellous library beside the Rhine; and to Piderit, expounding to his school-boys at Hanau on the Main, familiar in the ann learning as the town where those dauntless explorers of fairy-land philology, the brothers Grimm were born, one hundred years ago.

Four centuries have now elapsed since an almost complete coll of Cicero's rhetorical works was printed at Venice (1485); and since the important edition of the whole of Cicero by Lambinu simultaneously reprinted in Lyons and in London (1585). Mean though much has been done by English scholars for his speech letters, and his philosophical writings, little has been accomplish them, either in English or in Latin, for his rhetorical works. comparatively speaking, considerable attention has been dese bestowed on the *de Oratore*,—the Oxford press having prin critical edition in 1696, and the Cambridge press the first o editions by Zachary Pearce in 1716, and the former having re published the first two books, with an excellent commentary Cambridge scholar;—while the *Brutus*, again, has reached a edition at Cambridge across the Atlantic; the *Orator*, although fessedly a master-piece of rhetorical criticism, has been almost pletely neglected. A pocket edition of the text, printed wi *Brutus* at Glasgow; two reprints, in Oxford and London, elementary Latin notes *in usum Delphini;* two or three far adequate translations; a single note in Dobree's *Adversaria*, single article in the *Journal of Philology* (both of them on § represent, so far as I am aware, all that has been published in ou country. Yet, in France, within the last twenty years alone, there been five separate editions, which although almost obtrusively

tentious in their scope, nevertheless imply a wide appreciation of the value of the work in itself. In Germany, again, not to mention several earlier commentaries, and numbers of dissertations, there are two editions of special excellence, for use in schools, while the single year between the autumn of 1884 and that of 1885 is marked by the appearance of two important critical recensions.

The present edition, which happens to be the first that has been published with an English commentary, is the result of a long delayed endeavour to repair a neglect which has been little deserved. In the autumn of last year when my commentary was already in type, the textual criticism of the *Orator*, which had remained comparatively dormant since the publication of Kayser's text in 1860, received an important impulse by the publication of a new recension by Heerdegen. The appearance of this work led to my recasting and rewriting my critical notes, disencumbering them of many useless readings recorded by the earlier editors, while retaining the more valuable emendations suggested by recent scholars. But it did not discourage me from carrying out my resolve to examine for myself our oldest manuscript, now in the public library at Avranches. Accordingly, my critical notes include the results of a fresh examination of that MS, while they also record the readings of three early transcripts of the lost MS of Lodi, as collated by Heerdegen. The general accuracy of that collation has been publicly acknowledged by a scholar who has recently been traversing the same ground. I refer to Dr Stangl, who has kindly allowed me to see the proof-sheets of his own recension of the text, and has repeatedly answered my enquiries as to the readings of those of the MSS which he has himself collated. However great may have been the debt, which (as already remarked) was due long ago to German printers settled on Italian soil, it is more than equalled by what the *Orator* owes at the present day to the learning and patience of German scholars working in Italian libraries,—to Dr Heerdegen of Erlangen and Dr Stangl of Würzburg, whose interest in their investigations, was, if I mistake not, first inspired by the admirable paper on the mediaeval libraries of northern Italy, contributed by Dr Detlefsen of Glückstadt to the philological congress held in 1869 at Kiel, near the northern frontier of Germany.

PREFACE.

In the explanatory notes, in the preparation of which I hav before me the editions of Jahn and Piderit, besides constantly cons other works, I have had regard to the requirements of students, wh at the Universities, or in the highest forms of the Public Schools it is hoped that the volume may also prove useful, in some respec more advanced scholars. In accordance with the principle dwelt in the preface to my first edition of the *Bacchae*, parallel passages as a general rule been printed in full, after having been examined verified, in almost every instance, in their original context. Thr out the work, special attention has been given to the elucidation c subject-matter, as well as to illustrative quotations from the orator rhetoricians of Greece and Rome. In the intricate sections on euphony and other cognate topics (§§ 149—164), I have followe example of a careful dissertation by Eckstein, by incorporating i notes whatever evidence I could find, with the help of Hübner' mirable index, in the truly monumental work of Mommsen which prises the inscriptions of the Roman republic.

In the year in which the *Orator* was composed, Cicero, in writi the most learned of his correspondents, speaks of himself as recor once more to his books, which he gratefully describes as his r *amici*. In attempting to edit, at the present day, a work which originally composed amid such congenial surroundings, I feel whatever I may owe to books whether old or new, of which the good store in Cambridge, I have also much reason to be grateful, fo kinds of help, to those who, in no merely metaphorical sense, are ar the most valued of my *veteres amici*. In the first place, I have to t the Reverend John E. B. Mayor, Senior Fellow of St John's Co and Professor of Latin, for a number of references to parallel pass and for the loan of many volumes in his extensive library. In the I am very deeply indebted to Dr J. S. Reid for going through proof-sheets of nearly all my critical and explanatory notes, and contributing many most valuable additions to both. I am also spec obliged to Mr Nixon, Gresham Professor of Rhetoric in London similarly favouring me with many interesting and suggestive critici and to Mr Postgate, Professor of Comparative Philology at Unive College, London, for revising the notes on philological points in

sections already mentioned. The extent of my indebtedness in each instance can only be imperfectly measured by the number of the references added to their names in my index. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance I have received in various ways from Professor Creighton; from Mr Bradshaw, the University Librarian; and from Mr Mullinger, the Librarian of St John's College. I am glad to state, in conclusion, that Dr A. S. Wilkins, Professor of Latin at Owens College, Manchester, has allowed his experience as the writer of the first English commentary on the *de Oratore*, to aid me in revising the explanatory notes and the introductory essays of a volume so intimately connected with his own work. I hope I may plead the precedent of his own Introduction for going back so far in my retrospective view of the history of ancient oratory; and I trust that any who will have the patience to avail themselves of that retrospect in approaching the study of the *Orator* will find in the end, to use Cicero's phrase, 'that I have had good reason for starting from so distant a point' (§ 11).

J. E. SANDYS.

CAMBRIDGE,
13 *July*, 1885.

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LITHOGRAPHED COPY OF EXTRACTS FROM THE CODEX ABRINCENSIS *facing title-page*

(*a*) 'hic deest quaternus'; (*b*) from § 91; (*c*) from §§ 191, 231. (See p. lxxvii)

STATUE OF DEMOSTHENES IN THE VATICAN MUSEUM . . *facing* p. xxviii

Reproduced by the autotype process, from the cast in the Fitzwilliam Museum of Classical Archaeology. See note on p. 116–7, and cf. also Bernouilli, *die erhaltenen Bildnisse berühmter Griechen*, Basel, 1877, p. 16.

BUST OF CICERO IN THE ROYAL MUSEUM, MADRID . . . . p. li

The original, which is considerably larger than life, bears the undoubtedly ancient inscription: M · CICERO · AN · LXIIII, apparently indicating the age of the orator at the date of his death. The bust remained unnoticed for many years, until Zobel drew attention to the inscription. This discovery was first published by Hübner in Gerhard's *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1861, p. 161*, and in the *Bulletino dell' Instituto*, in the same year, pp. 150–2. In the following year, he gave a complete account of the bust in a work entitled, *die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid*, no. 191, characterizing it as 'the first authentic bust of Cicero, bearing an inscription probably of the same date as the bust itself'; and adding that the style of the work, and the form of the letters, pointed alike to a time not later than that of Augustus. An engraving of the bust, giving the front-face and the profile, as well as the inscription, was published for the first time in Hübner's frontispiece. It has since been described in Bernouilli's *Römische Ikonographie* I p. 135, 1882. The woodcut here published is copied on a reduced scale from the photograph in plate x of that admirable work. It is included among the casts from the antique at South Kensington (no. 260), and also in the Fitzwilliam Museum of Classical Archaeology (no. 546).

BUST OF BRUTUS, IN THE CAPITOLINE MUSEUM . . . . . . p. lvii

Slightly reduced from the photograph in Bernouilli, *l. c.* plate XIX. See note on p. 116 *infra*.

CORRIGENDA.

Coins of Elis, with the Olympian Zeus . . . . . . p.

Two coins of the time of Hadrian, rudely representing (it is supposed) the Zeus of Phidias. (*a*) Figure of enthroned Zeus (Florence). (*b*) Head of Zeus Olympius (Paris). Dr Percy Gardner has kindly supplied me with casts of both. (*a*) is copied from the cast, (*b*) is mainly from the woodcut in Overbeck's *Gr. Plastik* I[3] p. 258, as reproduced in R. Adamy's *Einführung in die antike Kunstgeschichte*, 1884, p. 105. See note on p. 6 *infra*.

Marble fragment of a Shield of Athene Parthenos . . . p

Known as the 'Strangford Shield', from its having been obtained at Athens by Percy Clinton, Viscount Strangford, from whose son it was acquired by the British Museum. The woodcut has been reduced from a large photograph. There is a cast at South Kensington (no. 99), and in the Fitzwilliam Museum of Classical Archaeology (no. 161). See further on pp. 242–3.

The woodcuts have been executed by Mr R. B. Utting.

CORRIGENDA

(*in the Critical Notes*).

On examining Dr Stangl's recension of the text, which reached me in its form on Aug. 13, when nearly the whole of this volume had been printed off, I that, owing to alterations in his proof-sheets, made in one or two cases (§§ 10, 3 consequence of my own criticisms, the following readings must now be substit for those which were formerly adopted by him :—

§ 10, *fluere*; § 29, [*non*] instead of the conjecture *omnino*; § 30, *et qui*; § *dimensa et paria*; § 81, *ac novum*; § 103, *ipsi possent legere*; § 113, *dialectice sit*; § 128, *benevolentiam*; § 135, *conicitur*; § 141, *praescriptionum*; § 149, l. *aut*; § 152, *et quidem nos*; § 154, *obscenius*; § 156, *ecqui dixit Accius?*; § 161, *mus*; § 171, *versibus*; § 180, *affirment*; § 181, *sitve*; § 182, *illuminatum*; § *videatur*; § 216, *quod minimum sit*; § 228, *recte*.

On p. 3, l. 5 of critical notes, omit Stangl; on p. 35, l. 2, read 'Baiteri co turam'; on p. 49, l. 2, read 'post Ernestium conicit'; on p. 53, l. 8, *quae tamen* was proposed by Melanchthon; on p. 176, l. 5, for (H) read (HSt), and omit (after *A*.

On p. 10, l. 3, for 'Perizonius' [the Dutch scholar of 1651–1715, to whom proposal to omit *non* is wrongly ascribed in Goeller's ed. p. 73], read 'Perion [Joachim Périon, the French scholar, whose criticisms on the *Orator* appeare 1547]. Cf. F. Robortello, *de ratione corrigendi* (Padua) 1557, fol. 4[v], reprinte Gruter's *Fax Artium* ii 21, 'Debet enim tolli *non*. Alioqui sententia inanis et f fuerit, ut quivis cognoscere potest. Animadverti locum hunc a *Perionio* ante mu annos fuisse emendatum; quare illi sua laus tribuenda'. The same suggestion made in the *variae lectiones* of Victorius, published in 1553, before Robortello's w but after that of Perionius.

SIGLORUM IN NOTULIS CRITICIS ADHIBITORUM INDEX.

(I.) Codices praecipui litteris maioribus eisque inclinatis indicantur.

(1) **Codices mutili.**

A = *cod. Abrincensis* 238 . . . . Cf. p. lxxvi

[...]eri codices mutili raro commemorantur:—

l = *cod. Laurentianus S. Marci* 262 = Lag. 13 . . . p. lxxxi n. 1

m = *cod. Florentinus Magliabecchianus* vi 185; anni 1418 . „

Gu[3] = *cod. Guelferbytanus* 201 = *Gudianus* 2 . . . . . p. lxxx

Mon. = *cod. Monacensis* 15, 958, saec. xv ineuntis . . . . „

Erl. = *cod. Erlangensis* 303 = 39 . . . . „

(2) **Codices integri e Laudensi derivati.**

F = *cod. Florentinus* I 1, 14 . . . . p. lxxxiii

P = *cod. Vaticanus Palatinus* 1469 . . . . . . „

O = *cod. Ottobonianus* 2057 . . . . p. lxxxiv

[...]eri codices integri raro commemorantur:—

M = *cod. Mutinensis* VI D 2 . . . . p. lxxxv n. 2

[Codicis Laudensis scripturam codicum *FO* et *P* consensu contineri censet Heerdegen; eandem in codd. *FO* et *PM* quaerere mavult Stangl.]

cod. Vat. 1709; codd. Laur. 50, 1, et 50, 28 . . . . . p. lxxxvi f.

cod. Laur. 50, 31 a Poggio e Florentino transcriptus . p. lxxxvi

Eins. = *cod. Einsiedlensis* 307 . . . . p. lxxxvii

Vit. = *cod. Vitebergensis, nunc Halensis* Y g 24, anni 1432 . „

Gu[1] = *cod. Guelferbytanus* 200 = *Gudianus* 38 . . . . p. lxxxvi

Gu[2] = „ „ 199 = *August.* 12, 13; Dr. = *Dresdensis* p. lxxxv

(II.) Editorum recentiorum nomina litteris minoribus eisque rectis significantur.

M = Meyer, 1827

O = Orelli, O[1] = ed. 1826; O[2] = ed. 1830; O[3] = ed. 1845

K = Kayser, 1860

J = Jahn, ed. 3, 1869

P = Piderit, ed. 1865; P[2] = ed. 1876, ab Halmio curata

H = Heerdegen, 1884

St = Stangl, 1885*

Reliquorum editorum editionumve nomina (velut Ven[1] = ed. Veneta 1485, Med = ed. Mediolanensis 1498, Ald[1] = ed. Aldina 1514, Sch = Schuetz) e librorum indicibus in pp. xcii—iii colligere in promptu est.

Normannum illum, cui quondam Kayserus, ad finem § 5, *miremur* et *probemus* primus, nisi fallor, tribuit, Oratoris Tulliani inter criticos nusquam alias adhuc inveni. Suspicor igitur neminem alium esse quam editorem Norimbergensem (Koberger), 1497, qui olim ab Orellio (anno 1826) per compendium *Nor.* indicatus, in hoc ipso loco typothetarum (ut videtur) errore *miremur* cum *probaremus* coniunctum habet.

In § 38 codices *FPO* revera *demensa* habere diserte affirmavit Heerdegen, in Prolegomenis p. xvi: ego vero, Stanglium *dimensa* obiter commemorantem secutus, monitum illud quondam a me observatum, postea imprudens neglexi. Ergo in notulis quidem criticis p. 45, 4 *dimensa* in *demensa* mutandum; sed in textu *dimensa* nihilo minus conservandum.

In notulis criticis p. 95, 4 legendum cod. Vat. 1709.

* Cf. paginam superiorem proximam.

INTRODUCTION.

Of the rhetorical works of Cicero, the most important are the *Oratore*, the *Brutus* and the *Orator*. In the last of these, his m purpose is to portray the ideal orator. In carrying out this purpose, keeps steadily before his view the Greek models of eloquence and Greek authorities on rhetoric; but he is at the same time continu conscious of his own distinguished career as an orator, and of his o relations to contemporary criticism. For an adequate understandi of the *Orator*, it is therefore necessary for us to have some knowled of the previous history of oratory and rhetoric, not only from the earli times to the death of Demosthenes, but also during those days of decli which witnessed, in the Greek world, the rise of the struggle betwe Atticism and Asianism; a struggle which had its counterpart in Ro during the life of Cicero, and was not brought to a decisive conclusi till the time of Augustus. It will also be necessary for us to take count of Cicero's own rhetorical training, and briefly to review those his rhetorical writings which are most closely connected with the *Orat*

The oratory and rhetoric of Greece and Rome, with the numer points of historical, philosophical, literary and critical interest there involved, have been the theme not only of a multitude of special mor graphs, but also of elaborate and comprehensive works by some of t ablest scholars both at home and abroad. For the present purpose, will be sufficient to notice, in the following introductory pag the points which appear to be best calculated to throw light on t *Orator* of Cicero. Instead of traversing too wide a field by a survey all the ancient authorities, we shall therefore concentrate our attenti mainly, but by no means exclusively, on those passages in the rhetori works of Cicero which supply us with his own retrospect of the histo of oratory and rhetoric, and his own criticisms on those who, whether rhetoricians or as orators, had preceded him either in the theoretic exposition or in the practical application of the art in which he w himself so consummate a master.

I. OUTLINE OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF GREEK ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

Even in the heroic age, long before the rise of any theory of rhetoric, the practice of oratory is brilliantly exemplified in the Homeric poems, its 'strength' in Odysseus and its 'sweetness' in Nestor[1]. But, in historic times, Athens alone in all Greece can be regarded as the true home of eloquence[2]. For an orator we look in vain, says Cicero, either to Corinth, or to Argos, with its proverbial brevity of speech, or to Thebes, which, nevertheless, in its later times produced in the accomplished Epaminondas one whom he is almost willing to recognise as an exception to the rule. Of a Spartan orator, he assures us he had never heard,—thus, tacitly, and indeed rightly, ignoring Brasidas, who is described by Thucydides, with an important reservation, as one who 'for a Lacedaemonian, was not without ability as a speaker', and expressly disregarding the Spartan king, Menelaus, who was wont to speak, as Homer says, παῦρα μὲν ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως[3],—brevity of speech being, in Cicero's view, of merely occasional and not of universal importance in oratory[4]. In the *de Oratore* (i 58) he had allowed the Spartan legislator Lycurgus a place among orators by the side of Solon; but it is well known that, in the troublous times when political speeches were prohibited, Solon, when resolved on rousing the people to action, had to trust for this purpose to his powers as a poet rather than to any eloquence he may have had as an orator. Witness the closing couplet of his stirring appeal for the recovery of Salamis:

> ἴομεν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα μαχησόμενοι περὶ νήσου
> ἱμερτῆς, χαλεπόν τ' αἶσχος ἀπωσόμενοι[5].

Elsewhere, in the *Brutus* (27), he mentions not Solon only but also Clisthenes, and, between them in point of date, Pisistratus, as entitled, in the opinion of some, to the credit of being able speakers for the time in which they lived. It was not, however, until after

[1] Brut. 39—40, 'nec tamen dubito quin habuerit vim magnam semper oratio. neque enim iam Troicis temporibus tantum laudis in dicendo Ulixi tribuisset Homerus et Nestori, quorum alterum vim habere voluit (Il. iii 221 ff.), alterum suavitatem (Il. i 247 ff.), nisi iam tum esset honos eloquentiae'.

[2] ib. 39 (urbs) 'in qua et nata et alta sit eloquentia'; 49 'hoc autem studium non erat commune Graeciae sed proprium Athenarum'.

[3] Il. iii 214.

[4] Brut. 50 'quis enim aut Argivum oratorem aut Corinthium aut Thebanum scit fuisse temporibus illis? nisi quid de Epaminonda docto homine suspicari libet; Lacedaemonium vero usque ad hoc tempus audivi fuisse neminem. Menelaum ipsum dulcem illum quidem tradit Homerus, sed pauca dicentem. brevitas autem laus est interdum in aliqua parte dicendi, in universa eloquentia laudem non habet'.

[5] Plut. Solon 8.

the expulsion of the Pisistratidae and the establishment of democrac[y] that eloquence could really flourish in Athens; 'for', says Cicero, 'i[t] is not among those who are still founding a state or are wagin[g] wars or are under the chains of despotism, that the passion fo[r] speech is wont to be born: eloquence is the companion of peace, th[e] associate of leisure, and is fostered and cherished by an established con[-] stitution' (ib. 45). We may be sure that it was no accidental coinci[-] dence, that, while those of the states of Greece which were unde[r] a despotic or an oligarchical government were signally unproductive o[f] men of oratorical ability, the very contrary was the case in democrati[c] Athens, where freedom of speech was the birth-right of every citizen and where power of speech enabled its possessor to hold his own in th[e] courts of law, and to be strong in counsel in the assemblies of th[e] people.

Between the establishment of the democracy and the outbreak o[f] the Peloponnesian war, two names of note arrest our attention i[n] Cicero's account of the earlier Athenian oratory. The first is that o[f] Themistocles, *quem constat cum prudentia tum etiam eloquentia praesti-tisse*[1]; the second, that of Pericles, who, although he belonged to a[n] age in which rhetoric had not yet become the subject of systemati[c] study, was nevertheless an 'almost perfect' orator[2]. His familiarit[y] with the physicist Anaxagoras, and the mental training supplied by tha[t] philosopher's abstruse and recondite speculations, braced his intellec[t] for the comparatively easy problems he had to solve as a public speaker, while the contemplation of such exalted themes gave a new elevation and dignity to his style[3]. But the fame of his eloquence rested in afte[r] times on tradition alone, as his speeches though reduced to writing were never published and were thus lost to literature. The remark in the *de Oratore*, where Pericles, as well as Alcibiades and Thucydides, are mentioned as the most ancient persons whose writings are 'recognised' as genuine[4], is repeated in a more cautious form in the *Brutus* (27) where the words *cuius scripta quaedam feruntur* only imply that certain writings were current which passed under his name, without however hinting at their spuriousness, as Quintilian (iii 1 § 12) does in somewhat plainer language when criticising, with his usual deference, the opinion of Cicero. Thucydides, who describes him as λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος (i 139 § 4), gives us what is only the substance of three of the great orator's speeches, as seen through the transforming medium of

[1] Brut. 28, cf. Hdt. viii 83, Thuc. i 138 §§ 3, 4, Pseudo-Lysias epit. 42 Θ. ἱκανώτατον εἰπεῖν καὶ γνῶναι καὶ πρᾶξαι.

[2] Brut. 44.

[3] ib. See note on § 15.

[4] ii 93 'quorum quidem scripta constent'.

the historian's mannerisms[1]. A few striking metaphors, such as those preserved in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle (iii 10), where Aegina is called 'the eye-sore of the Peiraeus', and where a state that has lost its young heroes in war is compared to a year that is reft of the season of spring, are almost all that has survived of the eloquence of him of whom a contemporary poet, Eupolis, says:

> A power persuasive rested on his lips,
> Such was his charm; alone among the speakers
> He ever left his sting in them that heard him;

and whom Aristophanes describes as, like the Olympian Zeus,

> Lightening and thundering and confounding Greece[2].

The oratory of Pericles, though singularly effective, was, we may infer, like that of his predecessors, of a purely practical kind, uninfluenced by the theoretical treatment of the art which was soon to reach Athens from another quarter.

While the home of eloquence was Athens, the birthplace of the art of rhetoric was Sicily. It was there that, 'after the fall of the tyrants', that is, after the expulsion of Thrasydaeus by the Agrigentines in B.C. 472, and of Thrasybulus by the Syracusans in 466, when the rule of the three brothers of the Gelonian dynasty, Gelon (485–478), Hieron I (478–467) and Thrasybulus (467–6), came to an end,—the establishment of a democratical constitution and the requirements of the new order of things gave rise to a special demand for instruction in oratory. Owing to the change of government, exiles would return from banishment to demand restitution of their confiscated property; rights that under the stress of despotism had, in the case of Syracuse, remained dormant for some twenty years, would be revived; lands that had been arbitrarily assigned to the favourites of the court would be claimed by the original owners or their representatives; rival suitors would present themselves to contest the succession to the property in dispute, and intricate cases would thus require to be disentangled by the newly constituted courts of law. In such a state of things, a claimant's chance of making good his case would naturally turn on his possessing a trained capacity for marshalling his arguments in a clear and persuasive manner. Among the clever and disputatious Sicilians[3], the demand for such

[1] See the analysis of the Funeral Oration given in Mure's *Lit. of Antient Greece*, v 166—173, esp. 170, where the statement that the praise bestowed on others, when it is beyond the attainment of the audience, inspires feelings of envy and incredulity, is rightly described as 'one with which an orator of so fine a tact as Pericles would never surely have insulted the ears of his fellow-citizens'.

[2] See note on § 29.

[3] Tusc. Disp. i 15, II Verr. iv 95.

training was supplied by one CORAX, who by his oratorical power acquired great influence among the people and who is said to reduced the practice of oratory to a formal shape, by drawing up torical treatise, or τέχνη, which was the first of its kind. Before time of Corax and his pupil Tisias, though many orators had expr themselves with care and had even written their speeches, no one composed by rule of art[1].

Such is the purport of the opening words of the passage in Cicero, quoting from Aristotle, gives an account of the origin of rhetoric. That account was doubtless taken from the lost work i books, entitled the τεχνῶν συναγωγή[2], in which Aristotle collected treatises on rhetoric which preceded his own. Cicero menti together with the *Rhetoric* in a passage of the *de Oratore* (ii 16 describes it in more precise language in his earliest rhetorical wor *de Inventione*[3]. In modern times, an endeavour has been made to pensate in some slight measure for the loss of the original, in the *A Scriptores* of Spengel (1828), one of the earliest works of that ab ponent of ancient rhetoric, in which all the scattered fragments earlier rhetorical treatises are gathered together and thoroughly cussed,—a work to which every subsequent writer on the subje been largely indebted[4].

To the school of Corax and his pupil TISIAS is due the early

[1] Brut. 46 'Itaque ait Aristoteles, cum sublatis in Sicilia tyrannis res privatae longo intervallo iudiciis repeterentur, tum primum, quod esset acuta illa gens et controversiae nata (Jahn; controversi a natura MSS), artem et praecepta Siculos Coracem et Tisiam conscripsisse: nam antea neminem solitum via nec arte, sed accurate tamen et de scripto plerosque dicere'. *descripte* (J. Schmitz) and *discripte* (Eberhard), 'with precision of writing', have been plausibly suggested instead of *de scripto*. But the latter is confirmed by Suidas who says of Pericles: πρῶτος γραπτὸν λόγον ἐν δικαστηρίῳ εἶπεν, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ σχεδιαζόντων. And this practice may have been common from the times of Pericles to those of Antiphon, who was the first to write a forensic speech *for publication*, Diodor. Sic. ap. Clem. Alex. Str. i 365 quoted by Blass *Attische Beredsamkeit* iii B 324.

[2] Diog. Laert. v § 24.

[3] De Inv. ii 6 'veteres quidem scriptores artis usque a principe illo et inventore Tisia repetitos unum in locum conduxit Aristoteles et nominatim cuiusque praecepta magna conquisita cura perspicue conscripsit atque enodata diligenter exposuit'.

[4] Corax is said to have divid speeches into five parts, προοίμι γησις, ἀγῶνες, παρέκβασις and ἐ (Prolegomena in Hermogenem qu Spengel, *Art. Scr.* p. 25 = *Rhetores* iv 12 Walz). It also appears, that, endeavour to give instruction in the from which arguments might be (for there is nothing to shew that any attention to style) he confine self to the illustration of a single that of τὸ εἰκός, or the argumen probability. In the absence of evidence, this topic must have specially useful to the rival claim property at Syracuse in the circum above described; but the stock e of it is the case of assault where a man is charged with attacking a man when no witnesses are present use of such a topic, as is pointed Aristotle, may easily degenerate i merest quibbling (Ar. Rhet. ii 24 On Corax, see also Cope's articles Sophistical Rhetoric in the *Ca Journal of Classical and Sacred logy*, iii 41—42, Blass, *Att.* 18—20).

nition of rhetoric as the 'artificer of persuasion, πειθοῦς δημιουργός'[1], a definition which is at once immoral and inadequate[2]; immoral, because it makes persuasion at any price the object of rhetoric; inadequate, because it is equally applicable to other things,—for example, to bribery. The subtlety of the new art is exemplified in the familiar story of the law-suit between Corax and his pupil for the recovery of his fee. The pupil begins with the enquiry: 'Corax, what did you undertake to teach me?' 'To persuade anyone you please.' 'If so, I now persuade you to receive no fee; if not, you have failed to teach me to persuade you: in either case I owe you nothing.' Corax retorts with a similar dilemma: 'If you persuade me, I have taught you the art; if not, you have failed to persuade me to remit the fee: in either case you are bound to pay'. Whereupon the court dismisses the case with the contemptuous proverb: κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ᾠόν[3]. The technical treatise ascribed to Tisias was probably only an expansion of that of his master, which it appears to have superseded. Even the invention of the art is sometimes ascribed to Tisias. Thus Cicero, in a passage already quoted from his earliest rhetorical treatise (de Inv. ii 6), calls him the *princeps* and *inventor* of the art; but in his maturer work, the *de Oratore*, he applies the same terms with greater accuracy to both[4]. Tisias is specially referred to in several passages of the *Phaedrus* and, in one of them, the commentators have detected a sly allusion to the name of his master[5]. He is also mentioned by Aristotle among the earlier contributors to the methodical treatment of rhetoric, and as the immediate successor of the founders of the art[6]. According to Pausanias (vi 17 § 8) he accompanied his pupil Gorgias to Athens when the latter was sent on an embassy by the Leontines in B.C. 427, to invite the help of the Athenians against the encroachments of Syracuse[7].

[1] Proleg. in Herm. *Rhet. Gr.* iii 611, and iv 19 Walz. The definition is assumed by Gorgias the pupil of Tisias, Pl. Gorg. 453 A, 465 A. Quintilian, who wrongly ascribes it to Isocrates (ii 15 § 4), finds fault with it as too wide.

[2] Cope's Introd. to Ar. Rhet. p. 28—30.

[3] *Rhet. Gr.* iv 13 f., v. 215 f. A similar story, with slight variations, is told very briefly of Protagoras and his pupil Euathlos by Diog. Laert. ix § 56, and at greater length by Aulus Gellius, v 10.

[4] De Or. i 91 (Antonius loquitur) 'a Corace nescio quo et Tisia quos artis inventores et principes esse constaret'.

[5] 267 A, Τισίαν δὲ Γοργίαν τε ἐάσομεν εὕδειν, οἳ πρὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν τὰ εἰκότα εἶδον ὡς τιμητέα μᾶλλον; 273 C, Τ. ἢ ἄλλος ὅστις δήποτ' ὢν τυγχάνει καὶ ὁπόθεν χαίρει ὀνομαζόμενος (see Thompson's note), 273 A—274 A.

[6] De Soph. Elench. p. 183 *b* 31 οἱ δὲ νῦν εὐδοκιμοῦντες παρὰ πολλῶν οἷον ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν κατὰ μέρος πραγμάτων οὕτως ηὐξήκασιν, Τισίας μὲν μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους, Θρασύμαχος δὲ μετὰ Τισίαν, Θεόδωρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον. Mr Verrall, to support his view that Corax and Tisias were contemporaries, proposes, without sufficient ground, to omit Τισίας—μετὰ τοῦτον (*Journal of Philology* ix 200).

[7] This statement has perhaps unnecessarily been suspected on the ground that it involves the Syracusan rhetorician in presumably supporting the representative of a city hostile to Syracuse; but it tallies with another account which has also been needlessly suspected, by which he is said to have visited Thurii after its foundation

GORGIAS.

Among the *magistri dicendi multi* to whom Cicero alludes ir *Brutus* (30), he makes special mention of the following: Gorgi Leontini, Thrasymachus of Calchedon, Protagoras of Abdera, Pro of Ceos and Hippias of Elis. A few words may now be devot each of these, and to Theodorus of Byzantium to whom he refers where.

In GORGIAS we have the foremost representative of the Si school, the inheritor of the teaching of Corax and Tisias. His appearance at Athens was on the occasion of the embassy sent b Leontines as already observed in B.C. 427[1]. It was an event of pec importance in the early history of rhetoric, and it is described as fol in a striking passage of Diodorus (xii 53), who, as a Sicilian, natu draws attention to the sensation produced at Athens by a country of his own: 'At the head of the envoys was the rhetorician Go who in oratorical skill (δεινότητι λόγου) was the foremost man o time. The Athenians, clever as they were and fond of oratory, astonished by the singular distinction (τῷ ξενίζοντι, the foreign air) o style, by the remarkable antitheses, the symmetrical clauses, the p lelisms of structure, and the rhyming terminations, and the other lar figures of speech, which were then welcomed owing to the no (τὸ ξένον) of their composition, but are now regarded as affected ridiculous when used to a tedious excess'. He returned to Leo to report the result of his mission[2], but it was probably not long this that he revisited the place where the display of his powers had duced so remarkable an impression. His prose style had a stro poetical colouring (Ar. Rhet. iii 1 § 9), and was broken up into s symmetrical clauses to compensate for the absence of metre. His ployment of metaphors to give a poetic colour to his prose, and of and foreign words to impart a novel and striking character to his speec does not attract the attention of Cicero. But in the *Orator*, he peatedly mentions the love of *concinnitas*, or symmetry of structure (1 167), which found expression in those parallelisms of form which w characteristic of Gorgias and were used by him to an immoderate exc

in 444. Now Thurii as an Athenian colony would naturally be friendly to Leontini and hostile to Syracuse; so that the course of action taken by Tisias would appear to have been consistent in the two cases. At Thurii he is said to have given instruction to the future orator Lysias, and he is even mentioned as having been one of the praeceptors of Isocrates (Dion. Hal. de Isocr. 1). On Tisias cf. Blass *Att. Ber.* i 20—22.

[1] The embassy is described in Thucydides (iii 68), where, strange to say, name of Gorgias is not mentioned.

[2] The author of the Proleg. ad Herm (iv 15 Walz) with less probability ma the Athenians detain him on this o sion: ἐλθόντος δὲ Γοργίου εἰς τὰς Ἀθή ἐπεδείξατο ἐκεῖ λόγον καὶ εὐδοκίμησε τ ὥστε ἡνίκα ἐπεδείκνυτο λόγον ὁ Γ. ἑο ἄπρακτον ἐποίουν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λαμπ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ὠνόμασαν· κατέσχε αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις κ.τ.λ.

(175). Though Thrasymachus is named in connexion with the same figures of speech (39), it is to Gorgias that their artificial use is mainly due. Gorgias, like Thrasymachus, is described as being, in the opinion of Isocrates, *concisus minutis numeris* (40). In the *Brutus* (47), it is stated that he reduced to writing 'singularum rerum laudes vituperationesque quod iudicaret hoc oratoris esse maxime proprium, rem augere posse laudando vituperandoque rursus adfligere'[1]. Such was his confidence in his powers—or possibly his unconsciousness of his intellectual shallowness—that he was ready, we are told, to speak on any subject that his audience were pleased to suggest (de Or. i 103, iii 129). In contrast with orators like Themistocles, Pericles and Theramenes, he is described as a theoretical professor of the *faciendi dicendique sapientia*, which those statesmen carried into practice, and as such he is coupled with the theorists Thrasymachus and Isocrates (de Or. iii 59). Isocrates was one of his pupils in Thessaly (Or. 176), where the aged rhetorician spent the greater part of his declining years, and it was probably there that he died. The passion for poetic prose which had pursued him through life, appears to have continued to be a 'ruling passion strong in death'. At the close of his life he observed in a poetic vein: 'At last Sleep lays me with his brother Death'; and another of his last sayings finds its parallel in one of our own poets, who calls the body in old age: 'the soul's dark cottage, battered and decayed'[2]. He was honoured with a 'golden statue' at Delphi (de Or. iii 129), but the prosaic Pausanias assures us that the statue which he saw on his visit to the shrine was only 'gilt'[3].

While the Sicilian school, represented by Gorgias, and his pupils Polus and Alcidamas, in cultivating a semi-poetic style of prose, specially aimed at εὐέπεια or 'beauty of speech', a different tendency had meanwhile arisen in the Greek school, represented by Protagoras, Prodicus, Hippias and Thrasymachus, which aimed at ὀρθοέπεια or 'correctness of speech'[4]. Thus PROTAGORAS was apparently the first to give special attention to elementary points of grammar and philology, to distinctions of gender in nouns, to the classification of modes of expression, to the criticism of poetry and to speculations in language and etymology[5]. He also introduced the practice of writing rhetorical exercises on general

[1] Plato, Phaedrus 267 A, Isocr. Paneg 8.

[2] Waller; ὥσπερ ἐκ σαπροῦ καὶ ῥέοντος συνοικίου ἀσμένως ἀπαλλάττομαι (Arsenius, quoted in Thompson's *Gorgias*, p. 184).

[3] ἐπίχρυσον (X 18 ult.); see Thompson's *Phaedrus*, p. 22.—On Gorgias, see also Geel's *historia critica sophistarum*, 1823, pp. 13—67, Spengel, *Art. Scr.* 63—84, Cope iii 65—85, Blass i 44—72, Jebb, *Attic Orators* 1 p. cxxiii—viii. A specimen of his style is quoted in the note on § 40.

[4] Spengel, *Art. Scr.* p. 63. In the *Phaedrus*, 267 C, εὐέπεια is applied to the style of Polus; and ὀρθοέπεια occurs in the same context, in connexion with Protagoras.

[5] Cope, iii 48—52.

topics, as is stated by Cicero, on the authority of Aristotle[1] the sophists enumerated in the passage of the *Brutus* (30) al ferred to, it is to Protagoras that the statement particularly 'docere se profitebantur, arrogantibus sane verbis, quem ad causa inferior—ita enim loquebantur—dicendo fieri superior PRODICUS, again, who is best known as the author of the apo the 'Choice of Hercules' (Xen. Mem. ii 1, 21 ff), concerne with questions of etymology and distinctions of synonyms[3]. HIPPIAS, a man of less mark but of greater pretensions than these, included grammar and prosody among his numerous ac ments[4]. He is also credited with aiming at a correct and style of expression[5]. The sophists above mentioned, especia goras and Hippias, were in the habit of popularising their vie speeches, which served as displays of rhetorical skill and were out importance among the educational influences of their time.

In THRASYMACHUS of Calchedon, (who was born about 45 flourished during the last twenty years of the fifth century, appears in Plato's *Republic* as a man of mature years, as con Lysias,) we have one who, on the authority of Aristotle's pu phrastus, appears to have marked an epoch in the prose style o Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in the beginning of his treatis eloquence of Demosthenes, distinguishes three kinds of style: (1 is 'singular and uncommon and elaborately artificial, filled w variety of superadded embellishment'. As the 'standard and of this style he names Thucydides[6]. (2) 'A simple and plain sty resembling the language of ordinary conversation'[7]. This, he

[1] Brut. 46 'scriptas fuisse et paratas a Protagora rerum illustrium disputationes quae nunc communes appellantur loci' (cf. Ar. Soph. El. 31).

[2] Ar. Rhet. ii 24 § 11 καὶ τὸ τὸν ἥττω δὲ λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν τοῦτ' ἐστίν· καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δικαίως ἐδυσχέραινον οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ Πρωταγόρου ἐπάγγελμα. On Protagoras, see Spengel, *Art. Scr.* 40; Frei, *quaestiones Protagoreae*, 1845; Blass i 23—28.

[3] Cope iii 57, Blass i 29 f.

[4] De Or. iii 126 f. 'illos veteres doctores auctoresque dicendi nullum genus disputationis a se alienum putasse accepimus semperque esse in omni orationis ratione versatos. ex quibus Eleus Hippias cum Olympiam venisset maxima illa quinquennali celebritate ludorum, gloriatus est cuncta paene audiente Graecia nihil esse ulla in arte rerum omnium quod ipse nesciret; nec solum has artes, quibus liberales doctrinae atque ingenuae continerentur, geometriam, mus rarum cognitionem et poëtarum quae de naturis rerum, quae d moribus, quae de rebus publi tur, sed anulum, quem haber quo amictus, soccos, quibus in [se] sua manu confecisse'.

[5] Plato, Hipp. 1 285 C D, 368 D.

[6] c. 1 ad fin. ἡ ἐξηλλαγμένη καὶ ἐγκατάσκευος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέ ἅπασι συμπεπληρωμένη λέξις. tise, as we have it, begins al a long quotation from Thuc it is clear that he is not the sentative of this style, since well as Thuc., is afterwards with the representatives of th styles in c. 2 and 4 (cf. Blass

[7] c. 2 ἡ λιτὴ καὶ ἀφελὴς κατασκευὴν τε καὶ ἰσχὺν τὴν ἔχειν λόγου καὶ ὁμοιότητα.

brought to its perfection by Lysias. (3) A style composed by the blending together of the two others[1]. The first who 'harmonized this style and brought it to its present order' was, 'as Theophrastus thinks', Thrasymachus. Dionysius, who leaves his own opinion on this point uncertain, adds that those who took up and developed this style and were not far from bringing it to perfection, were Isocrates and Plato.

The style of Thrasymachus is described in the same chapter as 'a happy combination of what is really valuable in both styles', and elsewhere he is characterized as 'pure and refined and skilled in inventing and expressing what he pleases tersely and excellently'[2]. Aristotle, again, when treating of rhythm in prose tells us that the rhetoricians from Thrasymachus downwards made use of the 'paean'. It is true that the fragments now extant do not shew any partiality for this measure[3], but they are enough to prove that he paid some attention to harmony of numbers in prose. That he was the first to do so, cannot be conclusively inferred from Aristotle, though such was probably the case. In writing of rhythmical prose Cicero mentions Thrasymachus as its inventor (Or. 175); and in this he is probably following the authority of Theophrastus, who, as we have seen, was alive to the merits of Thrasymachus and whose work 'on style' was familiar to Cicero[4]. To Isocrates, his precursor Thrasymachus appeared 'too cramped in his rhythms', and he accordingly adopted a fuller amplitude of expression and a smoother style of composition (Or. 40). Gorgias, it is true, is mentioned with Thrasymachus in the passage just referred to, but we can hardly be wrong in thinking that, in connexion with the question of rhythm, Cicero had Thrasymachus mainly in view, and this is supported by the order of the words: '*concisus Thras. minutis numeris* videretur et Gorgias'. Conversely in § 39 he is mentioned with Gorgias and Theodorus as one of the first to deal with the rhetorical figures of antithesis and the various parallelisms of structure and sound; but, although he is mentioned first of the three, the place of prominence is there due to Gorgias, while Thrasymachus probably contented himself with such parallelisms of sound as were calculated to give a rhythmical character to his prose without indulging to any immoderate extent in the other artificial figures of the Sicilian rhetoric. His treatise on pathos is the subject of an elaborate allusion in the *Phaedrus*[5], and is definitely mentioned by Aristotle[6]. He was also the author of several other rhetorical works, of which the titles alone have survived. In his later years his

[1] c. 3 ἡ μικτή τε καὶ σύνθετος ἐκ τούτων τῶν δυοῖν. Cf. note on § 20 init.

[2] De Isaeo, 20.

[3] Blass i 249.

[4] Cf. note on § 39, p. 48.

[5] 267 c.

[6] Rhet. iii 1 § 7 Θρασ. ἐν τοῖς ἐλέοις.

pupils appear to have deserted him, and his unhappy end is pr
referred to in the lines of Juvenal (vii 203):

> 'paenituit multos vanae sterilisque cathedrae
> sicut Tharsymachi probat exitus.'

Over his tomb at Calchedon was placed an elegiac couplet, rema
mainly for the ingenuity with which it overcomes the metrical dif
of dealing with a name which, except in the altered form adopt
Juvenal, is inadmissible in hexameters:

> *τοὔνομα θῆτα ῥῶ ἄλφα σὰν ὖ μῦ ἄλφα χῖ οὖ σάν·*
> *πατρὶς Καλχηδών· ἡ δὲ τέχνη σοφίη* (Athen. 454 F)[1].

Lastly, THEODORUS of Byzantium, whom Aristotle couples
Tisias and Thrasymachus as one of the most important contribut
the development of rhetoric[2], and whom Plato similarly me
together with Gorgias as a leading representative of the art[3], intro
some novel technical terms for the subdivisions of a speech.
enumerates them in the *Phaedrus* (266 D), satirically describing th
'the niceties of his art' (*τὰ κομψὰ τῆς τέχνης*), while Aristotle in a s
mood denounces them as absurd and unnecessary (*Rhet.* iii 13
The epithet *λογοδαίδαλος* applied to him in the *Phaedrus* is quot
the *Orator* (39), though its application is there somewhat carelessl
tended to others to whom Plato does not expressly assign it. In
parison with Lysias, he is described in the *Brutus* (48) as 'in arte
tilior, in orationibus autem ieiunior'[4].

Thus it was that, during the latter half of the fifth century,
regions far removed from one another,—from the Megarian coloni
the Bosporus, from the plains of Elis and from the cliffs of Ceos,
the dull northern town of Abdera, and from the bright cities of Sici
there came the men who, in their different degrees and in accord
with their various capacities, contributed not a little to the mou
and fashioning of a consciously artistic type of oratory at Athens.
varied culture and the skilful dialectic of the East, and the subtle rhe
and brilliant eloquence of the West, were thus happily combined in
central city of the Hellenic world.

II. THE ATTIC ORATORS.

From the technical rhetoricians of the fifth century, our brief re
of whose characteristics has unavoidably proved a somewhat ted

[1] On Thrasymachus, see further in C. F. Hermann, *de Thrasymacho Chalcedonio*, Göttingen, 1848; Cope iii 268—281; Blass i 240—251; Jebb ii 423—4.

[2] de Soph. Elench. p. 183 *b* 32.

[3] *Phaedrus*, 261 C, 266 C, 269 D, 2 273 A ff.

[4] Cope iii 284—8, Blass i 251—4.

turn with a certain sense of relief to the remarkable series of
f speech, who flourished at Athens from the latter part of the
e latter part of the fourth century. The literary criticism of
ge recognised among these a group of ten, who, although
y very different degrees of excellence and distinguished from
her in many important points, were nevertheless rightly regarded
ards of taste and as models of eloquence. These ten were
, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, Demosthenes, Aeschines,
s, Hyperides and Deinarchus[1]. The Ten are acknowledged
tilian[2]; but not by Cicero. ANTIPHON's collections of προοίμια
λογοι are alluded to in the *Brutus* where his brilliant defence
elf when tried for his life is also referred to, on the authority of
ides[3]. But no mention is made either of Andocides or of Isaeus.
DES, though a good example of an unprofessional orator, owes
tation less to his style than to his historical interest in connexion
e affair of the *Hermae*, and the violation of the mysteries, on
of the Sicilian expedition[4]. ISAEUS is so exclusively concerned
e intricacies of the Athenian law of property, that we can readily
tand his failing to attract the notice of a Roman orator, in the
hen no one ever dreamed of that comparative study of early
tions, which has only in recent times given a fresh interest and a
meaning to the Attic law of succession[5]. LYCURGUS, the pupil of

e earliest reference to the Ten as a group is to be found in the title st work by Caecilius of Calacte, e his friend Dionysius of Halicar- was a Greek rhetorician living at in the time of Augustus (χαρακ- ῶν ι ῥητόρων, mentioned by Suidas uκίλιος). It will be observed that y form of the title 'Characters of n Orators', implies that it was p already recognised. This recog- was probably due to the critics of dria, who however paid far less on to the orators than to the poets. en are not definitely recognised in ant works of Dionysius who selects cial criticism Lysias, Isocrates and from the earlier, and Demosthenes. ides and Aeschines from the later tion (π. τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων 4). His e on the first three is extant, but the ponding work on the second three . To compensate however for this ve a longer work on Demosthenes ῆς λεκτικῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος). full bibliographical account of Dei- s. He does little more than men- ntiphon (de Isaeo 20), and the styles of Lycurgus and Hyperides and Aeschines (as well as Lysias, Isocrates and Demosthenes) are only very briefly characterized in one of his works that has reached us in the form of an abstract alone (τῶν ἀρχαίων κρίσις v §§ 1—6).

[2] xi 76 'sequitur oratorum ingens manus. ut cum *decem* simul Athenas aetas una tulerit'. Nevertheless, he gives us criticisms on the style of five alone, namely Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides, Lysias and Isocrates, and to these he adds Demetrius Phalereus. Elsewhere (xii 10 § 21) he merely mentions Antiphon, Andocides, Isaeus and Lycurgus, and also Coccus and Aristogiton, omitting Deinarchus.

[3] 47 'huic (Gorgias) Antiphontem Rhamnusium similia quaedam habuisse conscripta; quo neminem umquam melius ullam oravisse capitis causam cum se ipse defenderet, locuples auctor scripsit Thucydides' (viii 68). On Antiphon, see Blass i 79—195, and Jebb i 1—70.

[4] On Andocides, see Blass 268—331 and Jebb i 71—141.

[5] On Isaeus, see Blass ii 452—541 and Jebb ii 261—368.

LYSIAS.

Plato and Isocrates, whose nobility and grandeur of style
his appreciation of tragic poetry and his lofty patriotism a
in the single oration that has come down to our times; D
the disciple of Theophrastus, now represented by only thr
on the affair of Harpalus; Demades, the gifted though vul
who was famous for his extemporaneous wit, but left b
nothing worthy of his reputation: these three are merely m
HYPERIDES, as contemporaries of DEMOSTHENES (*Brut.* 36)
the two last, the only Attic Orators to whom he devotes m
passing reference are LYSIAS, ISOCRATES and AESCHINES.
five we therefore propose to confine our attention.

LYSIAS was the son of Cephalus, the genial host, at whom
the Peiraeus is laid the scene of Plato's *Republic*[1]. Ceph
wealthy Syracusan who had been induced by Pericles to t
abode at Athens and lived there for thirty years[2]. It was
that Lysias was born, it was there that he also died; and th
he was only a privileged alien (or ἰσοτελής) and not a citizen
cannot deprive him of his right to be recognised as a tr
orator[3]. At the age of 15 he was taken to Thurii in Mag
a colony founded by Athens in Ol. 84, 2, i.e. probably in the
B.C. 443[4]. Hence it has been concluded that the year o
was about 458[5], it being assumed that he went to Thurii i
of its foundation, though this is nowhere expressly stated.
Phaedrus[6] we are warranted in inferring that he was c

[1] Cf. ad Att. iv 16 § 3 'Cephalum, locupletem et festivum senem'.

[2] c. Eratosth. (xii) 4.

[3] Brut. 63 'est enim Atticus, quoniam certe Athenis est et natus et mortuus'.

[4] Dion. de Lysia 1.

[5] In the archonship of Philokles, Ol. 80, 2 (Pseudo-Plut. Lys.), 459—8. The same writer makes him 83, or 'as others say' 76 at his death. The date of his birth is fully discussed by Blass i 332—6, who provisionally places it about 440; and by Jebb i 143—5 to whom it seems probable that the year 459 is 'not far wrong'. This view is also maintained by Stallbaum, Rademacher, A. Schoene (approved by Kayser), and Pretsch (*de vitae Lysiae oratoris temporibus definiendis* 1881). Vater, followed by Westermann and Perrot, adopted 432—1 (thus making him 4 years younger than Isocrates). C. F. Hermann, assuming 430 for the dramatic date of the *Republic*, and 429 for the death of Cephalus, made Lysias leave for T
same year (τοῦ πατρὸς ἤδη τε
Pseudo-Plut.), thus getting
date of his birth. 435 has be
by R. Nicolai, and between
by Th. Gleiniger. The diffi
riving at any conclusive re
point may be gathered from
Rauchenstein, who in the
long life brought out seven ed
select speeches of Lysias, acc
the first and second (1848, 5
Vater in the third and fourth
C. F. Hermann in the fifth
lastly in the sixth and sevent
went back to his first opini
p. 5).

[6] Phaedr. 279 νέος ἔτι
προϊούσῃς τῆς ἡλικίας. Lys
other hand, is a λογογράφος o
repute, δεινότατος τῶν νῦν γρ
cf. 257 B C, 277 D.

Isocrates, who was born in 436; but we have hardly sufficient data for determining the exact year of the birth of Lysias. In his genuine works now extant, there is no trace of his being alive after 380. At Thurii he would readily meet with instruction in the rhetoric of the Sicilian school; and it was there, we are told, he became the pupil of Tisias[1]. At Thurii he remained, from the age of 15 till the failure of the Sicilian expedition, in consequence of which 300 of those who favoured the Athenian interest were expelled from that city; and Lysias, who was one of them, returned to Athens in 412[2]. He there lived in easy circumstances until in 404 he was despoiled of a large part of his property by the Thirty, who also put one of his brothers to death. Among the best of his speeches is the one delivered by himself in 403 against the murderer of his brother (xii, *κατ' Ἐρατοσθένους*), in the opening words of which he avails himself of the rhetorical plea of inexperience in public speaking by stating that he had never before gone to law either on his own or other people's behalf[3]. All his forensic speeches that are now extant fall in the years after the domination of the Thirty; and if he wrote speeches for others before that date, he probably did so not as a professional speech-writer, but as an amateur: though it is more probable that his earlier writings belonged to a different branch of rhetoric. Cicero tells us, on the authority of Aristotle, that he opened a rhetorical school; but, finding himself surpassed in technical skill by Theodorus, though superior to him in the practice of his art, he abandoned teaching and devoted himself to writing speeches for others[4]. No less than 425 speeches went under his name, of which about 230 were recognised as genuine by the followers of Dionysius and Caecilius[5]. But apart from three extensive fragments, only 31 speeches have come down to us, and of these only about 25 can be accepted as genuine.

Plato's only mention of Lysias is in the *Phaedrus*, which opens with the recitation and criticism of what purports to be a rhetorical exercise by Lysias[6]. Socrates there finds fault with it for its matter,

[1] Pseudo-Plutarch, Photius and Suidas.

[2] In the archonship of Kallias, at the age of 47 *ὡς ἄν τις εἰκάσειεν* (Dion. Hal. de Lys. 1).

[3] *κατ' Ἐρατοσθένους* § 2, *οὔτ' ἐμαυτοῦ πώποτε οὔτε ἀλλότρια πράγματα πράξας.* It has been acutely remarked by Wilkins (Introd. to *de Or.* i p. 31) that, as it is more probable that he is speaking here as a man of 40 than as a man of 55, this statement is in favour of the birth of Lysias being placed in 444—436 rather than in 459. It may be observed, however, that it is not necessarily inconsistent with his having *written speeches* for others before 403.

[4] Brut. 48.

[5] [Plut.] Lys. (230); Photius, cod. 262, (233); cf. de Or. ii 93 'multa Lysiae scripta sunt'.

[6] This work is, in my opinion, rightly regarded as a genuine work of Lysias not only by Hermeias, Dionysius Hal., and Diog. Laert., but also by modern critics, such as (not to mention others) Spengel, Westermann, Sauppe, Vater, Susemihl,

its idle repetitions (235 A) and its disorderly arrangement (26
praises it for its style, for its clearness and terseness, and its ni
finish[1]. Towards the close of the same dialogue, in a passage v
translated in the *Orator* (§ 41), and to which we shall shortly ret
performances as a recognised writer of forensic speeches are unfav
compared with the 'philosophic' promise of the youthful Is
In the *Rhetoric* Aristotle never mentions him by name; he
however, in ii 23 § 19 from the speech on the Constitution
§ 11), and the last words of the third book read like a reminisc
the closing sentence of the speech against Eratosthenes. Had A
paid more regard to that forensic branch of oratory which,
opinion, had been too exclusively studied by preceding writ
rhetoric, he would have recognised Lysias as the best example,
orators, of his precept that art must be disguised so as to
natural and not artificial; and he could hardly have failed to a
him the praise that in this connexion he ascribes to Euripide
composer who chose his words from the language of daily life[2].
totle's pupil, Theophrastus, appears to have paid more attent
Lysias; but even he was so far removed from an accurate discrimi
of his style as to criticise him severely for a speech which a late
in this respect, better informed writer, unhesitatingly pronounces
spurious[3]. Among the contemporaries of Theophrastus, the st
Lysias was to some extent imitated by the eclectic Deinarchus[4] an
by Charisius, who in his turn was afterwards very inadequately
by Hegesias of Magnesia[5]. At a later time when, in the days of C
a reaction set in against the prevailing predominance of the A
style, it was Lysias that was the favourite model of the stricte
herents of the Attic school[6]. Cicero himself, while protesting a
such an exclusive admiration of Lysias, to the unmerited negl
other types of genuine Attic oratory, calls him almost as perf
Demosthenes (§ 226)[7], and is fully conscious of many of his me
in particular, his beauty of style and his finish of expression (§ 2
unaffected grace (§ 78), his unadorned simplicity (§§ 29, 76, 110,
and even his occasional touches of humour (§ 90). A finer apprec
is however shortly afterwards shewn by Dionysius, who in his de

Thompson, (*Phaedrus* Appendix i), Blass (i 416—423), Egger and Jebb (i 305—310). On the other side, I find Stallbaum, C. F. Hermann, K. O. Müller, Perrot (p. 246), Jowett (*Plato*, intr. to *Phaedrus*) and Mahaffy (*Gk. Lit.* 141—2).

[1] 234 E σαφῆ καὶ στρογγύλα καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποτετόρνευται.

[2] iii 2 § 4 δεῖ λανθάνειν ποιοῦντας καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν λέγειν πεπλασμένως ἀλλὰ κότως...§ 5 κλέπτεται δ' εὖ, ἐάν τις εἰωθυίας διαλέκτου ἐκλέγων συντιθῇ.

[3] Dion. Hal. de Lysia 14.

[4] id. de Dinarcho 5.

[5] Brut. 286; see also Or. 226.

[6] See below, *Introd.* IV, and n
§ 29.

[7] Brut. 35 'prope...perfectum'.

criticism of the style of Lysias, praises it not only for its purity of diction, its moderation in metaphor, its perspicuity, its conciseness, its terseness, its vividness, its truth to character, its perfect appropriateness and its winning persuasiveness[1]; but also for a nameless and undefinable charm, which he compares to the bloom of a beautiful face, to the harmony of musical tones, or to perfect rhythm in the marking of time[2]. But neither of them has made any mention of his simple pathos, which is well exemplified in the prison scene of the speech against Agoratus (39—42), and in the excellent narrative of that against Diogeiton (esp. §§ 16, 18, cf. 22—23), a speech that owes its almost perfect preservation to its having won the admiration of Dionysius[3].

In Lysias the forensic style, which had been founded by Antiphon, attained its complete and final development. He was the first to shew by his example that one who writes speeches for others must be faithful to the character of those who are to deliver them. And on the endeavour to reach this perfect dramatic propriety he lavished the utmost resources of art, thus proving that, according to the proverbial saying, the highest triumph of art rests in concealing the means which it employs[4]. To the style of Lysias we may in fact apply the praise that the Roman poet bestows on the skill of the fabled sculptor, Pygmalion, who is famed in story for having spent all the powers of his art on the moulding of that form of beauty which was so true to nature that at last, by grace of Aphrodite, the very marble glowed with the breath of life. *Ars adeo latet arte sua*[5].

Isocrates was born in 436, not more than eight years before Plato, and an uncertain number of years (either four or twenty-two[6]) after Lysias. He was a boy of seven at the death of Pericles, and of nine

[1] See the summary in de Lysia, 12.

[2] ib. 11.

[3] ib. 20—27.

[4] Dion. Hal. vet. cens. v 1 τοῦ σκοποῦ λελῃθότως ἐπιτετυγχάνων, de Lys. 8. The proverb *artis est celare artem* is not to be found in Cicero or Quintilian, or (so far as I am aware) in any other Classical author. In the *Adagia* of Erasmus p. 234 ed. 1656 it occurs in the form *summi artificis artem* (*posse*) *dissimulare*. Cf. Quint. i 11 § 3 ne ars esse videatur and ii 5 § 8.

[5] Ovid, Met. x 252.

Fuller criticisms on Lysias may be found in Blass i 331 ff. and Jebb i 158—198. Besides the shorter accounts in the current histories of Greek literature (e.g. K. O. Müller c. xxxv and Mahaffy ii 138—153), may be mentioned the following dissertations: on his *life*, John Taylor, fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, in his ed. of Lysias 1739, p. xxix—lxxxviii; L. Hoelscher (Berlin) 1837; J. J. F. Rademacher (Berlin) 1865; B. Pretzsch (Halle) 1881; on his *style*, J. Girard, *l'Atticisme dans Lysias*, 1854, reprinted in 1874 (p. 1—83) and since, in *Études sur l'éloquence Attique*; G. Perrot, *l'éloquence politique et judiciaire à Athènes* 1873 i 215—285; C. M. Francken, *commentationes Lysiacae* (Utrecht) 1865 p. 1—25; F. Berbig, *über das* genus dicendi tenue *des Redners Lysias* (Cüstrin) 1871; G. Carel, *de Lys iudiciali sermone* (Halle) 1874.

[6] Dion. Hal. de Isocr. 1 δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτεσι νεώτερος Λυσίου.

on the occasion when Gorgias, as already mentioned, took Athens storm with his brilliant display of rhetoric. The careful educa afforded him by his father, made him, according to his own acco more conspicuous among his youthful contemporaries than he a wards continued to be among his fellow-citizens in his maturer yea He is described as a pupil of Prodicus, Gorgias and Tisias; and a according to some, of Theramenes who was put to death by the Th in 404[3]. Socrates, his senior by 33 years, is added by an anonym writer to the list of his preceptors, and near the close of the *Phaed* in a passage already referred to, he is described as having a m favourable opinion of Isocrates than of Lysias, in point of nat ability and moral temperament, and as auguring that, as time went he would outstrip all his rivals in the profession of writing speeches others, or (if not satisfied with this) would be carried onward b diviner impulse to a loftier ambition, 'for nature,' he adds, 'has planted in his intellect a certain sort of philosophy[3].' At the t when this prognostication is assumed to have been made, Isocra must have been more than 24, the dramatic date of the dialogue be after 412, the date of the return of Lysias from Thurii.

We have his own authority for the fact that he was precluded fr public affairs by his weakness of utterance and his timidity of position[4]; and we may well believe that, even if nature had endow him with a stronger voice and a more resolute self-assertion, the excess elaboration and prolixity of his style would in themselves have p vented his making his mark as a public speaker. In his younger da the wreck of his father's fortune in the Peloponnesian war compel him to endeavour to repair his losses by the teaching of rhetoric; a in his later years, in a work which is meant by its author to serve a mirror of his life and character[5], while reviewing his past career, dwells with a pardonable pride on the names of those of his pup whom Athens had adorned with her golden crown[6]. Foremost of public men who had thus enjoyed his tuition and his friendship, w the general Timotheus, the son of Conon[7], and he counted as his pup a larger number not only of persons of private station but also of orato

[1] Isocr. xv 161.

[2] Dion. Hal. *u. s.*

[3] See Spengel's *Isokr. u. Platon*, in Transactions of Munich Academy 1855, vii 3 p. 731—69, and especially Thompson's *Phaedrus* p. 147, 170—183 (on the philosophy of Isocr. and his relation to the Socratic schools). Cf. also Jebb ii 3 f, 36 f, 50—53, and Blass ii 27—38.

[4] v 81, 82, xii 9, 10; Ep. i 9, viii cf. Cic. de Rep. iii 42.

[5] π. ἀντιδόσεως (xv) 6, εἰκὼν τῆς δ[ι]ανοίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν βεβιωμένων.

[6] ib. 93—94.

[7] ib. 102, Ep. viii 8; cf. Cic. de Or. 139.

nts, and monarchs, than all the other teachers of the art[1]. In ...r times these pupils were the subject of a special treatise by the ...ripatetic, Hermippus. Among them were the future historians, the ...ick and impetuous Theopompus and the dull and lethargic Ephorus, the former of whom, according to the master's well-known saying, needed the bit, and the latter the spur[2]); and the future orators Isaeus, Lycurgus and Hyperides. The style of these last does not, indeed, bear the stamp of Isocrates: strong in their own individuality, they learnt what he had to teach them, and then went on their own way[3]. But names like these may well entitle their teacher to be called the 'father of eloquence'[4], and may warrant the description of his home as being, for all Greece, a manufactory of rhetoric, a school of eloquence[5], from which, as from the Trojan horse, sprang heroes only[6]. To Aristotle, however, according to later authorities, this popularity appeared undeserved, and his indignation at the rhetorician's undue regard for mere beauty of diction, to the neglect of what he himself considered the essentials of the art, led to his determining on setting up a rival school in which rhetoric should be studied in a more philosophical manner. This rivalry, traces of which have been detected, with more or less probability, in the writings of Isocrates[7], belongs to the time of Aristotle's earlier residence at Athens (367—347); but in his own writings, although in the *Rhetoric* there are several allusions to the rhetorical theory or practice of Isocrates[8], there is little, if any, indication of ill-feeling towards him. In this work, which was published after the death of Isocrates, he repeatedly resorts to the latter for illustrations

[1] Isocr. xv 30.

[2] de Or. ii 57, iii 36, Brut 204, ad Att. vi 1 § 12.

[3] Cf. Blass ii 52.

[4] de Or. ii 10.

[5] Brut. 32.

[6] de Or. ii 94; note on Or. 40 and on Isocr. Paneg. p. 161. Cf. Sanneg, *de Schola Isocratea* (Halle) 1867, Blass ii 48—59; and Jebb ii 13 and 42—49, where it is well observed that Isocr. is chiefly distinguished from contemporary teachers of political rhetoric in 'breadth of view; nobleness of moral tone; practical thoroughness of method; encouragement of solid work'.

[7] Antid. 258, *τῶν περὶ τὰς ἔριδας σπουδαζόντων ἐνιοί τινες βλασφημοῦσι περὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν κοινῶν καὶ χρησίμων ὥσπερ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κ.τ.λ.* Ep. v (to Aristotle's pupil Alexander) § 3 (Spengel, Trans. Bavar. Acad. Munich, 1851 p. 16 ff.). The attempt made in Teichmüller's *Literarische Fehden im vierten Jahrhundert v. Chr.* and elsewhere, to find a reference to Ar. and his school in Panath. § 18, *ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ συγκαθεζόμενοι τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες τῶν ἀγελαίων σοφιστῶν τῶν καὶ πάντα φασκόντων εἰδέναι καὶ ταχέως πανταχοῦ γιγνομένων, κ.τ.λ.*, is perhaps without sufficient reason regarded by Blass in Bursian-Müller's *Jahresbericht* xxx 235 as upset by the fact that the composition of that speech (342—340) falls in a time when Ar. was absent from Athens (347—335). It may surely have been directed against attacks made on Isocr. by some minor peripatetics who may have ignorantly assumed they were carrying out the wishes of their absent master by running down his former rival.

[8] e.g. *Rhet.* i 9 § 38, ii 23 § 12, iii 17 §§ 10, 11, 16 (direct references); ib. i 9 § 36, 2 § 7, iii 16 § 4 (indirect).—On Aristotle and Isocr. see also note on § 62.

of rhetorical style and, although his quotations are, in his usual man somewhat dryly and coldly introduced, there is no sign of any wan appreciation. It must have been at a much earlier time that the ph sopher, according to the current story, thought fit to sneer at bundles of the rhetorician's forensic speeches which were hawked ab by the booksellers[1]. The specimens of these orations which are s extant, and which may be assigned to the first portion of his rhetori career, are marked by ingenuity of invention and clearness of pression, and by a general air of moderation and good sense; but, after years, he affected to disdain, and would willingly have disclaim these earlier and less ambitious efforts[2]. Meanwhile, he had begun devote himself with an ever-increasing enthusiasm to dilating on qu tions of public policy in what may be described as political pamphl thrown into the imaginary form of hortatory harangues. His mast piece in this line is the *Panegyricus*, published 380 B.C., in which he ca upon the states of Greece to march against Persia under the unit command of Athens and Sparta. To this theme he repeatedly retur in later years, more particularly in the pamphlet which in the 90 year of his age, he addressed to Philip of Macedon. Similarly, t encomium on Athens which is an incidental, though important, topic the *Panegyricus* is the main subject of the Panathenaic discourse whi was published 40 years after, when he had reached the age of 97. the next year, 338, the disastrous result of the battle of Chaerone while it could not fail to awaken in the aged Isocrates regrets for tl defeat of his country and the death of many of his fellow-citizer opened out to him the prospect of seeing all Greece unite under Phil to march against Persia. In this spirit,—blind to the real character Philip and to the peril impending over the whole of Greece, ar grateful to his declining years for allowing him at last to look forwa with hope to the complete fulfilment of his earlier aspirations,—l actually wrote a kindly letter to the conqueror in that 'dishonest victor which, according to the legendary tradition, familiarised by Milton,

'Killed with report that old man eloquent'.

The letter which is still extant, was written when he was in the extrem weakness of old age, and he doubtless died shortly after[3]. Near h tomb, on a tablet representing his various instructors, Gorgias wa conspicuous, with his most celebrated pupil beside him, while, abov the tomb itself, there rose a lofty pillar surmounted by a Siren as a

[1] Dion. Hal. de Isocr. 18.

[2] Note on Paneg. 11.

[3] Cf. Blass ii 88—90, and Jebb ii 31 also p. xx of my selections from Isocr.

emblem of his style[1]. Besides other memorials, a bronze statue by Leochares had during his life-time been set up at Eleusis by the gratitude of his pupil Timotheus, and it is possibly to this statue that we may ultimately trace the bust from the Villa Albani with those fine and delicate features that are so suggestive of the shy and retiring disposition and the pure and refined taste that we associate with his name[2].

The authority of Aristotle is quoted by Quintilian for definitely accepting Gorgias as the rhetorical preceptor of Isocrates[3]. Cicero, possibly on the same authority, mentions Gorgias alone as his teacher[4], laying the scene of his teaching in Thessaly[5] where the Sicilian rhetorician probably spent the greater part of his declining years[6]. While dwelling on his contributions towards the development of the style of prose, Cicero claims for Isocrates as compared with his predecessors three special points of distinction: (1) in the choice of words, an abatement of the exaggerated pomp of Gorgias[7], (2) in the composition, a fuller expansion of the rhythmical period[8], and (3) in the figures of expression, an improvement on the excessive use to which their inventor had applied them[9]. In these points he may possibly be following the authority of Theophrastus; but he is apparently writing from his own observation when he observes that Isocrates in his later years released himself in a large measure from the bondage of rhythm, appealing in proof of this to the rhetorician's own statement in one of his later works, the *Philippus* (Or. 176). Similarly, in the Panathenaic speech, published, as we have seen, in the year before his death, he tells us in the exordium, to which Cicero refers elsewhere (38), that in the days of his youth he had made it his aim to write orations on themes of public interest to Athens and to Greece, orations 'teeming with many a parallelism of sense and structure and with the other figures which light up rhetorical

[1] Pseudo-Plutarch 838 B.

[2] Visconti *Iconographie Grecque* p. 346 quoted by Blass ii 91.

[3] iii 1 § 13 'clarissimus Gorgiae auditorum Isocrates; quanquam de praeceptore eius inter auctores non convenit; nos autem Aristoteli credimus'.

[4] de Sen. 13.

[5] Or. 176. The date is in my opinion placed with sufficient exactness by Pfund (*de Isocr. vita et scriptis* 14) about Ol. 97 (= B.C. 392—89), when Isocr. had given up writing forensic speeches and when he had not yet begun the Panegyric, which was on his hands from 390—380. This is virtually accepted by Jebb who thinks it was 'probably not till about 390' that Isocr. 'came into personal contact with Gorgias' (ii 5 where the slight slip in the date mentioned in the note can easily be corrected). Sauppe puts it as early as Ol. 92 (412—409), Weissenborn in 395 at the latest (Blass ii 14 note). Blass himself puts it apparently between the end of the Peloponnesian war and 400, but he is possibly led to do so by a misunderstanding of Isocr. Antid. 161 *ἡρχόμην πλησιάζειν τισίν* which as he himself observes (iii B 341) refers to earlier pupils of Isocr. and not to his preceptors.

[6] Isocr. Antid. 155 *διατρίψας μὲν περὶ Θετταλίαν, ὅτ' εὐδαιμονέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦσαν, πλεῖστον δὲ χρόνον βιοὺς...πόλιν δ' οὐδεμίαν καταπαγίως οἰκήσας.*

[7] Or. 176.

[8] ib. 40.

[9] ib. 175—6.

compositions and extort applause from the audience,' but that such style of speaking was ill suited to his grey hairs. It may, however, doubted whether his comparatively sparing use, in old age, of t embellishments of expression that marked his earlier efforts, is due tc real change of taste and is a deliberate act of self-denial. The d ference, in this respect, between (for example) the *Panegyricus* and t *Panathenaicus* is not so great as we are led to expect by the write professions; and, had he been able to spend as much time on t elaboration of his later works as he actually bestowed on his earli masterpiece, the difference would probably have been smaller still[1].

The most complete of the ancient criticisms on his style is that Dionysius[2]. In diction, as regards expression, that excellent cri considers him as, next to Lysias, the representative of the purest Att prose, unalloyed by the admixture of archaic and foreign elements[3], ar as having, like him, a marvellous power in the appropriate use ordinary language[4]. He attempts to attain by the aid of art that grac fulness which in Lysias appears to be the gift of nature[5]. His style, compared with that of Lysias is, however, less terse and compact, mo limp and languid, and is marked by a certain opulent diffuseness[6], ar a more liberal use of metaphor and other tropes[7], while, as compar with Demosthenes, he is, in this last respect, wanting in boldness ar energy[8]. In composition, he is specially studious of harmony of soun He avoids *hiatus*[9], and indeed is the first Greek writer who deliberatel resolutely, and on the whole consistently, applies to prose this la of artistic composition[10]. He also pays an extraordinary attentic to beauty of rhythm[11] which he himself repeatedly mentions, in cor bination with musical harmony, as peculiarly suited to speeches who aim is display[12]. Such rhythms, however, according to his own precep

[1] Spengel, *Art. Scr.* 150—2, quoted by Blass ii 162—3.

[2] Besides his special treatise on Isocr. in the *περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων ὑπομνηματισμοί*, see de Dem. (*περὶ τῆς λεκτικῆς Δημ. δεινότητος*) 4, 17—21, 40, and *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων* 23, *τῶν ἀρχαίων κρίσις* v 2; also de Isaeo 19 *τὴν μὲν ποιητικὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ τὸ μετέωρον δὴ τοῦτο καὶ πομπικὸν εἰρημένον, οὐδεὶς Ἰσοκράτους ἀμείνων ἐγένετο.*

[3] de Lys. 2, de Isocr. 2.

[4] de Isocr. 3 *ἐκλέγει μὲν εὖ πάνυ καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ὀνόματα τίθησιν.*

[5] ib. *πέφυκε γὰρ ἡ Λυσίου λέξις ἔχειν τὸ χάριεν, ἡ δ' Ἰσοκράτους βούλεται.*

[6] ib. 2 *στρογγύλη δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὥσπερ ἐκείνη καὶ συγκεκροτημένη...ὑπτία δέ ἐστι μᾶλλον καὶ κεχυμένη πλουσίως.*

[7] ib. 11 *προσλαβοῦσα τι τῆς τροπικ κατασκευῆς.*

[8] de Dem. 18 (Isocr.) *ἄτολμός ἐστι πε τὰς τροπικὰς κατασκευὰς καὶ ψοφοδεὴς κ οὐκ εἰσφέρεται τόνους κραταιούς.*

[9] Most of the ancient authorities c this point are collected in the note c § 151.

[10] Cf. Blass ii 131.

[11] de Isocr. 2 *τὴν εὐέπειαν ἐκ παντὸς δι κει καὶ τοῦ γλαφυρῶς λέγειν στοχάζετ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἀφελῶς*, ib. 12 *δο λεύει ἡ διάνοια πολλάκις τῷ ῥυθμῷ τ λέξεως καὶ τοῦ κομψοῦ λείπεται τὸ ἀληθιν*

[12] Soph. 16 *ὅλον τὸν λόγον καταποικίλ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εὐρύθμως καὶ μουσικῶς ε πεῖν.* Antid. 46 f. (*λόγοις*) *τοῖς μετὰ μο σικῆς καὶ ῥυθμῶν πεποιημένοις.*

must not be too suggestive of verse[1]. And this beauty of style shews itself not only in the shorter clauses of his sentences, but also in a more marked degree in the singular harmony of his periods[2]. As a single instance of this, we may quote a sentence near the close of the Panegyric (186): φήμην δὲ καὶ μνήμην καὶ δόξαν | πόσην τινὰ χρὴ νομίζειν | ἢ ζῶντας ἕξειν | ἢ τελευτήσαντας καταλείψειν | τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἀριστεύσαντας; || Further, while he is strong in the rhetorical figures of diction[3], he is weak in those of thought[4], which abound in orators like Demosthenes[5].

Cicero himself, while constantly acknowledging Demosthenes as the most perfect model of eloquence, is in the formation of his own oratorical style much more indebted to Isocrates, to whose points of excellence he has, as a stylist, though not as an orator or as a politician, a far closer affinity[6]. When he had clothed in a Greek dress the story of his own consulship, he wrote to his friend confessing that he had 'lavished on its toilet the whole of the fragrant casket of Isocrates and all the little perfume-boxes of his pupils, besides giving it a touch of the rhetorical rouge of Aristotle'[7]. And the same self-criticism may be applied, with almost equal justice, to his own oratorical prose. We may readily recognise in the *Orator* the importance which he justly attaches to his constant endeavour to mould the Latin language into a more effective instrument for Roman oratory. In that endeavour, there were two points on which he set special store, the proper application of oratorical rhythm, and the due development of the oratorical period. In both of these points, his true prototype in Greek literature is undoubtedly Isocrates; and this is the reason why he dwells with such emphasis on the services of his Greek precursor towards the perfecting of these two important elements of artistic prose. It was by elaborating the rhythm of prose and the structure of the period, that Isocrates, following in the footsteps of Thrasymachus, succeeded in forming a normal style which was admirably adapted for some of the higher kinds of prose composition,—a style which, in the oratory of display and in history of the rhetorical type, left no room for any further development[8].

If any one cares to see something of the degree of perfection, of

[1] See notes on §§ 187, 190.

[2] de Isocr. 2 περιόδῳ τε καὶ κύκλῳ περιλαμβάνειν τὰ νοήματα πειρᾶται ῥυθμοειδεῖ πάνυ. de Dem. 18 ad fin. τὸ...πάντα ἐξαιεῖν εἰς εὐρύθμους κατακλείειν περιόδων ἁρμονίας. For exx. see Blass ii 142—154.

[3] de Isocr. 2 ad fin. (of παρομοιώσεις, παρισώσεις and ἀντιθέσεις) πᾶς ὁ τῶν τοιούτων σχημάτων κόσμος πολύς ἐστι παρ' αὐτῷ.

[4] On the σχήματα λέξεως καὶ διανοίας, see note on § 135.

[5] Note on § 136.

[6] Cf. Jebb ii 34 (*Character of Isocr.*) and 73.

[7] ad Att. ii 1 § 1 'meus autem liber totum Isocrati μυροθήκιον atque omnes eius discipulorum arculas ac nonnihil etiam Aristotelia pigmenta consumpsit'.

[8] Blass iii B 322.

which Greek prose is capable, as an instrument of polished expressi
he can hardly do better than open the Panegyric, and find the famo
passage describing the signal blessings which, in the arts of peace, we
bestowed by Athens on the Hellenic world[1]. Let him read the wh
of it aloud slowly, or learn any large portion of it by heart and repeat
in a subdued voice, minding the pauses and attending to the sense,
Isocrates himself would have him do[2], without attempting, like one
his ancient critics[3], to put it to the unfair test of declaiming it,
accompanying it with any such action as would be out of place
Isocrates. Let him do this, and he will find the sentences luxuriant
long, but nevertheless transparently clear; he will note the singul
variety of the subordinate clauses interwoven into the expanding fabri
the complex contrasts between particle and counter-particle, and t
protracted suspense in which his attention is held in each ascendi
period; and he will learn perhaps, that not verse alone, but even pros
has its curious felicities of expression, its meandering melodies of rhyth
and its subtle harmonies of cadence. When from such a passa
of Isocrates he turns to similar masterpieces of style in Cicero, a
then to the more artistic models of prose among modern nation
he will recognise to how large an extent the most finished forms
prose in the present time are founded, whether consciously or not, o
that of Cicero, while the oratorical prose of Cicero is founded mainly o
that of Isocrates[4].

In the passage of the *de Oratore* where Cicero concentrates int
a single word the distinguishing merit of those of the Attic orators wh
are now engaging our attention, and each of whom he regards a

[1] Paneg. §§ 28—50.

[2] See his complaint in Panath. § 17 of the rivals who murdered his compositions in delivering them *διαιροῦντες οὐκ ὀρθῶς καὶ κατακνίζοντες καὶ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείροντες*, and cf. Phil. §§ 26, 27.

[3] Dion. Hal. de Isocr. 13 *Ἱερώνυμος δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφός φησιν, ἀναγνῶναι μὲν ἄν τινα δυνηθῆναι τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καλῶς, δημηγορῆσαι δὲ τήν τε φωνὴν καὶ τὸν τόνον ἐπάραντα καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ κατασκευῇ μετὰ τῆς ἁρμοττούσης ὑποκρίσεως εἰπεῖν, οὐ παντελῶς.*

[4] This is admirably put by E. Havet in his *Introduction* to Cartelier's posthumous translation of the *Antidosis* of Isocrates, *le Discours d'Isocrate sur lui-même*, 1862, p. xxii (referred to and partly quoted by Blass ii 194): 'Comme maître en discours, Isocrate paraît suivi des grands orateurs de l'époque macédonienne qu'il a tous formés, et, à deux siècles et demi au delà de cette date, son école a poussé comme un *rejeton magnifique* dans l'éloquence de Cicéron; la gloi de Cicéron et de tout ce qu'il y a jamai eu de Cicéroniens fait en quelque sort partie de la sienne'; ib. lxxix—lxxx and lxxxv ad fin.: 'Isocrate, en forman celle (la prose) des Athéniens à l'élocutio oratoire, formait du même coup celle d tous les peuples, et, dans toutes les litté ratures, c'est de lui que relève l'art d discours'.

Among the recent writings on th style of Isocr., besides the elaborate an exhaustive examination of the subject b Blass ii 119—195 and the tasteful out line independently drawn by Jebb, i 54—79, may be mentioned G. Perrot, *le précurseurs de Démosthène*, esp. p. 350 f. (Paris), 1873, and C. Schwabe (Halle) 1883. Some of the earlier dissertation are named on p. xxx of my ed. of Isocr. *ad Dem. et Paneg.* 1868, where there is a slight sketch of his style (xi—xx).

excellent in his kind,—while he selects *suavitas*, or smoothness, as the characteristic of Isocrates, and *subtilitas*, or plainness, as that of Lysias, he specially ascribes *acumen* to Hyperides, *sonitus* to Aeschines and *vis* to Demosthenes. Lysias and Isocrates, together with Isaeus, are in the estimation of Dionysius the leading representatives of Attic oratory in its earlier development; each of these is in a certain sense an 'inventor[1],' while as the foremost of their successors, as 'perfecters' of what had already been invented by others, as masters of practical oratory in its most consummate form[2], he selects Demosthenes, Aeschines and Hyperides.

DEMOSTHENES was born in or about the year 384[3]. Losing his father at the age of seven, he fell under the care of guardians whose maladministration of his estate drove him to seek redress at the earliest opportunity after his coming of age. In preparing for that struggle h[e] sought the aid of Isaeus, the strongest man of his time as a profession[al] writer of speeches in cases involving the law of property; and t[he] influence of that expert may be readily traced in the speeches deliver[ed] by Demosthenes in suing his guardians in B.C. 363—2[4]. He was r[not,] in any direct sense, a pupil of Isocrates[5]; for, if so, he would have b[een] definitely claimed as such by Hermippus, the writer of a lost w[ork] on those pupils, who contents himself with quoting an incredible s[tory] as to the orator having, in an underhand way, obtained access to s[ome] of the rhetorician's manuals[6]. But with his published masterpiec[es he] was undoubtedly familiar, and their influence may be traced in so[me of] the smoother and more flowing portions of the Philippics[7]. C[onsidering his] indebtedness to Plato, there is no trace in those of his works that [are in]disputably genuine[8]. But he owed much to the historical assoc[iations] by which he was surrounded. To the future statesman, the mon[uments] of art that crowned the Acropolis were eloquent memorials of th[e great]ness of Athens in the age of Pericles. He was also much ind[ebted to] the literature of his country, and especially to his study of Thu[cydides,] This may be seen not only in the matter of his speeches[9], bu[t also in] their style[10]. He resembles Thucydides in his brevity, concis[eness...]

[1] de Dein. init. εὑρέτην ἰδίου χαρακτῆρος.

[2] ib. τῶν εὑρημένων ἑτέροις τελειωτήν, de Isaeo ad fin. ἡ τελειοτάτη ῥητορικὴ καὶ τὸ κράτος τῶν ἐναγωνίων λόγων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔοικεν εἶναι.

[3] The date is fully discussed by Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*; A. Schaefer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit* iii B Appendix ii; and Blass iii 7—10.

[4] Blass iii 14, 202, Jebb ii 267—9, 300; cf. W. Herforth's dissertatio[n] 1880.

[5] [Plut.] 837 D.

[6] Hermippus in Plut. De[m.]

[7] Blass iii 85.

[8] Note on § 15.

[9] Phil. iii 47—51, Ol. ii[i ...]

[10] Dion. Thuc. 53, 54 (...) and ad Cn. Pomp. p. 7[...] (Blass iii 19, 84—5).

energy, in his occasional harshness and roughness, and his power
arousing the emotions, though he is certainly no slavish follower of t
historian's manner, nor does he emulate his archaic and unfamil
diction, or his anacoluthic constructions, or his far too frequent obscurit
It was not until the year 355 that he wrote, in the speech agai
Androtion, his first public oration. This, however, was for deliv
by another; and the earliest public speeches in which he appear
in person, that on the Symmories, and that directed against the law
Leptines, belong to the next year. The years that had elapsed sin
his lawsuits with his guardians, had been devoted to the most pai
taking preparation for his future career. Afterwards, in his old age,
told a younger orator, Demetrius of Phaleron, the story which Cice
and Plutarch have made familiar, how he had mastered the defects
an indistinct and lisping pronunciation by reciting long passages wi
pebbles in his mouth, and how he had disciplined his voice by declai
ing while he was out of breath, either with running, or with walking up
steep ascent[2]. It was thus, we are told, that he acquired such comma
over his voice as to be capable of twice raising and twice lowering
within the compass of a single period[3]. In Cicero's time, the travell
from Rome might go down to the beach of the long-deserted harbour
Phaleron and view the spot, where, as the story ran, the orator was wo
to declaim to the roar of the waves, so as to win the power of drownin
with his voice the uproar of the people[4]. To one of the best actors
the day he was indebted for the encouragement and advice which le
him to recognize the supreme importance of delivery, and to assign
it, according to the oft-repeated saying, not the first place only
oratory, but the second also, and not the second alone, but even th
third besides[5]. In those years of preparation, his natural defects we
thus slowly overcome, and his marvellous powers gradually brought t
their final perfection. Great as his gifts as an orator undoubtedly wer
they were studiously improved by an indomitable industry,—by th
burning of that midnight oil which, as remarked by one of his co
temporaries, made his speeches 'smell of the lamp'[6]; by that work befor
day-break, of which we are told, that he was annoyed if ever he foun
himself idle, when the workmen were already astir in the morning[7]; an

[1] Dion. Thuc. 53 προσέθηκε ... παρ ἐκείνου λαβὼν...τὰ τάχη καὶ τὰς συστροφὰς καὶ τοὺς τόνους καὶ τὸ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ στρυφνὸν καὶ τὴν ἐξαγείρουσαν τὰ πάθη δεινότητα. τὸ δὲ κατάγλωσσον τῆς λέξεως καὶ ξένον καὶ ποιητικὸν παρέλιπε, κ.τ.λ. 55 τὰς αἰνιγματώδεις καὶ δυσκαταμαθήτους καὶ γραμματικῶν ἐξηγήσεων δεομένας (κατασκευάς).

[2] Cic. de Divin. ii 96: Plut. Dem. 11

[3] de Or. i 260—1 (with Wilkins' notes)

[4] de Fin. v 5.

[5] Note on § 56.

[6] (Pytheas) Plut. Dem. 8.

[7] Tusc. Disp. iv 44.

by that careful premeditation, without which he seldom, if ever, spoke in public, holding that in so doing he was more true to the constitution of Athens, 'such care being a kind of respect to the people[1].' We are not here concerned with the investigation of the charges that have been brought against his character, the imputation of personal cowardice, of political inconstancy, and of pecuniary corruptibility. In the affair of Harpalus, his guilt is still a matter of much dispute; in his career as a statesman, his one aim was, above all things, the interest and honour of his country; and, as a public man, he was endowed with moral courage in the highest degree. He cared not, like Aeschines, to aspire to the friendship of monarchs of Macedonia, who were the enemies of his country[2]; in his homelier and truer patriotism, he could afford to confess the proud pleasure that he felt, when, on a day when he was passing by, he heard a poor woman of Athens, as she bore a pitcher of water from a fountain, whispering to another: *That* is *Demosthenes*[3].

In his choice of words, he is less scrupulously nice than either Lysias or Isocrates, to whom Dionysius awards the palm for perfect purity of expression[4]. His vocabulary is richer and more diversified than theirs, while it also varies considerably with the different classes of his speeches, and the different times of his life[5]. The exigences of his vehement public harangues involve the use of impassioned forms of adjuration from which the sensitive Isocrates, and even Lysias and most of the earlier orators, studiously refrain[6]. The orations against Philip are characterised by a rich variety of metaphors, though their application is always under the control of judgment and good taste[7]; but the remarkable range of his vocabulary is nowhere more striking than in the oration on the Crown. Words in every-day use and even comic phrases coined by himself[8], are there intermingled with language loftier than that of ordinary prose, with innumerable metaphors and brief and vivid similes[9], and with graphic description, such as that of the alarm at Athens on the occupation of Elatea[10]. But all his word-painting depends on the simplest touches, and is kept within proper bounds by the same masterly self-control which elsewhere,—in the solemn adjuration 'by those who bore the brunt of peril at Marathon, by those who took the field at Plataea, by those who fought at sea in the battles of Salamis and Artemisium[11],'—not merely prevents him from marring the logical sense of the whole context by calling any of these engagements victories, as he

[1] Plut. *l. c.*
[2] Aesch. iii 66, Dem. xviii 51 (Blass ii 45 and B 141).
[3] Tusc. Disp. v 103; Plin. Ep. ix 13.
[4] For details, see Blass iii 79—82.
[5] ib. 82—84.
[6] ib. 79.
[7] ib. 86—7.
[8] ib. 89.
[9] ib. 90—91.
[10] § 169—179.
[11] § 208.

had a perfect right to do[1], but also debars him from applying to tho who had fallen in their country's cause any grander phrase than τι ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας[2]. His brevity a conciseness, as we have already seen, may be attributed to the influen of Thucydides; but, when occasion serves, he also resorts to th special form of expansion which consists in the juxtaposition of synon mous terms,—a point in which his style, though far more varied in i flexibility, coincides with that of more uniform writers like Isocrate In practical oratory, the effect of such a combination is often to gi time for the thought to present itself clearly to the audience; and if tl two words or phrases, though apparently identical, are really to son small extent different in meaning, the effect on the mind resembl that of the two separate and slightly different designs on a flat surfa which, when seen though the lenses of the stereoscope, combine into completed and apparently solid whole.

In *composition*, as has been justly observed by Dionysius[4], whi Demosthenes has more sense of euphony than Thucydides, he has m the uniform smoothness of Isocrates; but on rhythm he neverthele bestows the utmost pains. The examples given by Dionysius are, how ever, somewhat inadequate; and it has been reserved for modern tim to investigate, not without some success, the laws that regulate the orator composition. Thus the differences between Isocrates and Demosthen in their various degrees of avoidance of *hiatus* have been carefull discriminated. A somewhat stricter rule, resembling that of Isocrate is observed in the productions of the earlier time (363—359) down t the speech on the Trierarchic Crown inclusive; although the privat orations of this date, and especially the first speech against Aphobu abound in examples of *hiatus*, which are partly due to their bein revised with less care than his public orations. Afterwards, the rule i less rigidly adhered to, and *hiatus* is repeatedly allowed in the pause of the sentences, just as in tragic and comic verse at the ends of th lines of the dialogue. But neither all the speeches of this second period nor all the parts of every speech are in this respect revised with uniform attention[5]. Cicero, with perhaps less discrimination of detail thai would satisfy a minute investigator in the present day, but neverthele

[1] Cf. περὶ ὕψους 16 § 4.

[2] Brougham's *Rhetorical Dissertations*, vii 130, one of his many admirable pieces of oratorical criticism. On the same page, however, in applying to Dem. Milton's description of Isocr. as 'the old man eloquent', he oddly says it was originally used of Plato.

[3] Blass, iii 93; cf. note on Paneg. 111.

[4] de Dem. 43—52 (Blass iii 96—7).

[5] In 49 sections of the Timocr. (§§ 110—159, as observed by Benseler, we have ten times as many instances of *hiatus*, as in the 140 sections, 1—109 and 187—218 (cf. Wayte's *Androt. and Timocr.* p. xliv). See A. Schaefer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit*, iii B 63 and Blass iii 99, 248.

a substantial accuracy, contents himself on this point with saying it (in comparison with Isocrates and his stricter rule) 'Demosthenes to a great extent regards the concourse of vowels as a fault, and avoids it accordingly'[1]. Again, it is only very recently that attention has for the first time been drawn[2] to a subtle law of rhythm, whereby Demosthenes, as far as possible, avoids the consecutive use of three or more short syllables, except where the three syllables are included in the same word or in combinations virtually equivalent to a single word,—for example, a noun preceded by an article or preposition. Without attempting to enter on the many minute points that have been fully discussed by the discoverer of this remarkable rule, it is enough, for our present purpose, to observe that it is to this rule, the general result of which is to give a preponderance to long syllables in consecutive words, that we may ascribe the steady and stately march that characterises the prose of Demosthenes, as compared, for instance, with that of Plato. Lastly, an endeavour has been made to investigate the symmetrical structure of his speeches, and with this object to determine the nature and the limits of that subdivision of the sentence that is called a κῶλον[3]. The rhythm of his sentences and the relation of that rhythm to the regular metres of verse is touched upon slightly, though with fair accuracy, in a passage of Dionysius, where, after a careful examination of the rhythm of the opening sentences of the speech against Aristocrates, he breaks out into a long and eloquent protest against the view that such *minutiae* of rhythm were unworthy the attention of Demosthenes[4].

Cicero, who has much to say on oratorical rhythm, is disappointingly brief on that of Demosthenes. He simply remarks that 'the thunderbolts of Demosthenes could not have been hurled with such force, had it not been for the rhythm with which they were launched' (§ 234); and, so far from any careful observation of his rhythm being made by the Romans, it was actually supposed by Quintilian that Cicero gave more attention to rhythm than Demosthenes. Unconscious of the rhythmical character of his periods as a whole, they confined their attention in their own composition to the closing syllables only[5]. In the construction of his periods, Demosthenes, like Isocrates, gives no countenance to the theories of later times by which the period was made to consist of four κῶλα at the most[6]. In the parallelisms of

[1] § 151.
[2] By Blass iii 99—104.
[3] Blass iii 105—113. Those who cannot refer to the original, may find some account of this investigation in Mahaffy's *Gk. Lit.* ii 343—4.
[4] de Comp. 25 and (more briefly) de Dem. 51. The first of these passages is admirably rendered in Jebb's *Attic Orators*, i p. lxxvi.
[5] Blass iii 117.
[6] Blass iii 124.

expression introduced by the Sicilian school, he is richer and mo
varied than Isocrates, being specially effective in antithesis as well as
the more distinctively oratorical 'figures of diction.' In the 'figures
thought', his preeminence is indisputable, and the frequency with whi
he resorts to them is justly emphasised by Cicero (§ 136). He a
notices that he is stronger in humour than in wit (§ 90). In his mo
general criticisms, he recognises him as by far the foremost of all t
Greek orators (§ 6), and as the only one who (especially in his mast
piece, the speech on the Crown) corresponds to Cicero's own ideal
perfect eloquence, uniting as he does in his own person all the thr
kinds of style, the plain, the grand, and the intermediate, and resorti
to each in turn as suits his purpose (§§ 23, 110 ff, 133). Neverthele
as Cicero is not a pure Atticist, but an eclectic, he confesses that ev
Demosthenes does not completely satisfy him; his ears crave for som
thing more full and more sonorous (§ 104). The younger generation
more pronounced Atticists among the Roman orators, so far as
can judge from somewhat scanty evidence, appears to have thoug
otherwise. Although some of them selected other standards of exceller
among the Attic orators, Brutus, as we shall see, is credited with bei
an enthusiastic admirer of Demosthenes[1].

AESCHINES, who, as a leading orator of the Macedonian party, stan
in strong contrast to his great opponent Demosthenes, was born seve
years before him in B.C. 389, was of humbler birth than his rival, a
received a less liberal education. His experience as a secretary
various officers of state, not to mention his brief career as an act
was not without value to the future orator. In 346 he was sent w
Demosthenes as one of the ten envoys appointed to negociate a pea
with Philip, and he was also a member of the second embassy sent
receive the Macedonian monarch's ratification of the treaty. It was l
conduct on this second occasion that was attacked by Demosther
in the *de falsa legatione* (§ 111). Again, shortly after the battle
Chaeronea in 338, when it was proposed by Ctesiphon that the pub
services of Demosthenes should be rewarded by his being present
with a golden crown on the occasion of the great Dionysia, this p
posal was attacked by Aeschines, partly on technical grounds. Eig
years, however, elapsed before the prosecution came on. The spee
which he then delivered, formally in prosecution of Ctesiphon, b
really as an undisguised attack on Demosthenes himself, was triu

[1] Cf. Or. § 105 'hunc tu oratorem... totum diligentissime cognovisti'; 110 'cuius nuper inter imagines tuas ac tuorum,—quod eum credo amares—cum ad te in Tusculanum venissem, imagin ex aere vidi'. On the Vatican statue Demosthenes here reproduced, see n on the passage last quoted.

phantly answered by the famous oration on the Crown. Aeschines withdrew from Athens, and fled in the first place to Ephesus to await Alexander's return from his conquests in the east, in the hope of being restored by him to his native country; but, on hearing of his death, he retired to Rhodes and there set up a school, which is sometimes described as a school of rhetoric[1]. To this time of his life belongs the oft-repeated story which, in illustration of the importance of delivery, is told as follows in the *de Oratore* (iii 213): 'cum propter ignominiam iudici cessisset Athenis et se Rhodum contulisset, rogatus a Rhodiis legisse fertur orationem illam egregiam, quam in Ctesiphontem contra Demosthenem dixerat; qua perlecta petitum ab eo est postridie, ut legeret illam etiam, quae erat contra ab Demosthene pro Ctesiphonte edita: quam cum suavissima et maxima voce legisset, admirantibus omnibus: Quanto, inquit, magis miraremini, si audissetis ipsum[2]!' He subsequently removed to Samos, and died soon after, in 314.

As regards his style it is worthy of note, that while Aeschines repeatedly refers to the artificial diction, the studied antitheses, and, above all, the rhetorical skill of Demosthenes[3], the latter constantly ascribes the oratorical success of his opponent to his great natural powers, and to his strong and clear and carefully cultivated voice[4]. In contrast to the passionate gesticulations which Aeschines criticises in his rival, his own delivery appears to have been more solemn and stately[5]. A well-known statue, found in the theatre of Herculaneum, represents him in a dignified attitude, not without a certain robustness of physique, as compared with the attenuated frame of Demosthenes, and with an air of self-satisfaction in his countenance, his left arm thrown behind his back where it is completely enveloped in the folds of his ample robe, and his right arm similarly enfolded on his chest with the hand alone visible[6].

In the absolutely indispensable qualities of correctness, clearness, and terseness of expression, he is distinctly inferior to Demosthenes; but, as a set-off to these defects, he has many merits of a less essential order: a certain pomp and splendour of vocabulary (§ 110), sometimes even a poetic beauty of diction, and a command of strong and emphatic

[1] Blass iii B 138—9.

[2] Cf. Plin. Ep. ii 3 § 10, τί δὲ εἰ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θηρίου ἠκούσατε;

[3] Aesch. iii 229 ἐξ ὀνομάτων συγκείμενος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τούτων πικρῶν καὶ περιέργων, 142, 153, and 166 (quoted in note on § 261), ii 4 τοῖς ἐπιβεβουλευμένοις καὶ κακοήθεσι τούτοις ἀντιθέτοις. iii 215 [illegible] δημιουργὸν λόγων (for further references see Blass iii 64—66).

[4] See note on § 57 ad fin.

[5] Dem. xviii 252 σεμνολογεῖ, xix 23 κατέβη μάλα σεμνῶς (see further in Blass iii B 223—4).

[6] An excellent cast of this may be seen in the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology and in the Gallery of Antique Casts in the South Kensington Museum.

language. His sentences, though generally free and flowing, are often overcharged and redundant; having neither the compact force of Demosthenes, nor the elaborate clearness of Isocrates, nor the graceful simplicity of Lysias. Strong in the rhetorical figures of diction and of thought, it is nevertheless in the latter alone that he is to any degree a worthy rival of Demosthenes[1]. His great speech against Ctesiphon, and the still greater speech delivered by Demosthenes in reply, were translated by Cicero into Latin, with the purpose of setting before the narrower Atticists of his own time, two signal examples of the broader characteristics of genuine Attic eloquence. The translation itself is lost, but in the preface which is still extant, under the title *de optimo genere oratorum*, both of the orators are alike described as 'most eloquent' (14), and are compared to a 'most noble pair of gladiators.' His own opinion of their relative merits is, however, indicated by the fact that, while he calls Aeschines 'keen and accomplished', he holds that 'nothing can be conceived more divine than Demosthenes' (ib. 17). The latter, he remarks elsewhere, does not yield to his rival even in his characteristic 'smoothness and splendour of diction' (Or. 110).

Hyperides, one of the leading orators of the patriotic party was, as we have already seen, a pupil of Isocrates, without however bearing, in any remarkable degree, the impress of his master's manner. Though, in general, he co-operated with Demosthenes, in the latter part of their lives differences arose between them; and, when Demosthenes was put on his trial on the charge of appropriating part of the treasure of Harpalus (B.C. 324), he was one of the ten appointed to carry out the prosecution. Demosthenes was fined and imprisoned, but was allowed to escape to Aegina. In the next year Alexander died, and Hyperides organized a confederacy of the Greeks against Alexander's former vicegerent Antipater, who, after having been besieged in Lamia by the Athenian general Leosthenes, defeated the latter at Crannon, and thus put an end to the 'Lamian war'. The funeral oration over those who fell in this war was pronounced by Hyperides (B.C. 322).

In the judgment of Dionysius, so far as it can be gathered from scattered passages, in the absence of his special treatise on the subject, Hyperides is inferior to Lysias in the choice of words; he praises his power of expression, and, in its artistic elaboration, sets him above Lysias[2]. He also observes that his imitators, by failing to reproduce his well-known gracefulness, as well as his force, became dry and rough in style, as had been the case with the orators of Rhodes, such as

[1] For details see Blass iii B 197—218.

[2] de Dinarcho 6 κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡττᾶται Λυσίου, ib. 7 τῆς λέξεως τὸ ἰσχυρὸν κ.τ.λ., ἀρχαίων κρίσις v 6 τῇ τῆς φράσεως κατασκευῇ Λυσίαν ὑπερῆρκε.

Artamenes, Aristocles, Philagrius, and Molon[1]. But the fullest and finest criticism now extant is that of the unknown author of the treatise On the Sublime[2], who observes that if the points of excellence were judged by their number, instead of their importance[3],—counted and not weighed,—he would prove superior to Demosthenes. He has all the good points of Demosthenes except his *σύνθεσις*, and all the grace and other excellences of Lysias besides. Towards the close of his elaborate critique, he considers him superior to Demosthenes in wit, agreeing in this respect with the general spirit of Cicero's remark that Hyperides (like Lysias), is regarded as fairly witty, but Demosthenes less so (§ 90). Cicero mentions him with Lysias in the *Brutus* (67, 68) and also with Aeschines and Demosthenes, describing him in general terms as differing from each of the three (*ib.* 285, 290). In the *de Oratore* (iii 28), as we have already seen, he selects *acumen* as his special characteristic, combining it elsewhere with the mention of his *argutiae* (Or. 110)[4]. He was the favourite model of the Rhodian orators, but their pupil Cicero supplies us with not a single trace of any direct and independent study of his speeches.

The funeral oration of Hyperides, which he delivered over those who fell in the last struggle of Greece against Macedonia, an oration, which in a somewhat fragmentary form has been unexpectedly restored to us from the tombs of Egypt, is itself the latest memorial of the best days of Athenian oratory. Within two months of its delivery, the orator himself was put to death; and the seventh day after, 'the most sad and solemn day of the Thesmophoria', saw the death of Demosthenes[5].

III. Greek Oratory after the Death of Demosthenes[6].

Without freedom of speech and action, the practical eloquence of public life cannot continue to exist; and, with the loss of liberty, Athens ceased to be a fitting *arena* for the fullest exercise of the powers of deliberative oratory. The eloquence which, during the desperate struggle between Athens and Macedonia, had, in the bracing air of keen debate, been brought to the highest degree of perfection by the constant conflict between the leaders of opposing parties in the perpetual

[1] de Dinarcho 8.

[2] c. xxxiv, Spengel's *Rhet. Gr.* i 284; quoted at length with other *indicia veterum* in Blass, *Hyperides* (Teubner text), p. xxxii.

[3] ἀριθμῷ, μὴ τῷ μεγέθει.

[4] On Hyperides, see esp. Blass iii 2 1—72; also Girard, *Etudes sur l'éloquence Attique* ed. 1874 p. 92—305, and Hager, *Quaestionum Hyperidearum capita duo* and *de Graecitate Hyperidea*.

[5] 12 Oct. 322 B.C. (Plut. Dem. 30).

[6] Throughout the whole of this chapter and the next, I have been much assisted

presence of an acute and highly critical audience, soon began to gro
cold and languid when there were no burning questions left for publ
deliberation. After the death of Demosthenes, or,—as Dionysius, be
upon marking the date by a still more signal historical event, prefers t
put it,—after the death of Alexander, the 'old and philosophic rhetoric
in other words, Attic eloquence of the original and genuine type, 'bega
little by little to droop and die'[1]. The decline commenced with a pup
of Theophrastus, Demetrius of Phaleron[2], who, under the rule of Ca
sander, administered the government of Athens for more than ten year
(318—307) with signal success. As his public speeches are only repre
sented by inadequate fragments, we have to rely mainly on Cicero fo
our knowledge of his oratorical characteristics. He is described as a
leading representative of the intermediate style, which combines th
minimum of force with the maximum of charm: his diction is marke
by a placid smoothness, and is also 'lit up by the stars of metaphor an
metonymy' (91—92). He is more florid than Hyperides and Lysia
(Brut. 285); and, of all the followers of the *remissiora genera dicendi*,
which arose after the death of Demosthenes and his great contemporaries,
he is, in Cicero's opinion, the most polished (De Or. ii 95)[3].

But, before long, an eloquence of another order than that of Athens
began to make itself heard in the western regions of Asia Minor and in
the neighbouring islands of the Aegean. The coast of Asia had long
been lined with flourishing settlements of the Hellenic people, forming
what Cicero happily terms 'a fringe on the robe of barbarism'[4], and
keeping their race for many years comparatively unimpaired by the
foreign elements which abounded in the ruder civilization of the interior.
Under the successors of Alexander the gradual fusion of the Hellenic
stock with barbarous races, in conjunction with other causes, led to
a degeneracy which made itself felt in the deterioration of taste in many

by the work of Blass, *die Griechische Beredsamkeit in dem Zeitraum von Alexander bis auf Augustus*, 1865, an excellent book, published when the author was only 22. An eloquent rendering of the same theme may be found in Jebb's *Attic Orators*, chap. xxiv, *The Decline and the Revival*, which will be read with interest by every student of the *Orator*. My own sketch was written independently of the chapter to which I allude; but I have added a few references to it in the notes, while these pages have been passing through the press.

[1] De orat. ant. *init.* *ἡ ἀρχαία καὶ φιλόσοφος ῥητορικὴ ... ἀρξαμένη ... ἐκπνεῖν καὶ μαραίνεσθαι κατ' ὀλίγον.* The whole passage is well rendered in Jebb ii 453.

[2] Brut. 38 'hic primus inflexit orationem'.

[3] Demochares, who is mentioned in the same context, was a nephew and pupil of Demosthenes, and came forward as a public speaker in the year of his uncle's death; he also wrote, in a rhetorical style, a history of his own times (Brut. 286). In this last passage it is implied that he was an imitator of Demosthenes (as Charisius was of Lysias), and this view is confirmed by the few fragments of his historical works, which are certainly not in the manner ascribed to Demetrius. (Blass, *G. B.* 20.)

[4] de Rep. ii 9 'barbarorum agris quasi attexta quaedam videtur ora esse Graeciae'.

parts of the Hellenic world, and not least in Western Asia. In oratory, this found expression, sometimes in an exaggerated tendency towards epigram, but oftener in a certain barbaric pomp of style, a vapid, inflated, redundant, and unduly ornamental oratory, which stood in strong contrast to the sober and sensible, the chastened and self-restrained eloquence of the Attic orators. This account of the cause of the undoubted deterioration of taste agrees substantially with Cicero's remark in the *Brutus* (51) where he avails himself of a happy personification to describe the departure of eloquence from its Athenian home. 'No sooner had eloquence', he remarks, 'set sail from the Peiraeus and traversed all the islands and travelled over the whole of Asia, than she *tainted herself with foreign fashions* and lost all the wholesomeness and healthiness of the Attic style, and indeed nearly forgot her native language'[1]. An obscure rhetorician, Santra, whose opinion Quintilian quotes only to reject, ingeniously, but very inadequately, traces the redundancy of the Asiatic orators to their comparative unfamiliarity with the Greek language, which, according to Santra's view, only gradually found its way into the cities of Asia. Incapable of effectively expressing themselves in direct language, they caught a trick of circumlocution, which they never succeeded in shaking off! In Quintilian's judgment, the difference of style is more satisfactorily accounted for by the difference of taste which distinguished the Asiatic orators and their audiences, from those of Athens[2]. Cicero himself insists on tracing it to the influence of the audience, the less cultivated ear of the Carian, Phrygian, or Mysian, tolerating what would never have been endured by the higher refinement of the Athenian (§ 25). But even this explanation is not completely adequate, for the same faults of style are to be found in the rhetorical historians of that age, in writers who, in their origin and in their places of education, though not in the subsequent scenes of their literary labours, were as far removed from one another, and from Asia, as Callisthenes of Stageirus and Timaeus of Tauromenium. We know nothing of the birth-place, or antecedents, of Cleitarchus, the romancing historian, whose claim to be considered as a leading representative of the florid type of Asianism which prevailed about 300 B.C., rests on his having described the exploits of Alexander in a style that was still more inflated than that of his predecessor Callisthenes, who had actually attended the conqueror in his invasion of Asia[3]. Asianism

[1] See, however, Jebb ii 438.

[2] xii 10 §§ 16, 17.

[3] In the Annals of Jebb's *Attic Orators*, p. lviii, under the year 300, he is accidentally called 'Kleitarchos of Soli'; it was not, however, the historian, but a contemporary peripatetic philosopher of nearly the same name, Klearchos, that was born at Soli in Cyprus (Müller's *Fragm. Hist.* ii 302, referred to by Blass, *G. B.* 45). Cf. Müller *u. s.* 88, 303, 310 (Κλέαρχος ὁ Σολεύς); and *Scriptores re-*

may therefore be regarded as only another name for a widesprea degeneracy of style, not confined to Asia alone, but owing its name t the fact that the mixed population of that region supplied the large number of its adherents. Even at Athens the same tendency shewe itself in Demetrius, whose style, as we have seen, was unduly ornate.

The title of the founder of Asiatic oratory is sometimes assigne to Hegesias of Magnesia, an orator of uncertain date, who probabl belongs to the first half of the third century. Discontented with th elaborately long and highly artistic periods of Demosthenes, he emu lated, with a certain affectation of originality, the plainer style of Lysia as represented by one of his inadequate imitators, Charisius. H expressed himself almost exclusively in short and jerky sentences, peculiarity which is amusingly parodied by Cicero, and is clearl exemplified in some of the fragments of his writings[1]. The natura order of words is often distorted in an awkward manner, and throw into what Dionysius[2] describes as 'ignoble forms of rhythm', amon which may be mentioned the double trochee, which is specified b Cicero as a favourite termination with the Asiatic orators (§ 212). Hi misuse of metaphors is only one out of many indications of his want o taste[3].

The century between 250 and 150 B.C. is, in the history of Greel oratory, a time of total darkness. When the light returns, we find th Asiatic style firmly established. But, by its side, we see at Rhode what has been termed an 'Atticizing reaction', imitating certain of th older types of Attic oratory, and allying itself with a new kind o rhetoric with more or less Attic tendencies. As compared with th Attic orators of the best age, with their careful training in the theory o the art, the Asiatic orators of this later time were men of illibera education, practising without method and system that part of rhetori which was a merely mechanical craft[4]. Foremost among these were th two brothers Hierocles and Menecles of the Carian town of Alabanda[5] Their date is approximately determined by the fact that in the *de Oratore*, the dramatic date of which is B.C. 91, the orator Antonius, wh was in Asia in 98, describes himself as having heard them, doubtles during that visit, adding that at the time of the dialogue they were stil imitated by all Asia (ii 95). Consistently with this, Cicero describe

rum Alex. 74 ('Clitarchum in Aegypto vel natum vel certe vitae partem maiorem degisse statuerim').

[1] Note on § 226. See also Jebb ii 441—2.

[2] de Comp. 4 (quoted on § 226).

[3] Cf. Mommsen, Book v chap. xii (iv 509, Engl. ed. 1868).

[4] Dion. Hal. de comp. verb., p. 20 *ἄνθρωποι τῆς μὲν ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας ἄπει ροι, τὸ δ' ἀγοραῖον τῆς ῥητορικῆς μέρο ὁδοῦ τε καὶ τέχνης χωρὶς ἐπιτηδεύοντε* (Blass *G. B.* 56).

[5] Note on § 231.

them in the *Brutus* (325) as flourishing in the years of his own boyhood. Apollonius, however, who is described by Strabo[1] as being with Molon a pupil of Menecles, was heard by the augur Scaevola at Rhodes, on his way to Asia, where he was praetor in B.C. 120 (de Or. i 75). Hence the brothers of Alabanda must have begun to 'flourish' at a still earlier time.

The 'exaggerated unnaturalness'[2] which was the general characteristic of all Asiatic orators, displayed itself in two different ways, which are distinguished in the *Brutus* (325). The earlier of the two is there described as a pointed and epigrammatic style, marked by neatness and gracefulness, rather than dignity, of expression. This is the style of the brothers of Alabanda. In composition, again, their rhythms were monotonous, and (like Hegesias) they were too fond of finishing their sentences with the double trochee.

The other style is represented by Aeschylus of Cnidus, whom Cicero heard in Asia in B.C. 78[3], and by Aeschines of Miletus, whom he describes as his own contemporary[4]. The dramatic date of the *Brutus* is later than B.C. 50, in fact just before the departure of Brutus for the province of Gallia Cisalpina in B.C. 46 (see *Brut.* 171, cf. Jahn on § 11). At this time, the Asiatic orators in question were no longer alive[5], but their style was adopted 'over all Asia'. In contrast to that already described, it was marked 'not so much by a close sententiousness as by a rapid volubility of expression, and not only by a flowing fulness of speech, but also by an embellished and artificial[6] kind of diction', which attracted the admiration of many, including Cicero himself; but which, in the hands of its later imitators, and possibly even in those of its original inventors, had little, if anything, to distinguish it from turgid and empty bombast[7]. It may fairly be identified with what he elsewhere calls the 'rich and fatty' style, encouraged by the unpolished and uncultivated audiences of regions such as Caria, Phrygia and Mysia (Or. 25). In its bondage to beauty of sound, it condescended to eke out its rhythms by resorting to 'padding' (§ 230). In delivery, the Asiatic school was marked by an enunciation midway between speaking and singing, the latter being more especially exaggerated in the peroration (§§ 27, 57). The excellences of both varieties of the Asiatic style were apparently combined in the person of Menippus, who, according to the perhaps unduly indulgent verdict of Cicero, was in B.C. 78, *tota Asia disertissimus*, and worthy of being counted an 'Attic orator' (*Brut.* 315).

[1] p. 655.
[2] Wilkins, Introd. to *de Or.* p. 43.
[3] Brut. 316. [4] ib. 325.
[5] Brut. 325 ad finem, *fuit* (Eberhard *floruit*) and *erat*.
[6] facto (Ruhnken for *faceto*).
[7] Cf. Jebb ii 443 and 440, where it is well remarked that 'Asianism oscillates between bombast and importunate epigram'.

In the second century, the way was prepared for a reaction agai the growing degradation of Greek oratory, by Hermagoras of Temr who drew up an elaborate system of rhetoric, founded on the rhetor treatises of his predecessors, with some additions of his own[1]. It c cerned itself almost exclusively with *inventio*, with the discovery of ar ments as opposed to the style, and it dissected with ingenious subtl the different kinds of issues raised, more particularly in the forensic bra of oratory. The very fact that it was confined to the consideratio subject matter, which is independent of questions of language, whil neglected the department of style, in which it would have natur limited itself to Greek alone, made the teaching of Hermagoras reac available for use by Roman students of rhetoric; and, in fact, rhetoric taught at Rome during the latter part of the second and earlier part of the first century was almost exclusively founded on system[2].

In the last quarter of the second century, two rhetoricians of A banda, pupils of Menecles, settled at Rhodes, and founded a sch of rhetoric. The first to arrive was Apollonius, whom Scaevola (as have already seen) found at Rhodes about 120 B.C.[3] The second v Molon, who was afterwards sent by the Rhodians as an envoy to Ro in 81, and was still alive in 78, when Cicero was travelling in A and elsewhere, to recruit his health, and to complete his rhetori studies. The Roman orator's debt of gratitude to his Rhodian structor, led him probably to exaggerate the importance of the rhet cians of Rhodes, whom he describes as a separate and distinctive grou and in this he is naturally followed by Quintilian, who makes th intermediate between the Attic and Asiatic schools[4]. We learn, ho ever, on the thoroughly competent authority of Dionysius[5], that Rhodian rhetoricians, and Molon among them, selected as their mo the Attic orator, Hyperides. It is true that they do not appear to ha succeeded in reproducing his many points of excellence; but th attempt to do so is sufficient to warrant their being regarded, not as independent school, but as part of the Atticizing reaction against degenerate Asiatic style of their day. Hyperides being, though not the same degree as Lysias, a leading representative of the plain style, is clear that his imitators must have, theoretically at least, approved plainer style than that of Demosthenes and other Attic orators of

[1] de Inv. i 8, 'satis in ea (arte) videtur ex antiquis artibus ingeniose et diligenter electas res collocasse et nonnihil ipse quoque novi protulisse.'

[2] On the rhetoric of Hermagoras, cf. Piderit's dissertation; also Volkmann's *Rhetorik*, p. 5, 20ff.; Blass *G. B.* 84— Jebb ii 444—5; Wilkins, Introd. to *Or.* p. 44.

[3] de Or. i 75.

[4] See note on § 25 and cf. Jebb ii 4

[5] de Dinarcho 8.

similarly elevated type; and further, that they had no sympathy with the bombastic variety of Asianism. The Asianism to which they were akin was the epigrammatic variety represented by Menecles, who, it will be remembered, counted Molon himself among his pupils[1].

During the same time, Athens also was a seat of rhetorical teaching. Some of the teachers were genuine Atticists and devoted admirers of Demosthenes; but most of them could hardly be distinguished from the degenerate Asiatic orators of the day[2]. They did not even belong by right of birth to the city which was the scene of their teaching, but were drawn to the ancient home of eloquence by the spell of its old associations[3]. Among these may be mentioned Menedemus, who knew many passages of Demosthenes by heart, and whom the orator Antonius, when on his way to Cilicia in 98, heard disputing at Athens on the relations of rhetoric to philosophy[4]; Demetrius the Syrian, who was an old man when Cicero studied with him for a while in Athens in 78[5]; Pammenes, who as we shall see in the *Orator* (§ 105) read through, with Brutus, the whole of Demosthenes; and lastly, at a somewhat later time, the younger Gorgias, the unprincipled tutor of the younger Cicero, and, like him, the unworthy bearer of a famous name,—a rhetorican whose work on the figures of speech, with illustrative passages from Demosthenes, Lysias, Hyperides, Lycurgus, and Deinarchus, as well as later orators (including representatives of Asianism), has come down to us in the form of an abridgment from a Latin translation by Rutilius Lupus.

The Atticizing reaction, however, at Rhodes and elsewhere, was not at present strong enough to win the victory over the predominant Asianism. The scene of the struggle was transferred to Rome itself, and was continued, as we shall see hereafter, during the life of Cicero. But it was not until the time of Augustus that the devoted and enthusiastic Atticist Dionysius, who describes the old Attic style as having well nigh disappeared in his own generation, was enabled to welcome the triumphant restoration of a purer taste, and in writing to a Roman friend, gracefully to ascribe this happy transformation to the powerful influence and the commanding example of the mistress of the world[6].

IV. Roman Oratory. Hortensius, Cicero, and the Roman Atticists.

The history of Roman oratory down to the death of Cicero falls into four periods: (1) extending from prehistoric times to the end

[1] Blass, *G. B.* 93.
[2] Dionys. orat. ant. *init.*
[3] de Or. iii 43.
[4] de Or. i 85—93.
[5] Brut. 315.
[6] Dionys. orat. ant. 3.

of the second Punic war; (2) from Cato the Censor to the Gracchi an their contemporaries; (3) the age of the orators L. Crassus and M Antonius; and (4) the times of Hortensius and Cicero. The first shew no traces of Greek influence; the second is partially affected by Greel literature only, to the exclusion of Greek oratory and rhetoric; i the third, Greek oratory and rhetoric slowly work their way into re cognition, though even those who are most indebted to them ar very far from publicly acknowledging their indebtedness; while, i the fourth, Greek models assume a position of supreme and avowed im portance[1].

A general view of Cicero's own retrospect of the oratory of Rom may be obtained from the following very brief outline of part of th *Brutus*:

After a rapid enumeration of the men of mark in the earlier times of Rome wh were presumably good speakers (52—60), Cicero adds that the first who deserved no merely to be mentioned as an orator but also to be diligently read and studied wa CATO the Censor; and he laments that Cato is neglected even by those who tak as their model among Greek orators one who (he ventures to say) is most closel allied to Cato, namely Lysias (61—69). He then enumerates the best speakers among the elder and the younger contemporaries of Cato (77—80, 81—90), mentioning among the latter Gaius Laelius (consul in B.C. 140), the younger Africanus (consul in 147 and 134), and Servius Sulpicius Galba (in 144). In the next age, out of the many orators whose names are recounted, the foremost are the Gracchi, and in particular GAIUS GRACCHUS (tribune in B.C. 123), and next to them Gaius Papirius Carbo (consul in 120). In these may be traced the first beginning of a true art of oratory, such as is brought to a higher perfection in M. ANTONIUS (consul in 99, the grandfather of the *triumvir*) and L. Licinius CRASSUS (consul in 95). After an elaborate criticism on these (138—146), their contemporary Q. Mucius Scaevola, the *pontifex* (who was consul in 95 and died in 82), is compared with Cicero's friend Servius Sulpicius Rufus (§§ 147—158, praetor in 65). After further details on the oratory of Crassus (158—164) and some of his minor contemporaries (165—172), L. Marcius Philippus (consul in 91) is described as *longo intervallo proximus* to the two great orators Crassus and Antonius (173); while (not to dwell on others) C. Julius Caesar Strabo (aedile in 90), is praised for his wit (177). Among the younger contemporaries of the last, honourable mention is made of C. Aurelius Cotta (consul in 75) and P. Sulpicius Rufus (tribune in 88), who selected Antonius and Crassus, respectively, as their models in oratory (202—3); and next to these in merit comes C. Scribonius Curio (tribune in 90, consul in 76, who died in 53, §§ 210—221). As Cicero does not desire to say anything, in his own person, of orators that were still alive (231, 251), he accordingly leaves to Brutus the mention of his uncle Cato (118), and of M. Claudius Marcellus (consul 51, §§ 248—251), and to Atticus the eulogy of Julius CAESAR (252—261), reserving for himself little more than a concluding remark in praise of his *commentarii* (262). He then turns to the consideration of some younger orators, recently deceased, the most notable of whom

[1] Ellendt, *eloquent. Rom. hist.* § 3.

are M. Caelius Rufus (praetor in 48, § 273) and M. Calidius (praetor in 57, who died in 47, 274—278); and C. Scribonius Curio (tribune in 50, who in 49 died as *legatus Caesaris* in Africa, son of the Curio already mentioned; §§ 280—2); and Gaius Licinius CALVUS (born 84, died 48). Calvus having been the first to introduce into Roman oratory the attempt to imitate certain particular models among the Attic orators, to the exclusion of all others, Cicero takes occasion to denounce this as resting on a narrow and mistaken view of the full meaning of Attic oratory (284—291). Before returning to Hortensius, Cicero allows himself to be interrupted for a while by Atticus with a gentle protest against the excessive praise he had, it was to be presumed, ironically, bestowed on the old Roman orators; for example on the elder Cato, whom he had, with some reservations, actually compared to Lysias. He meets this protest by disclaiming all intention of irony and by promising at some future time to discuss the old Roman orators more fully. He next gives an account of the career of HORTENSIUS (301—7); and, pressed by Brutus, adds an outline of his own oratorical training and of the varied studies which had contributed towards it (esp. 307—16), besides touching in graceful terms on his own relations to his former rival (317—24). After this we have a more detailed criticism of the style of Hortensius (325—8). In his closing words he dwells on the gloomy prospects of oratory at the time, and especially on the state of public affairs which prevented the high promise of the past career of Brutus from winning an open field for its complete fulfilment (329—333).

Much of the above incomplete outline is necessarily little more than a dry catalogue of names. In the original, a far larger number of orators is enumerated, but many of them are comparatively obscure, and even in the case of the more distinguished, their speeches are now represented by the merest fragments. Accordingly, the tasteful criticisms of Cicero on the various shades of difference in the style of his predecessors, are necessarily thrown away on the modern student, to whom the perusal of the *Brutus* conveys an impression similar to that produced by a gallery of historical portraits of persons of whom little is known but their names, or by a collection of smart and epigrammatic notices of books that are themselves irretrievably lost[1]. Some of the digressions, where the style expands into an ampler fulness, have, however, a permanent interest[2]. To the student of the *Orator*, the portions of the dialogue which are of special importance are those that supply us with evidence on the three styles of oratory which successively presented themselves at Rome in the earlier half of the first century B.C., the first in order of time being Asianism as represented by Hortensius; the second, the Rhodian eclecticism of Cicero himself; and the third, the pure Atticism of men like Gaius Licinius Calvus.

[1] The scattered criticisms of Cicero have, however, been successfully woven into a fairly consecutive history of Roman eloquence by Ellendt; and the impulse thereby given to the study of this subject has since led to the publication of Meyer's complete collection of the fragments of all the Roman orators, with the exception of Cicero.

[2] e.g. that on the judgment of experts,

THE ASIANISM OF HORTENSIUS.

The first appearance of HORTENSIUS as an orator was in B.C. 95, the nineteenth year of his age (Brut. 229, 325, 328), when he plead the cause of Africa, in moving for the trial of a Roman governor accu of malversation and corruption in that province[1]. He at once made mark. 'Like a work of Phidias', says Cicero, 'his ability was no soo seen, than it was at once admired' (ib. 228). Among those wh approval he won were the consuls of the year, who were themsel most competent judges of oratory, being none other than L. Crassus Q. Scaevola (ib. 229). As an orator, he was especially precise in preliminary statement of the points which he was about to discuss, in the recapitulation of the arguments put forward on either si Besides this, he had a marvellous memory, a clear and ringing voi and a gesture that was almost too artificial for an orator. He also remarkable for his choice and splendid diction, his rhythm of co position and his wealth of language (ib. 302—3). In his younger da he succeeded in combining in his own style, the characteristics of b the varieties of Asiatic oratory which had successively found followers Asia itself, the pointed and epigrammatic manner of Menecles, and flowing volubility of the Milesian Aeschines (325—6); and, althou older men shook their heads and lamented the decay of good taste, pleased the populace and won the admiration of the younger portion his audience. In the words of Mommsen, 'the Roman public, longer having the pure and chaste culture of the Scipionic age, natura applauded with zeal the innovator who knew how to give to vulgari the semblance of an artistic performance'[2]. But in later life, when dignity of his years, and the honours he attained, appeared to deman graver style, the old manner remained, when it no longer became hi After attaining, in the consulship of 69, the height of his ambition, relaxed the laborious application that had once distinguished him; a while the former neatness of expression and luxuriancy of imaginati still lingered in his style, they were stripped of the garb of ornam they had once been wont to wear (326—7). In the person of Hort sius, the rich and redundant manner of the degenerate oratory of As found a more than usually favourable opportunity for winning its way Rome; but, with the changes of fashion there and elsewhere, a mo sober judgment and a more refined taste finally declared against it; a

as compared with that of the general public (183—200); on the part played by cultivated Roman ladies in preserving the purity of Latin pronunciation (210—3); and on the reason why many orators speak better than they write (91—3).

[1] Meyer, *Orat. Rom. fragm.* p. 365.

[2] Hist. of Rome, Book V chap. (IV 599, Engl. ed. 1868). There is excellent sketch of Hortensius in Grell Dumazeau, *le Barreau Romain*, p. 347 373.

his once brilliant reputation soon grew pale before the rising star of Cicero.

Cicero had, in his youth, under the recommendation of Crassus, obtained instruction in Rome from professors and teachers to whom that distinguished orator had himself resorted (de Or. ii 2). These were probably of Greek extraction; among them, at any rate, was Staseas of Neapolis (ib. i 104), who, so far as is known, was the first Peripatetic who took up his residence in Rome. He was at the same time familiar with the orator Antonius, often applying to him for information, so far as his youth allowed him to approach a personage of such distinction (ib. ii 3). In law, he had had the guidance of the ablest jurist of the day, Q. Mucius Scaevola, the Augur; on whose death (after 88 B.C.), he had resorted to another great jurist, the *Pontifex Maximus* of the same name, whom Crassus, his colleague in many public offices, describes in the *de Oratore* as 'the most eloquent of lawyers and the most learned of orators' (i 180). Meanwhile, he had been assiduous in his attendance in the forum, listening to the best speakers of the day, and daily spending his time in writing and reading, and in private declamation, without however confining himself exclusively to such oratorical exercises (Brut. 305, B.C. 90). Of the three years from 86 to 84, he says: 'hoc tempore omni noctes et dies in omnium doctrinarum meditatione versabar' (ib. 308). During this time he was working hard at dialectic and other subjects, with the Stoic Diodotus, for many years an inmate of his house (ib. 309); and was also declaiming daily, often in Latin, but still more frequently in Greek, 'vel quod Graeca oratio plura ornamenta suppeditans consuetudinem similiter Latine dicendi adferebat, vel quod a Graecis summis doctoribus, nisi Latine dicerem, neque corrigi possem neque doceri' (310). It was not until 81 B.C., when he was 25 years of age, that he undertook his first cause, among the earliest of his speeches being the *pro Quintio*, in which the speaker on the opposite side was Hortensius. It was at this time that he attended the instructions of Molon, who, in the dictatorship of Sulla (B.C. 81), had been sent by the Rhodians to represent their claim for a recognition of their loyalty to Rome in her war against Mithridates; and who, on that occasion, addressed the senate in Greek to thank them for the friendship they had shewn toward the land of his adoption[1]. In the next year, Cicero defended Sextus Roscius Amerinus in a speech that was so successful that thenceforth 'there was no cause that was too important to be entrusted to his care' (Brut. 312). But after two years of active work as a public speaker, his unremitting exertions began to endanger

[1] Rhodes was not the 'native state' of Molon, as implied in Forsyth's *Cicero*, p. 30.

his health. He himself describes his personal appearance at this ti his long and slender neck, his thin and feeble frame,—'a form and h of body', he adds, 'which cannot be accompanied by hard work great exertion of the lungs, without (it is thought) imperilling life itse The alarm of his friends was increased by the fact that he used to sp without any relaxation, or variation, of delivery, with his voice strained its utmost pitch and his whole body intensely agitated (ib. 313). He ca to the conclusion that by managing his voice better and changing manner of delivery, he might learn to speak in a more temperate st and thus avoid further danger to his health. With this general object view, he started on a course of travel in Asia. On his way, he stopp at Athens, where, besides cultivating his taste for philosophy, he some time exercised himself diligently in oratory under Demetrius Syr whom he describes as 'veterem ac non ignobilem dicendi magistru (315), although, to ourselves, he is otherwise unknown. After this, traversed every part of the province of Asia, where he was welcomed the principal orators, and joined them in their rhetorical exercis Foremost among these was Menippus of Stratonicea in Caria, Cicero's opinion, 'tota Asia illis temporibus disertissimus, et si ni habere molestiarum nec ineptiarum Atticorum est, hic orator in il numerari recte potest'. He was also constantly in the company Dionysius of Magnesia (either in Lydia or Caria), Aeschylus of Cnid in Caria, and Xenocles of Adramyttium in Mysia, who were 'reckon among the first rhetoricians in Asia'. Not content, however, wi these, he went to *Rhodes*, and attached himself once more to Molc who was not only excellent as a pleader and a writer, but also pa ticularly judicious in remarking and correcting the faults of his pupi and who succeeded in putting some restraint on the undue redundan of Cicero's youthful style[1]. After an absence of two years, he return to Rome at the age of 30, a more practised speaker and almost a ne man, with his lungs strengthened, his frame moderately expanded, th vehemence of his voice abated, and his style matured (316).

At this stage in his rhetorical development, it is unnecessary t pursue any further the minuter details of his career. From this tim forward he stands forth in Rome as the representative of the eclectics o Rhodes, who, although (as we have seen) not without certain sympathie with the Asiatic school, were mainly imitators, and not entirely succes ful imitators, of the Attic style of Hyperides. Cicero himself re peatedly shews a certain tenderness in his references to Asianism whic proves that he was naturally by no means averse to some of the chara

[1] Brut. 316, quoted on § 107; Forsyth's *Cic.* p. 33.

teristics of that style. It is true that for the choppy and jerky sentences, and the general bad taste, of Hegesias, he expresses the most supreme contempt (Or. 226, 230); but he deals very gently with Menippus (Brut. 315); with Dionysius, Aeschylus, and Xenocles, who were counted as 'in Asia rhetorum principes' (316); and with their predecessors, Hierocles and Menecles, 'quorum utriusque orationes sunt in primis, ut Asiatico in genere, laudabiles' (325). In the *Orator* we shall find the last two described as '*minime contemnendi;* etsi enim a forma veritatis et ab Atticorum regula absunt, tamen *hoc vitium compensant vel facultate vel copia*' (231); and in the *Brutus* the 'Asiatici oratores' are '*non contemnendi* quidem, nec celeritate nec copia, sed parum pressi et nimis redundantes' (51). We have only to compare such faltering language with the robuster and sterner Atticism of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and we shall see at once the wide difference between them in their attitude towards the degenerate Asiatic style. Dionysius denounces it as 'intolerable with its theatrical shamelessness', as 'ill-bred, unphilosophical and illiberal', as 'vulgar, ignorant, and intemperate'[1]. We feel as if Cicero, with his vast command of language, allowed his sober judgment to be warped by a preference for a more luxuriant and emotional kind of oratory than is consistent with an undivided devotion to the original models of Attic eloquence[2]. Thus, in practice, he followed his natural bent, though, in theory, he sided with the Atticizing aims of the Rhodian eclectics. And not only so, but in his rhetorical treatises, he repeatedly calls attention to the Attic orators as presenting the highest type of eloquence[3]; and, in so doing, he doubtless contributed much towards raising the standard of oratorical taste among his Roman readers. At a time when students of ancient literature were still wavering in their opinions as to which of all these orators was the first, Cicero, while he was himself fully alive to the merits of Lysias and Isocrates, of Aeschines and Hyperides, protested resolutely against the imperfect imitation of any one of the customary models of Attic diction, and insisted strongly, and with perfect justice, on the pre-eminent claims of Demosthenes.

The Roman Atticists, like the Atticizing Greeks of the same epoch, did not agree in their choice of a model. Their selection sometimes even fell upon a writer who had no claims to be considered an orator at all. Such, for example, was Xenophon, whose *Oeconomicus* Cicero had

[1] de orat. ant. *init.* ἀφόρητος ἀναιδείᾳ θεατρικῇ καὶ ἀνάγωγος καὶ οὔτε φιλοσοφίας οὔτ᾽ ἄλλου παιδεύματος οὐδενὸς μετειληφυῖα ἐλευθερίου, and afterwards φορτικὴ καὶ ὀχληρά, and lastly ἀμαθὴς and μαινομένη (cf. Blass *G. B.* 128 note).

[2] On some cognate points see pp. lxii—iv.

[3] de opt. gen. 7 'est autem (genus optimum oratorum), talequale floruit Athenis'.

himself translated in his youth, and of whose simple charm he confess himself fully conscious. But the narrator of the March of the T Thousand had apparently only one stray follower among the Atticists Rome,—one to whom Cicero only alludes, without mentioning his nan (§ 32). Xenophon is, in any case, far from being a perfect pattern Attic usage[1]. He need not therefore detain us any longer from pr ceeding to consider some of the truer models of Attic style.

Others were ambitious enough to attempt to imitate Thucydides, author whose 'candour of judgment and dignity of style as a narrator events, make him', says Cicero, 'an appropriate model for the historia but not for the pleader'. 'Forensic oratory he never touched; and, for the numerous speeches he has inserted in his history, I am in th habit', he adds, 'of commending them; but as for copying them, neither *could* if I *would*, nor indeed *would* if I *could*[2]'. His style, Cicero's view, is in fact too harsh and antiquated; 'had he lived late he continues, 'he would, like good wine, have been more mature an more mellow'. The prose of Thucydides, he similarly insists in th *Orator*, belongs to a comparatively imperfect and immature stage development (§ 31). His speeches may not, indeed, have been a hap model for a Roman orator to select for exclusive imitation, and we m accept the statement that their imitators were far from successful; b we may fairly regard these aspirants after the historian's manner as o ponents of a too elaborately rhythmical prose. For, although the pro of Thucydides is to a large degree consciously artistic in its perpetu balance of words poised against one another for effective contrast, an in its compact combination of inter-dependent clauses, it is not disti guished either for euphony of diction, or for the rhythm of well-rounde sentences, or for periods that close with harmony of cadence. But h unsuccessful imitators were of no service towards the improvement Roman oratory; in the field of historical composition, it was reserve for Sallust to shew what degree of success could be attained by Lati prose in the endeavour to emulate his brevity and conciseness[3].

A truer instinct guided those who, as the cultivators of a pure an undiluted Atticism, in opposition to Asianism of every kind, selected f their model one or other of the Attic orators; and among them, i particular, either Lysias or Hyperides[4]. Thus the well-known patron Tibullus, M. Valerius Messala Corvinus[5], who is known to have tran

[1] Cobet, *Novae Lectiones*, p. 388 sqq. Cf. Shilleto on Thuc. i 43 § 2.

[2] Brut. 287—8, quoted in note on § 30.

[3] The conciseness of Sallust is disputed by Scaliger and Merivale. See further in A. M. Cook's ed. of the *Bellum Catilinae*, p. xxxviii.

[4] Brut. 67 'Hyperidae volunt esse Lysiae'.

[5] The date of his birth is uncertain supporters have been found for dates various as 74, 69 and 59 B.C. (Meye

lated into Latin the speech of Hyperides in defence of Phryne at Eleusis[1], was himself presumably an imitator of that orator. But the leading spirit among these stricter Atticists was the orator and poet, Gaius Licinius Calvus. Born in 82, twenty-four years after Cicero, he died in 48, at the early age of thirty-four. As a poet he is constantly associated with Catullus; and, like him, he founded his poetic style on Greek models. It is Catullus who presents us with a lively trait of the energetic eloquence of his diminutive friend when engaged in the prosecution of Vatinius:

> Risi nescio quem modo e corona
> qui cum mirifice Vatiniana
> meus crimina Calvus explicasset,
> admirans ait haec manusque tollens,
> Di magni, salaputium disertum[2].

On one of the three occasions when he prosecuted Vatinius[3], he was so vehement and energetic in his harangue that his speech was interrupted by the rising of the defendant himself, who, turning to the court, exclaimed: 'rogo vos, iudices; num si iste disertus est, ideo me damnari oportet?'[4] The elder Seneca, who has preserved this and other striking anecdotes of Calvus, adds that he resembled Demosthenes, in so far that in his composition there was no calm and quiet, but all was struggle and excitement; though he sometimes used a gentler style, as in the pathetic peroration beginning: 'credite mihi, non est turpe misereri'[5]. Again, Quintilian, after quoting from Demosthenes a well-known instance of κλῖμαξ, caps it with another from Calvus[6]. These examples are enough to shew that his style was not exclusively formed on that of Lysias; but we know that Lysias was *par excellence* the model among the Atticists of Cicero's time, and that the foremost of these Atticists was Calvus. In writing of his oratorical style in the *Brutus*, two years after his death, Cicero observes that, while he was more accomplished in literature than the younger Curio, he had also a more accurate and exquisite style; and although he handled it with skill and elegance, he was too minute and nice in his self-criticism; losing the very life-blood of style for fear of tainting its purity, and cultivating too scrupulous a taste to win the approval of the general public[7]. Cicero had already

Orat. Rom. Fragm. p. 504). Cicero, ad Att. xiii 32, implies that he was a *iuvenis* at Athens in B.C. 45—44. Tacitus (dial. de or. 18) says of his style: 'Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus'.

[1] Quint. x 5 § 2.

[2] Cat. 53. Cf. Seneca, *Controv.* vii 4 § 7 parvolus statura.

[3] B.C. 58, 56 and 54 (Meyer, p. 474).

[4] Seneca, *l. c.* § 6; ib. § 7 'solebat praeterea excedere subsellia sua et impetu latus usque ad adversariorum partem transcurrere'.

[5] ib. § 8.

[6] Quint. ix 3 § 56.

[7] Brut. 283.

written to his friend Trebonius, in December 47, explaining how it wa that in a letter to Calvus, which had accidentally got abroad, he ha expressed so favourable an opinion of him, and adding that Calvus ha made an error of judgment in the choice of his style, and that, with a his literary accomplishments, he was wanting in force[1]. Tacitus refe to certain letters, now lost, which were addressed by Calvus and Brutu to Cicero, from which it appears that the latter regarded Calvus as *e sanguis* and *aridus*[2]. Again, the elder Seneca describes him as havin long striven, on very unequal terms, with Cicero for the palm of el quence[3]; and Quintilian observes that 'some prefer Calvus to all oth speakers; his language, always grave, moral, chastened[4], is not seldo forcible too; he imitated the Attics, and might, with longer life, hav enriched his style.' The position of Calvus as a leader of a party i clearly implied by Cicero's criticism that he 'not only went wrong him self, but also led others astray' (*Brut.* 284). It is generally assume by modern writers that his model was Lysias; this is nowhere express stated; but it may be fairly inferred that the followers of Calvus, wh have just been alluded to, are the same as the imitators of Lysia mentioned elsewhere. The language applied to the former group in th *Brutus* (285) agrees with that applied to the latter in the *Orator* (28) Both alike are charged with having a narrow and imperfect view of th true nature of Attic style, with confining their attention to one characte istic alone, that of 'plainness', to the neglect of all the other example of varied excellence which are presented by the foremost Attic orators Among the more obvious merits of Lysias were the purity of his diction and the simplicity of his composition. His Roman imitators, supposin that these were easily imitated, aimed exclusively at these, to the neglec of his other merits. Of his truth to character, his faithfulness to nature and his consummate skill in concealing his art, they were entirely un conscious; while his subtle and evanescent charm could not be caugh and reproduced by his rude Roman admirers. Those who found them selves repelled by the studiously rhythmical and elaborately Isocratean style of Cicero, were probably attracted to Lysias, not merely by his apparent easiness, but also by his refraining from any elaborate striving after periodic rhythm; but the cold and dry manner of these inadequate imitators of imperfectly apprehended models failed to win the ear of

[1] ad Fam. xv 21 § 4 'genus quoddam sequebatur, in quo iudicio lapsus, quo valebat, tamen assequebatur, quod probaret. multae erant et reconditae litterae, vis non erat'; cf. Quint. x 2 § 25 'iudicium Calvi'.

[2] dial. de or. 18, al. attritus.

[3] Controv. vii 19 § 6.

[4] *castigata* in Halm's text, and Mayor's: *custodita*, 'guarded', in Bonnell's, is apparently followed on p. 48 of Mayor's 'Argument' of Quint. x 1 § 115, from which the above abstract of Quintilian's criticism is mainly taken.

Roman audiences which were still under the magic spell of the musical periods of Cicero[1].

V. Cicero's Rhetorical Works.

The earliest rhetorical work of Cicero was the *de Inventione*, in two books. It was a transcript of the ordinary theoretical rhetoric of the schools. Of the five parts into which rhetoric was commonly divided[2], (the first of which tells us *what* to say, and the remainder *how* to say it,) the first alone is treated in this work. It was probably written during the absence of Sulla in Asia (87—83), and was only a juvenile work, with no pretentions to originality, being founded almost exclusively on the current rhetorical system of Hermagoras. It frequently coincides with the treatise *ad Herennium*, often reproducing the same rules in almost the same phraseology and even sometimes illustrating them by the same examples[3]. Cicero's own opinion of this juvenile effort was not high; as may be seen from his describing it in one of the best productions of his maturer years as '(ea) quae pueris aut adulescentulis nobis ex commentariolis nostris incohata ac rudia exciderunt'[4].

This description is taken from the opening pages of the first of his greater rhetorical works, the three books of the dialogue *de Oratore*. This was written in B.C. 55, in the fifty-second year of the author's life.

The principal parts are assigned to Crassus and Antonius, the two great orators of the age immediately preceding his own. At first, the conversation turns on the subject-matter of oratory, and the degree of intellectual culture required by the perfect orator. While Antonius narrows its domain to the art of good speaking, Crassus, the representative of Cicero's own opinion, assigns to it far wider limits and insists on the orator's being familiar with the whole circle of the arts, in fact 'taking all knowledge to be his province'. In the second book, Antonius dilates on the subject of *inventio* (ii §§ 41—307); and, after a digression on wit and humour, assigned to one of the minor interlocutors, completes his exposition by dwelling on the themes of 'arrangement' (§§ 307—333), and 'memory' (§§ 350—361). In the third, Crassus sets forth the rules of propriety and elegance of diction (iii §§ 37—213) and concludes with the subject of 'delivery' and 'action' (§§ 213—228).

[1] Brut. 289 'cum isti Attici dicunt, non modo a corona, quod est ipsum miserabile, sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur'; de Opt. Gen. Or. 11 'quoniam nonnullorum sermo iam increbruit, partim se ipsos Attice dicere, partim neminem nostrum dicere, alteros neglegamus; satis enim eis res ipsa respondet, cum aut non adhibeantur ad causas aut adhibiti derideantur'; Tusc. Disp. ii 3 'qui iam conticuerunt ab ipso foro irrisi'.

[2] *inventio*, *elocutio*, *distributio*, *actio* and *memoria* (cf. note on § 54).

[3] On the *auctor ad Herennium* see Ramsay's art. on Cic. in Smith's *Dict. of Biogr.* (1844) i p. 726—7; Kayser's ed. of 'Cornificius' 1854, and art. in *Philologus* 1858 p. 271—9; and Spengel in *Rheinisches Museum* 1861 p. 391—413; also the excellent summary in Wilkins' *Introd.* to the *de Or.* p. 51, and Weidner's prolegomena to the *de Inv.* (Berlin, 1878), quoted by Wilkins in his *Addenda*.

[4] De Or. i 5; Quint. ii 15 § 6.

The *de Oratore* conveys, in a style that has long been deserved admired, the ripe results of Cicero's practical experience in the publ exercise of the art in which he was so great a master. The rhetoric teaching of the schools is here laid aside for the lessons he had lear in actual life, the points of general interest handled with breadth treatment and lightness of touch, and enlivened with all the play dramatic effect, in a dialogue which is discursive without being stragglin and orderly without being obtrusively systematic. In the opinion of n mean judge of style, it is 'the most finished perhaps of Cicero's com positions. An air of grandeur and magnificence reigns throughout. Th characters of the aged Senators are finely conceived, and the whol company is invested with an almost religious majesty'[1].

After an interval of nine years he resumed his rhetorical works i the dialogue entitled *Brutus de Claris Oratoribus*. The interlocuto are Brutus, Atticus, and Cicero himself. The preface consists c reflexions on the death of Hortensius (Aug. B.C. 50), of which Cicer had first heard at Rhodes on his return from his proconsulship,—a deat which had in a timely hour removed his friend and former rival fron the miseries of the then impending civil war. The scene of the dialogu is laid on the little lawn beside the statue of Plato in Cicero's Tuscula villa, at a time when Rome is anxiously waiting for news of Caesar' doings in Africa, and Brutus is on the eve of his departure for th province of Cisalpine Gaul (§ 171). Among the opening topics of con versation, we find an allusion to the letter of prudent counsel and friendly consolation which Brutus had sent to Cicero from Asia, not many months before, and also to the chronological work of Atticus on the annals of Rome. In the course of the dialogue we have not only a brief review of the history of Greek oratory, which has supplied us with part of the materials for some of the preceding pages; but also a more elaborate account of the oratory of Rome, an abstract of which has already been given (p. xxxix).

Three of his minor rhetorical works may here be briefly touched upon. The *Partitiones Oratoriae*, which probably belongs to the same time as the *Brutus* and the *Orator*, consists of a kind of catechism of rhetoric thrown into the form of answers given by Cicero to questions put by his son. It is only about half the length of the *Orator*, and is confined to the consideration of the elementary subdivisions and other subordinate details of rhetoric. But, although limited in its scope, it is justly regarded as the most systematic and perspicuous of his rhetorical works.

[1] John Henry Newman, in Henry Thompson's *Hist. of Rom. Lit.* (from the Encycl. Metropolitana) ed. 2, 1852, p. 297.

Briefer still is the *libellus de optimo genere oratorum*, which in its subject is still more closely connected with the *Orator* and *Brutus*, and may be assigned to the same date. It is the preface of a Latin rendering of the speech of Aeschines *contra Ctesiphontem*, together with the reply of Demosthenes in the *de Corona*. The rendering itself is now lost, but the preface, which contains many polemical allusions to the Atticists of the day, proves that the writer's purpose is to present his readers with specimens of what, in his own opinion, are truer models of the Attic style.

Lastly, we have the *Topica*, which is a treatise on rhetorical commonplaces, about a third of the length of the *Orator*. It purports to be an abstract of Aristotle's teaching on the same subject[1], largely interspersed with original matter. A curious fact connected with the composition of this compendium is that it was drawn up from memory in the short space of eight days, while Cicero was sailing from Velia to Rhegium, between the 20th and 28th of July, B.C. 44[2]. In the complete series of his rhetorical works, the last is occupied with the same general theme as the first, namely, the invention of arguments, which, in Cicero's view, as in that of Aristotle, is the very foundation of the art.

We have seen that, in the *de Oratore*, Cicero had delineated the general course of education and self-culture through which alone, in his opinion, excellence in oratory was attainable; and that, in the *Brutus*, he had traced the history of oratory down to his own times, in the endeavour to find how far the highest aims of oratory had been hitherto attained by individual orators. It still remained for him to draw the portrait of the ideal orator, to set forth the pattern of perfect eloquence. Lingering no longer on the path that leads to the lofty summit, and looking back no more on the course of those who in by-gone days had attempted to attain it, he now crowns his work with the high endeavour to delineate the summit itself. The path by which it is approached is as 'long and steep and rugged' as the path of Virtue in Hesiod's description,

> μακρὸς τε καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτήν,
> καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον,

but it may be doubted whether even Cicero himself, in the plenitude of

[1] Top. 1. See Brandis in *Rheinisches Museum*, iii 547; J. Klein, *de fontibus Top. Cic.*, 1844; M. Wallies, 1878 (who considers Antiochus of Ascalon to be Cicero's *main* authority in this work); and C. Hammer, 1879 (Bursian-Müller's *Jahresbericht* xiv 200, xxii 218).

[2] ad Fam. vii 20 and 19. During the voyage, Cic. landed at Vibo, where he apparently spent two nights at the house of his friend Sica (ad Att. xvi 6; Abeken's *Life and Letters of Cic.* p. 414—6, English ed.).

his powers, and with all the marvellous facility he had acquired as a trained and practised orator, would have dared to add,

ῥηϊδίη τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα πέλει χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.



BUST OF CICERO IN THE ROYAL MUSEUM, MADRID.

VI. THE ORATOR OF CICERO.

The *Orator* was written in B.C. 46, in the same year as the *Bru*… when Cicero had attained the age of sixty. It was an eventful tim… the history of Rome. The civil war, which had already lasted for … years, had virtually closed at Thapsus with the victory of Caesar … the remnant of the Pompeians in Africa. The old order had c…

to an end when, after that decisive battle, the stern republican, Cato, died by his own hand. Cicero, who had already submitted himself to Caesar, and, in the month of June B.C. 47, had returned to Rome[1], was dividing his time between his house on the Palatine and his villa at Tusculum, burying himself in his books[2], and awaiting the issue of the war. On the arrival of the news of Cato's death, he was asked by Atticus and others to compose a panegyric upon him. Cato's nephew, Brutus, attempted the difficult duty, in what Cicero regarded as an inadequate manner; and we find Cicero writing to his friend Atticus in evident embarrassment at the perplexing problem which now presented itself for his own solution[3]. He could hardly be true to Cato without giving offence to Caesar. Nevertheless, he accomplished his perilous task; and, at the time when he wrote the *Orator*, was looking forward to the result with no slight apprehension. The sequel shewed that his fears were needless. In the following year Caesar himself replied in a pamphlet entitled *Anti-Cato*, in which he generously commended Cicero's eloquence, and praised his public career, comparing him to Pericles and Theramenes[4]. Writing to Balbus from Spain, he observed that Cicero's *Cato*, which he had often read, had taught him a lesson in fulness of style; but when he read the *Cato* of Brutus, he fancied himself a good speaker, in comparison[5].

The publication of the *Orator* is definitely referred to in another letter to Atticus, where, borrowing a line from Terence, he congratulates his old friend on having sufficient leisure to read the *Orator*; and says that it will add to his pleasure if Atticus will kindly correct in his own copies, and cause his copyists to correct in those intended for others, the slip that the author had made in assigning to Eupolis a quotation from Aristophanes[6]. He afterwards wrote to another friend to tell him how delighted he was with his approval of the work, adding that it

[1] Suringar's *Annales Ciceroniani*, p. 753.

[2] Cf. note on § 148, and Abeken's *Life and Letters of Cicero*, p. 327 Eng. ed.

[3] ad Att. xii 4 (from Tusculum, April B.C. 46), 'de Catone πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον est' &c.

[4] Plut. *Cic.* 39.

[5] ad Att. xiii 46 § 2. See notes on § 35.—It is natural to suppose, that the *laus Catonis* of Cicero was essentially a prose work; and this supposition is confirmed by the general purport of Caesar's criticism, above quoted. This would hardly be worth mentioning but for the fact that a recent contributor to the *Philologus* (xlii p. 181, 1882–4) has hazarded the suggestion that it may have been, partially at least, composed in verse. This conclusion is founded on a passage referring to Cato, in *Tusc. Disp.* v 1 § 4, where, by the insertion of a word from the immediate context, the writer in question, *cuius nomen honoris causa praetereo*, obtains the following phrase: '[omnia] despiciens casus contemnit humanos,' adding that 'the *verse* so obtained is perhaps not without a literary interest'. It is apparently perfectly possible for a scholar of considerable learning and ability, to forget the quantity of the first word of the *Ars Poetica* of Horace.

[6] ad Att. xii 6 § 3 (quoted in note on § 29).

contained whatever criticism he had a right to offer on the subject o oratory, and that he was content to stake his reputation upon it[1].

In the year of its publication, although he had ceased for a while t take any part in public affairs, his love of oratory was still as ardent a ever. Writing to Brutus in the early part of the year, he describes it a 'hoc studio nostro, quo etiam nunc maxime delectamur' (ad Fam. xii 10 § 2). Part of his time was devoted to giving rhetorical instruction t orators of less experience than himself. Among the grown-up pupils the *grandes praetextati*[2], whom he was now instructing, were his son-in law, Dolabella, and three others who, in different degrees owed al legiance to Caesar, Cassius who, two years later, conspired against him and Hirtius and Pansa, who were to fall in 43, fighting against Antonius on the same side as Caesar's heir. In one of the amusing letters t Paetus written about this time from Tusculum, after news had arrived o the death of Cato, to which he makes a brief but feeling reference i another part of the letter, he pleasantly compares himself to the younge Dionysius, who, after being banished from the throne of Syracuse is said to have opened a school at Corinth. After adding that th practice of declamation conduces to the recovery of his health, an that, but for such exercise, his oratorical powers, such as they were would have wasted away, he tells his friend in conclusion that if h comes himself, he shall have in Cicero's school of rhetoric an unde master's chair, with a comfortable cushion, next to the chair of the maste himself (ad Fam. ix 18). Soon after, he writes again, this time fron Rome, describing his daily life as follows: 'mane salutamus domi e bonos viros multos, sed tristes, et hos laetos victores, qui me quiden perofficiose et peramanter observant: ubi salutatio defluxit, litteris m involvo, aut scribo aut lego; veniunt etiam qui me audiunt quasi doc tum hominem, quia paulo sum quam ipsi doctior. inde corpori omn tempus datur' (ad Fam. ix 20 § 3).

The title *Orator* is given to the treatise by Cicero himself. In Ma 44, he writes to Trebonius: 'Oratorem meum—sic enim inscripsi— Sabino tuo commendavi' (ad Fam. xv 20 § 1). In the same year, i the preface to the second book of the *de Divinatione* § 4, he enumerate his *libri oratorii* in the following order: 'ita tres erunt de Oratore quartus Brutus, quintus Orator'. Elsewhere, however, when referring t

[1] ad Fam. vi 18 § 4 '*Oratorem* meum tanto opere a te probari vehementer gaudeo. mihi quidem sic persuadeo, me quidquid habuerim iudici de dicendo in illum librum contulisse. qui si est talis, qualem tibi videri scribis, ego quoqu aliquid sum; sin aliter, non recuso qui quantum de illo libro, tantumdem de me iudici fama detrahatur'.

[2] Suet. de rhet. 1; cf. note on § 142.

the subject rather than the title, he twice describes it in phrases such as: 'scripsi de optimo genere dicendi'[1].

The person to whom it is dedicated is M. Junius Brutus, the son of the *tribunus plebis* of that name in 83 B.C., and Servilia[2], the half-sister of Cato. It was under Cato's training that he had been brought up, and he had accompanied him on his mission to Cyprus in 58, the year of Cicero's exile. It was probably during this journey that he saw at Rhodes one of the master-pieces of the painter Protogenes[3]. He was 21 years younger than Cicero, and he had come under the orator's notice in connexion with the trial of Milo for the murder of Clodius, when Brutus composed, as a rhetorical exercise, a defence of Milo, in which he took the perilous line of arguing that Milo had proved himself a benefactor to the State by killing Clodius[4]. When his father-in-law, Appius Claudius Pulcher, the brother of Cicero's enemy Clodius, became proconsul of Cilicia (in 53 and 52 B.C.), he went abroad with him, and when the proconsul at the close of his term of office was accused of *maiestas* and *ambitus*, Brutus, with Hortensius, spoke in his defence and secured his acquittal[5]. Upon Cicero's succeeding to the province in 51, Brutus was recommended to his good offices by Atticus, who assured his friend that 'if he brought back from his province nothing but the good-will of Brutus, that alone would be enough'[6]; and strongly urged him to help Brutus in securing the payment of the sums due to him from the unfortunate king of Cappadocia[7], as well as from certain Salaminians in Cyprus to whom he had lent money at an exorbitant rate of interest[8].

Cicero's growing friendship for Brutus was sorely tried by these two transactions, and especially by the latter. It is curious to trace in his letters the gradually increasing coldness of his references to him. At first he writes of him to Atticus in the warmest language: 'Brutum, quem non minus amo quam tu, paene dixi quam te' (v 20, § 6). There is a colder tone in the words: 'Brutum tuum, immo

[1] ad Fam. xii 17 § 2 to Cornificius (sub finem 708 = 46 B.C.). 'proxime scripsi de optimo genere dicendi, in quo saepe suspicatus sum te a iudicio nostro, sic scilicet, ut doctum hominem ab non indocto, paulum dissidere: huic tu libro maxime velim ex animo, si minus, gratiae causa suffragere'; cf. ad Att. xiv 20 § 3 quoted on p. lix. (The work referred to in both cases is doubtless the *Orator* and not the preface to the lost translations from Dem. and Aesch. which bears a very similar name: *de optimo genere oratorum praefatio*.)

[2] Brutus was adopted by his uncle Q. Servilius Caepio, and sometimes bore his name (ad Fam. vii 21, ad Att. ii 24 § 2, Phil. x 25, 26).

[3] See note on § 5; and cf. Plutarch's *Cato* c. 36 and *Brutus* c. 3.

[4] Quint. iii 6 § 93. Asconius on Cic. *pro Milone* p. xxi of Purton's ed. (1882).

[5] Brut. 230, 324.

[6] Ad Att. vi 1 § 7.

[7] Ad Att. v 18 § 4, 20 § 6, vi 1 § 3, 2 § 7, 3 § 5.

[8] ib. v 21 § 10, vi 1 §§ 5—7, 2 §§ 7—9.

nostrum, sic enim mavis' (vi 2 § 7); and again, 'minime in ist negotio Brutum amasti; nos vereor ne parum' (ib. § 9); and we fin that meanwhile he has had reason to complain that Brutus, thoug using the most courteous phrases about Cicero to Atticus, is in th habit of addressing Cicero himself, 'etiam cum rogat aliquid, con tumaciter, arroganter, ἀκοινωνήτως' (vi 1 § 7). Lastly, in referrin to the way in which he had dealt with the transaction at Salamis, whicl he had timidly allowed to devolve on his successor, he writes: 'habe meam causam, quae si Bruto non probatur, nescio cur illum amemus sed avunculo eius certe probabitur' (v 21 § 13). Nevertheless, shortl afterwards he speaks of him in the highest terms, in congratulatin Appius Claudius as follows on the support of Pompeius and Brutus i his trial: 'laetor virtute et officio cum tuorum necessariorum, meorur amicissimorum, tum alterius omnium saeculorum et gentium principi alterius iam pridem iuventutis, celeriter, ut spero, civitatis' (ad Fam. i 11 § 3). Some allowance must of course be made for the fact th Cicero was writing to the father-in-law of Brutus, a man for whom h had no real sympathy, but with whom he was at the time particularl anxious to be on the best terms possible.

In the civil war that broke out in 50, Brutus took the side Pompeius (Plut. *Brutus* 4). In May 48, when the decisive battle Pharsalia was approaching, Cicero writes from the camp of Pompeius 'Brutus amicus; in causa versatur acriter' (ad Att. xi 4 § 2); and, i the battle itself, at which Cicero was not present, having already start for Italy, Brutus fought on the side opposed to Caesar, who befo the fight gave orders to his officers to spare the son of Servilia, a after the victory, generously forgave him. Towards the close of t following year the leader against whom he had fought, entrusted hi with the government of *Gallia Cisalpina* (ad Fam. vi 6 § 10), the ve district in which the father of Brutus had, thirty years before, been p to death by the orders of the general on whose side the son had f himself called upon to serve against Caesar.

Caesar himself was wont to say of Brutus: 'magni refert hic qu velit, sed quicquid vult, valde vult' (ad Att. xiv 1 § 2). Brutus was man who, in public action, was slow to move, but, as the Ides of Mar were destined two years afterwards to prove in a terrible manner, ste and inflexible when his resolve was taken. As a friend, he was t coldly logical to be entirely loveable; and, to a sensitive and impulsi being like Cicero, the hard and rigid personality of Brutus m at times have been peculiarly 'oppressive'[1]. As a student, he had r

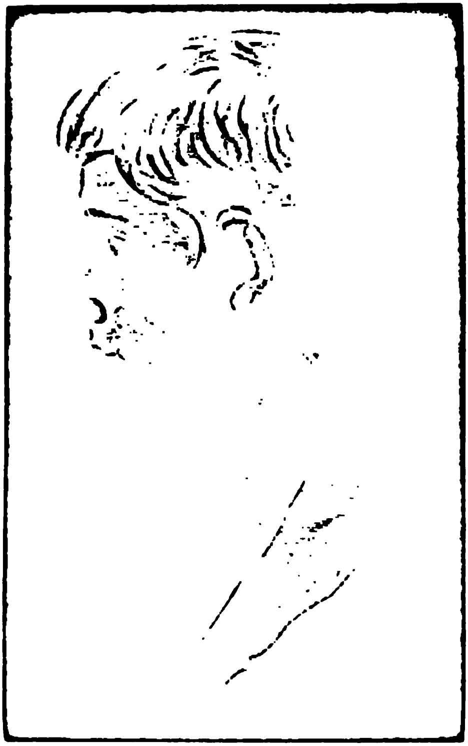
[1] Cf. Joseph Mayor's ed. of Cic. de Nat. Deorum, i p. xlii.

only great natural gifts[1], but also remarkable powers of work, with a singular capacity for concentrating himself in the midst of distractions,—spending (for example) the eve of the battle of Pharsalia in drawing up an abstract of Polybius[2]. In oratory, though not on all points at one with Cicero, he was an admirer of Demosthenes, whose speeches he had read at Athens (§ 105) and whose bust or statue was among the adornments of his villa at Tusculum (§ 110). In philosophy, he was a devoted adherent of the Stoico-Academic School whose teaching he had studied under Aristus and Antiochus[3], and was himself an author of philosophical works in Latin (Acad. i 12), which, in the judgment of Quintilian, who regarded them as superior to his speeches, bore the stamp of a genuine sincerity (x 1 § 123), and one of which, the *de Virtute*, was dedicated to Cicero himself[4]. Such was the man whose name Cicero had already given to the dialogue *de Claris Oratoribus* and to whom he dedicated the *Orator;* and not the *Orator* only, but also that earlier volume of short essays in which he had endeavoured to lend the charm of elegant expression to the Paradoxes of the Stoics. Within the next two years, he inscribed with the name of his friend, works of no less importance than the *de Finibus*, the *Tusculanae Disputationes* and the *de Natura Deorum*.

Cicero's ostensible reason for composing the *Orator* was to meet the wishes of Brutus, who had repeatedly written to him from Cisalpine Gaul, in connexion doubtless with the conflicting questions of oratorical and literary taste which, as we have seen, were about this time keenly debated in Rome[5], to ask him what, in Cicero's own opinion, was the highest and most perfect type of eloquence. On the shoulders of Brutus, Cicero repeatedly throws the responsibility of having prompted him to the work (§§ 1, 3, 35, 52, 140, 147, 174, 238); and one of the many passages in which he does so, is deserving of special notice. In his apprehension as to the way in which Caesar would regard his recent eulogy of Cato, he is anxious to interpose between himself and Caesar one who, to the latter, is presumably a *persona grata*. He therefore seizes the opportunity which now presents itself for dwelling in terms of glowing admiration on the excellent manner in which Brutus was discharging his duties as administrator of Cisalpine Gaul, and thus pays Caesar himself an indirect compliment for having made so satisfactory an appointment. One of Cicero's correspondents, Caecina, who in his exile was apprehensive that Caesar's clemency would not be extended to himself, was, on reading this passage, struck

[1] Brut. 22 natura admirabilis.
[2] Note on § 34 ad fin.
[3] Tusc. v 21, Brut. 120, 149, 332, de Fin. v 8, Acad. i 12 (with Reid's note).
[4] de Fin. i 8, Tusc. v 1.
[5] p. xliv—xlvii.

with still further alarm at finding even Cicero shielding himself be
Brutus[1]. The panegyric on Brutus must evidently be regarded
set-off to the *laus Catonis;* and more than this: Cicero insists th
his own accord, 'fearing, as he did, an age unfriendly to virtue'



BUST OF BRUTUS IN THE CAPITOLINE MUSEUM.
(*See note on page* 116.)

would not have embarked on so hazardous a theme as the prai
Cato, had it not been for the urgent request of Brutus (§ 35). I
very same context, he designedly adds with respect to the *Orator*
he often elsewhere intimates in less emphatic terms: 'I solemnl
clare that it is at your own request and after refusing to do so,
I have had the assurance to write the present work, for I wish
to share the responsibility with me'. In ordinary circumstances,

[1] ad Fam. vi 7 § 4 'auges etiam tu *mihi timorem*, qui in Oratore tuo caves tibi per Brutum et ad excusatione cium quaeris'.

impossible to conceive why Cicero should be so coy about divulging his opinions on a subject so familiar to himself as oratory. The key to the exaggerated language in which he lays on Brutus the responsibility for the publication of the *Orator*, is to be found in the author's wish to avail himself of a similar participation of responsibility with respect to the *Cato* also[1].

His further purpose was to win over Brutus to his own side in the controversy with the Atticists which had already been begun in the dialogue *de Claris Oratoribus*. His own race, he felt, was well-nigh run; but he fondly hoped that, in the good time coming, Brutus might follow in his footsteps; and that in *him*, his own oratorical and political activity might live again. 'When I say *ego non elaborem* (he observes with a significant glance at Brutus), it is yourself, Brutus, that I have in view. *I* have long ago reached my limit, but *you* have still a future before you' (110)[2]. Yet, on points of oratorical taste, he is by no means at one with Cicero. Thus, for example, Cicero's warm admiration for Isocrates meets with a quiet and scholarly demur on the part of Brutus (40). Brutus himself may be regarded as one of the Atticists of the day; but the severe language that Cicero uses of the imperfect imitators of Lysias[3] forbids our supposing that he reckoned Brutus among them. We shall probably be right in assuming that his model was Demosthenes, but he appears to have been unconscious of the breadth and variety of style that are characteristic of the great Greek orator, his own manner appearing to have been monotonous, and his oratory colder and drier than might have been expected from a student of such a master as Demosthenes. Brutus, we are told by Quintilian (ix 4 § 76), stood alone in disliking the *severa compositio* of the closing words of a sentence in the Third Philippic (17), where, out of ten successive syllables, all are long with one exception: κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ. In aiming at a rhythmical composition, he often, according to the same authority, allowed himself to lapse into verse,—a fault which we shall find somewhat strictly censured in the *Orator* (§ 189). In a letter which is now lost, Cicero called the style of Brutus tedious and disjointed, the former epithet probably referring to irrelevancy of matter, the latter to the absence of a flowing and harmonious rhythm. Brutus, on the other hand, regarded Cicero's composition as feeble and enervated[4]. Though belonging, like Cicero, to one of the later developments of the Academic school, he did not cultivate a Platonic 'amplitude' of style (§ 5). Quintilian, while calling Cicero 'the Roman

[1] Cf. Piderit, *Einleitung*, § 18.
[2] ib. § 16.
[3] e.g. *Brut.* 63.
[4] *Tac. Dial.* 18, quoted below, on p. lxi.

Plato[1], considers Brutus 'greater as a philosopher than as a sp (x 1 § 123), and elsewhere he mentions his oratorical *gravitas*[1]. according to a less favourable criticism, his speech on behalf o Deiotarus, to which Cicero in a passage of the *Brutus* (21), (where presents himself as addressing Atticus in the presence of the authc plies the superlative adverbs *ornatissime* and *copiosissime*, was in th of Tacitus considered dull and tedious[2]. Plutarch tells us that ' Latin language Brutus had been sufficiently trained for public de tions and forensic causes, but in Greek he practised the apophthe and Laconic brevity which is sometimes conspicuous in his let Of these we still possess some brief specimens which were under the pressure of the campaign that ended at Philippi; but e one of the curt missives which he sends at this time to the Greek that were less warm than he desired in the support of his cause, he has to point, by way of warning, to the disasters that had fall others who had similarly declined his advances, we find him rheto describing them as having made their country 'the tomb of thei peration' (τάφον ἀπονοίας).

It is clear that, although Cicero would have gladly won Brutu to his own views, he had no great hope of such a result (§ 237). the fact that he failed is clearly implied in more than one of his l On receiving the *Orator*, Brutus wrote to Cicero expressing hi undisguised disagreement with the views therein expressed, as a from a letter to Atticus, written two years later[4]. Again, when I after the assassination of Caesar, addressed the multitude on the tol, on the Ides of March, as well as on the subsequent day, h Cicero a copy of the speech made on one or other of these mem occasions, asking him for his candid criticism before its public whereupon Cicero writes to Atticus assuring him that 'elegant speech was in point of expression, he himself would have treat same theme in a more glowing manner': and, asking his friend

[1] xii 10 § 11, cf. Tac. Dial. 25 (Messala's speech) 'gravior Brutus'.

[2] Tac. Dial. 21 (Aper is speaking). *lentitudo* and *tepor* are there ascribed to it.

[3] Plut. *Brut.* 2.

[4] ad Att. xiv 20 § 3 (at the end of April, B.C. 44); quod errare me putas, qui rem publicam putem pendere e Bruto, sic se res habet: aut nulla erit aut ab isto istisve servabitur. quod me hortaris, ut scriptam contionem mittam, accipe a me, mi Attice, καθολικὸν θεώρημα earum rerum, in quibus satis exercitati sumus. *nemo umquam* neque poeta neque orator fuit, qui quemquam meliorem qu arbitraretur; hoc etiam malis co quid tu Bruto putas, et ingenioso dito? de quo etiam experti sumu in edicto. scripseram rogatu tuo: mihi placebat, illi suum. quin *cum ipsius precibus paene adducti sissem ad eum 'de optimo genere d non modo mihi, sed etiam tibi sibi illud, quod mihi placeret, non* quare sine quaeso sibi quemque s 'suam cuique sponsam, mihi mea cuique amorem, mihi meum'. no hoc enim Atilius, poeta durissimu

own opinion, he adds, that he is afraid that Atticus, true to his name, will be too prone to favour an 'Attic' style, and reminds him that the 'thunders of Demosthenes are sufficient to prove that the perfect Attic style is entirely consistent with the higher degrees of grandeur'[1]. Even in the absence of other evidence, this passage would be enough to shew that Brutus was one of the Atticizing party. A clear recognition of this fact will enable us to appreciate the delicacy and difficulty of the task undertaken by Cicero in criticising the Atticists of the day in the course of a treatise dedicated to Brutus.

But it is not only in the remarks directly bearing on the Atticists (23—32) that a polemical purpose is manifest. It is also clearly apparent in the long excursus on euphony (148—162), and rhythm (162—236). The prefatory apologies with which these subjects are introduced (140—148), plainly reveal Cicero's sensitiveness to contemporary criticism in this particular, and the sequel makes it still more evident. The critics whom he has in view are doubtless to be found among the Atticists of the time whose whole position implied a protest against the elaborately periodic structure and the exceedingly rhythmical character of his style. To severe and rigid Atticists like the imitators of Lysias, the fulness and richness of Cicero necessarily appeared turgid and bombastic; and although he was himself in theory a devoted admirer of the Attic orators and of Demosthenes in particular, in practice he departed sufficiently far from that standard to give some colour to the imputation that he was really an Asiatic orator in disguise. Our accounts of these opponents of the great Roman stylist come in part from writers of a later generation. Quintilian, in his reverence for Cicero, naturally regards such opposition as almost an act of profanity, and denounces the Atticists as an impious gang of conspirators. From Cicero's devoted admirer we learn that his critics actually 'dared to denounce him as unduly turgid and Asiatic and redundant; as too much given to repetition, and sometimes insipid in his witticisms; and as feeble, diffuse and even effeminate in his composition'[2]. A

[1] xv 1 b § 2 (middle of May B.C. 44).

[2] Quint. xii 10 §§ 12—14 'M. Tullium ... habemus ... in omnibus, quae in quoque laudantur, eminentissimum. quem tamen et suorum homines temporum incessere audebant ut tumidiorem et Asianum et redundantem et in repetitionibus nimium et in salibus aliquando frigidum et in compositione fractum, exultantem ac paene, quod procul absit, viro molliorem...(14) praecipue vero presserunt eum, qui videri Atticorum imitatores concupierant. haec manus quasi quibusdam sacris initiata ut *alienigenam et parum superstitiosum*[?] devinctumque illis legibus insequebatur, unde nunc quoque aridi et exsuci et exsangues. (15) hi sunt enim, qui suae imbecillitati sanitatis appellationem, quae est maxime contraria, obtendunt; qui quia clariorem vim eloquentiae velut solem ferre non possunt, umbra magni nominis delitescunt'. Cf. ix 4 § 1 'de compositione non equidem post M. Tullium scribere auderem...nisi *eiusdem aetatis homines scriptis ad ipsum etiam litteris reprehendere id collocandi genus ausi fuissent*', xii 1 § 22; and *Gellius* xvii 1.

similar account is given by Tacitus who, in the dialogue *de oratoribus* makes Aper describe these critics as carping at Cicero for being 'no sufficiently concise, but inflated and turgid, immoderately diffuse an redundant, and far from Attic in his style'[1].

Closely connected with the excursus on rhythm is the immediatel preceding disquisition on euphony (148—162), which includes remark on many points of grammatical usage which are interesting as helpin us to understand more precisely the nature of Cicero's acquaintanc with his own language. Although thoroughly conversant with the olde Latin literature, and unsurpassed by any in his mastery over th language as a medium of oratorical and literary expression, his know ledge of its history was probably far less profound than that of several o his contemporaries. It was a time when grammatical studies wer receiving considerable attention. The founder of these studies in Rome, L. Aelius Praeconinus Stilo, a contemporary of the orator Crassus, ha expounded the texts of the earlier Latin language, such as the *carmin Saliaria* and the laws of the Twelve Tables, and had entered upo many minute enquiries on points of Latin literature and Roman antiqui ties[2]. Among his pupils were Cicero and Varro. In the time of Cicer one of the grammatical questions most warmly debated was the conflic between the principles of analogy and anomaly, a conflict which Juliu Caesar deemed important enough to occupy his attention while he wa crossing the Alps on the way to his army; and the treatise *de Analogi* which he thus composed, was dedicated to Cicero himself[3]. The sam topic was afterwards handled with great fulness by Cicero's most learne contemporary, Varro, in his work *de lingua Latina*, which was als dedicated to the great Roman orator. But only part of this has com down to us, and even the whole was but a small portion of the fiel covered by the author's encyclopaedic erudition. His work on the Lati language has been well described by a competent critic as composed c 'hard and coarse-grained stuff'[4]; and one who is second to none i admiration for the writer, characterizes the clauses of its sentences a 'arranged on the thread of the relative like thrushes on a string'[5]. Ha the 'most learned of the Romans' condescended to pay as muc attention as Cicero to the style of his prose composition, his literar

[1] (18) 'satis constat me Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus, sed supra modum exultans et superfluens et parum Atticus videretur. legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas, ex quibus facile est deprehendere Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et *aridum*, *Brutum* autem otiosum atque diiunctum, rursus Ciceronem a Calv quidem male audisse tanquam solutu et enervem, a Bruto autem, ut ipsi verbis utar, tanquam fractum atq elumbem'.

[2] Mommsen iii 464, 495.

[3] Suet. *Caes.* 56; see note on § 155.

[4] Wordsworth, *Early Latin* p. 609.

[5] Mommsen iv 630.

labours would not have been so much neglected, or so soon forgotten, by a later age. In preserving for posterity the learning of the past, Memory, the mother of the Muses, is apt to pay too little heed to those who, in their devotion to a loftier purpose, refuse to sacrifice at the shrine of the Graces.

It will be observed that Cicero and his critics alike appealed without hesitation to Greek models as the final criterion of excellence in oratory. On the question of literary taste, they were undoubtedly right; but, in the practical application of their principles, the more rigid Atticists appear to have ignored the differences between the two languages, between the power and breadth and compass of Greek as compared with the more limited resources of Latin. Lysias though plain, is not dull: but a Latin translation of Lysias, however perfectly executed, could hardly fail to be tedious; and what is true of a translation of Lysias, is also in a measure true of that freer imitation of his style which was attempted by the Roman Atticists. Greek, as the richer language, could afford to be, on occasion, plain and unadorned, without losing all its inherent beauty; but Latin, though unrivalled as the language of law and of letters, and admirably adapted for monumental inscriptions, and historical narrative, is, for the purposes of oratory, poorer in many respects than Greek. It is therefore unable, in this domain of literature, to forego any of its natural advantages. In the words of one of the greatest masters of style in modern times, 'Greek is celebrated for copiousness in its vocabulary and perspicuity in its phrases; and the consequent facility of expressing the most novel or abstruse ideas with precision and elegance. Hence the Attic style of eloquence was plain and simple, because simplicity and plainness were not incompatible with clearness, energy and harmony. But it was a singular want of judgment, an ignorance of the very principles of composition which induced Brutus, Calvus, Sallust and others to imitate this terse and severe beauty in their own defective language, and even to pronounce the opposite kind of diction deficient in taste and purity. In Greek, indeed, the words fall, as it were, naturally, into a distinct and harmonious order; and from the exuberant richness of the materials, less is left to the ingenuity of the artist. But the Latin language is comparatively weak, scanty, and unmusical; and requires considerable skill and management to render it expressive and graceful. Simplicity in Latin is scarcely separable from baldness; and justly as Terence is celebrated for chaste and unadorned diction, yet, even he, compared with Attic writers is flat and heavy (Quint. x 1 § 100)'[1]. This contrast between

[1] John Henry Newman in *H. Thompson's Rom. Lit.* p. 307 ed. 1852.

the two languages, as means of oratorical expression, is, so far as I ar aware, never touched upon by Cicero, although, in rendering Greek int Latin, he must have been fully conscious of the differences betwee them[1]. But it is the subject of an elaborate criticism by Quintilian whc in connexion with this very question of Atticism, observes, that while in ir vention, arrangement, and judgment, Latin eloquence appears to resembl Greek and to be almost its pupil, yet in elocution it has scarcely roor even for imitating it. In sound, Latin is harsher than Greek; the mo: euphonious letters in Greek are not found in Latin; in Latin the accent are less agreeable and the vocabulary more limited (xii 10 §§ 27—34 'Quare', he continues, 'qui a Latinis exiget illam gratiam sermoni Attici, det mihi in eloquendo eandem iucunditatem et parem copiam... Non possumus esse tam graciles: simus fortiores. Subtilitate vincimur valeamus pondere. Proprietas penes illos est certior: copia vincamu: (ib. §§ 35, 36, see also 37—39).—Further, we must take into accoun not only the difference of the speaker's language, but also the broa differences in national character which separated an Athenian and Roman audience. The temperament of the average man in the forme was quick and intellectual; in the latter, comparatively dull, but, at th same time, more emotional. Thus the correct and refined taste c a Lysias would have been thrown away on the less cultivated audience of Rome; while the pathetic perorations of Roman oratory, being a appeal to the emotions, would have appeared ridiculous to the keer witted and cool-headed Athenian.

It is easy for the brilliant historian of the Roman republic to asse that 'undeniably there was more taste and more spirit in the younge oratorical literature' (of men like Brutus and Calvus) 'than in the Ho tensian and Ciceronian put together'[2]; but, unfortunately, the fragment of that literature are too scanty to allow of our forming any opinion a to the justice of this dictum. In appreciation of the merits of the Atti models themselves, Cicero was not a whit inferior to these younge orators, but he was less narrow in his taste and more successful in hi practice. Of the excellence of an oratorical style, there is no surer te: than the verdict of the audience. To the audience the orator stands c falls; and from that verdict there is no appeal. Tried by this test, th

[1] e.g. of his renderings from Demosthenes and Aeschines, he observes: 'converti ex Atticis duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes inter seque contrarias, Aeschini et Demostheni; nec converti ut interpres, sed ut *orator*, sententiis eisdem et earum formis tamquam *figuris*, *verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis*; in quibus non verbum pro verl necesse habui reddere, sed genus omr verborum vimque servavi. non enim c me adnumerare lectori putavi oporter sed tamquam appendere' (de opt. ge or. 14).

[2] Mommsen iv 644.

Roman Atticists, as a whole, stand condemned. Cicero, writing after the death of Calvus, says of the Atticists of the day that when they speak, their hearers either desert them or only stay to laugh at them[1]. Cicero's own standard of success, a standard which in general he actually attained, was far more lofty:

'Volo hoc oratori contingat, ut cum auditum sit eum esse dicturum, locus in subselliis occupetur, compleatur tribunal, gratiosi scribae sint in dando et cedendo loco, corona multiplex, iudex erectus; cum surgat is, qui dicturus sit, significetur a corona silentium, deinde crebrae adsensiones, multae admirationes; risus, cum velit, cum velit, fletus: ut, qui haec procul videat, etiamsi quid agatur nesciat, at placere tamen et in scaena esse Roscium intellegat. Haec cui contingant, eum scito Attice dicere, ut de Pericle audimus, ut de Hyperide, ut de Aeschine, de ipso quidem Demosthene maxime' (Brut. 290).

In brief, it is among the main merits of Cicero as a rhetorical stylist, that he saw, in the first place, that the exclusive imitation of a plain Greek style was unsuitable to the genius of the Latin language as a medium of oratorical expression; further, that the Latin language, being in itself less euphonious than the Greek, required a rhythm that was fuller and ampler than that of the ordinary oratory of Greece; and lastly, that a certain expansion of rhythm and redundancy of diction, were specially welcome to a Roman audience.

We have already seen that Cicero's main object in the *Orator* is to delineate the ideal orator. Had it been the work of his younger days, a description of himself, as a youthful orator starting forth in quest of an ideal, might indeed have had its points of interest, but it would have been less instructive than the portrait with which he here presents us when the close of his oratorical career was fast approaching. It would be absurd to expect Cicero, after a long experience of more than thirty years of public life, to attempt to portray the ideal orator without conscious reference to his own achievements in oratory. Convinced though he was of the unapproachable perfection of Demosthenes, he could not leave out of sight his own endeavours to attain the same perfection. He could not ignore the fact that he possessed in an eminent degree the qualifications of good natural gifts, varied mental culture, and wide experience, the combination of which is essential to the accomplishment of anything permanently great in any art, that of oratory not excepted. Hence the living image of his own oratorical greatness forms the foundation on which he builds his ideal fabric. His own speeches supply him with examples of every variety of oratorical excellence; and although he refers to this fact in terms of becoming modesty (103), he does not hesitate to point to them as

[1] *Brut. 289, quoted on p. xlviii.*

practical models of the different kinds of styles which he theoreticall approves. No sooner has he summed up the results of his criticism b stating that the truly eloquent orator is one who has a mastery over a the three styles, the plain, the grand and the intermediate, than h at once proceeds to illustrate his point by plunging without more ad into examples taken from his own speeches (102). The transition fro the criticism to the illustrations is startlingly abrupt, and is softene down by no intermediate apology for the self-assertion which it implie It is not until he has quoted his examples, that he gracefully admits th imperfection of these models of eloquence on which, nevertheless, h clearly sets no little store, and which it would have been sheer affectatio to pass over in complete silence. But the modern taste in such matte of self-quotation is different to that of Cicero; as may be readily seen b imagining for the moment an orator like Burke writing, we will suppos a treatise not on the 'Sublime and Beautiful' in general, but on i special manifestations in the field in which he was himself pre-eminen and illustrating his criticisms by appealing, however modestly, to th models of ornate and elevated expression which might be found in th speeches delivered by himself. It was only in a private conversatio that Burke pointed to a page in the 'Letter to a Noble Lord on h Pension', as 'the particular passage in the entire range of his work which had cost him the most labour, and upon which, as tried by certain canon of his own, his labour seemed to himself to have been th most successful'[1].

As Cicero's general subject belongs to what may be justly terme the aesthetics of oratory, the treatise is critical rather than didactic. H repeatedly insists that he is writing as a critic and not as an instruct (§§ 43, 112, 117). He seldom lapses into precept; and, when he do so, he excuses himself on the ground that his work may fall into th hands of many who are less well-informed than the friend to whom it specially dedicated. The place of direct precept is also repeatedly take by short and sententious aphorisms, in which terse expression is give to sound and sober criticism which, though not exactly profound, neve theless deserves to be perpetuated in a proverbial form[2]. As an essay o

[1] See De Quincey's *Works*, x 57—59.

[2] e.g. 4 'prima sequentem honestum est in secundis tertiisque consistere'; 6 'in praestantibus rebus magna sunt ea quae sunt optimis proxima'; 14 'parva magnis saepe rectissime conferuntur'; 33 'nihil difficile amanti'; 47 'nihil est feracius ingeniis, eis praesertim, quae disciplinis exculta sunt'; 70 'est eloquentiae sicut reliquarum rerum fundamentum sapientia'; 73 'magis offendit nimiu quam parum' (178); 120 'nescire, qui ante quam natus sis acciderit, id e semper esse puerum'; 147 'omnium ma narum artium sicut arborum altitudo n delectat, radices stirpesque non item, se esse illa sine his non potest'; 159 'vo luptati aurium morigerari debet oratio' 183 'notatio naturae et animadversio p perit artem'; 186 'quod et facilius e

style, the *Orator* may be fairly regarded as the best specimen of rhetorical criticism which we possess in the whole range of Roman literature. Instead of throwing the discussion into the form of a dialogue, with its almost unavoidable discursiveness, the writer adopts the form of an essay, and thus, in a limited compass, succeeds in covering a very considerable amount of ground; so much so, that there is hardly any point in rhetorical criticism which does not find a place in its pages. It is true that, in the skilful hands of such a master of style, the capacities of dialogue for continuous and lucid exposition, even of the driest subjects, are almost illimitable, as may readily be seen not only in the discourse on wit, interspersed with illustrations of its use, in the second book of the *de Oratore* (ii §§ 216—290), but also, in a still greater degree, in the consecutive and unbroken enumeration of more than 40 of the rhetorical 'figures of thought', and of nearly the same number of 'figures of diction', which we find in the third book of the same dialogue (iii §§ 202—8). But the grammatical and philological excursus on euphony and the treatise on rhythm, with the illustrations of both, which we find in the *Orator*, would have proved most unmanageable, had the author attempted to deal with them in the form of a dialogue instead of that of an essay. We have only to compare the charming style of the Colloquies, or of the *Ciceronianus*, of Erasmus, with his distressingly tedious dialogue on the right pronunciation of Latin and Greek, which was published in the same year as the *Ciceronianus*, to see how little suited is the form of a dialogue for dealing with the minuter points of philological or rhetorical detail. In these portions of Cicero's essay, there is little room for his usual graces of diction, but the composition of the remainder abundantly proves, by its mastery of expression, his right to be heard on matters of style,—a right which even his severest critics in modern times have generally left unchallenged.

Cicero's criticisms in the *Orator* are, as is natural, quoted very frequently by Quintilian[1], who treats them with profound and almost reverential respect, seldom venturing to differ from them. Some of the opening sections, in which the student of oratory is urged, by the example of poets and artists, as well as orators, in the past, not to despair in the endeavour to attain a high standard himself, are oddly adapted by Columella to the encouragement of the despairing agriculturist[2]. The work is also quoted occasionally by Aulus Gellius[3] and

et magis necessarium, id semper ante cognoscitur'; 235 'facilius est apta dissolvere quam dissipata conectere' (Piderit, *Einleitung* note 128).

[1] He quotes from §§ 1, 12, 39, 44, 45, 54, 55, 57, 59, 62, 67, 71, 73, 77, 81 (?), 85, 87, 90, 92, 93, 104 (?), 107, 108, 134—139, 154, 157, 161, 186, 204, 214, 222, 223, 225, 229, 232, 234.

[2] notes on §§ 3—6.

[3] e.g. §§ 159, 168.

Ammianus Marcellinus[1], and by the Latin Fathers, such as Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome[2]; and far more frequently by the grammarian Nonius, while many passages are transcribed from it by the later rhetoricians such as Julius Victor and Martianus Capella. The comprehensive scheme for the orator's education, which, as sketched in §§ 113—121, embraces law and history, as well as philosophy, with its subdivisions of dialectic, ethics and 'physics', is doubtless derived in part from Greek sources; but in part it is new, and, in any case, it is the earliest encyclopaedic scheme of education which we now possess in the Latin language[3].

It has been remarked by M[illegible]hat the scientific groundwork, and even many of the [illegible]s, [illegible]hetorical, as in the political, writings of Cicero, are [illegible]riginals. Among the Greek authorities on rhetoric [illegible]ed in the *Orator* are Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastu[illegible]ilosophers: and, among the rhetoricians, Isocrates, [illegible]ls Ephorus, Naucrates and Theodectes. To Plato, h[illegible]or the illustration from the theory of 'ideas', with which [illegible]s his delineation of the ideal orator. As will be pointed out with further detail in the commentary, the dialogue to which he owes his description of the Platonic 'ideas' is most probably the *Timaeus*, a work with which he was fully acquainted. In that dialogue the eternal and immutable and only intellectually cognisable ἰδέα is called a παράδειγμα or *exemplar*, while that which does not exist, but comes into being and is mutable and perishable, and only imperfectly resembles the former, is called its μίμημα or copy. This illustration is used by Cicero to justify his opinion that an ideal eloquence, and an ideal orator, is intellectually conceivable; but as eloquence can only be perceived through the sense of hearing, we are not surprised to find that his endeavour to delineate the ideal eloquence becomes a copy, not of the 'idea' of eloquence itself, but of his own conception of that eloquence as it has been exemplified in actually existing orators, and that in the end he is compelled to confess that his own ideal orator may be different to that of Brutus[5]. The two dialogues of Plato which are specially concerned with the subject of rhetoric are the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedrus*. In the former he pronounces rhetoric to be no art at all, but only a happy knack acquired by practice, and devoid of scientific principle[6]; and Gorgias and his pupil Polus are

[1] §§ 34, 147.
[2] notes on §§ 27, 33, 234.
[3] An interesting and suggestive paper on this subject was read by Mr Nixon at a meeting of the Cambridge Philological Society on 5 March, 1885.
[4] IV 645. The same remark applies to his philosophical writings.
[5] Cf. notes on § 10.
[6] 463 B, οὐκ ἔστι τέχνη ἀλλ' ἐμπειρία τε καὶ τριβή, 501 A, ἀλόγως παντάπασιν...

taken to task as representatives of the current rhetoric of the day. With this dialogue Cicero was well acquainted[1], and it is to this, as well as to the *Phaedrus*, that he refers, when he characterises Plato as the *exagitator omnium rhetorum* (42). In the *Phaedrus*, we have what is in fact a treatise on rhetoric thrown into a dramatic form. Here, as in the *Gorgias*, the author holds up to ridicule the writers of the popular rhetorical treatises; but instead of denouncing rhetoric unreservedly, he even draws up an outline of a new rhetoric founded on a more philosophical basis, and resting partly on dialectic, which aids the orator in the invention of arguments, and partly on psychology, which enables him to discriminate the several varieties of human character in his audience and to apply the means that are best adapted to produce that 'persuasion' which is the object of his art[2]. This work also was carefully studied by Cicero. Elsewhere, he refers to the scene of the dialogue, beneath the shade of the plane tree, beside the stream of Ilissus[3]; and, not to dwell on his passing allusion to one of its etymological sallies[4], he gives a rendering of more than one striking extract from its pages[5]. In the *Orator*, he translates (in § 41) the comparison between Lysias and Isocrates towards the end of the dialogue, and the translation is sufficiently close to help in deciding a minute but not unimportant point in the text of the original. He also alludes to the epithet λογοδαίδαλος which Plato applies to the rhetorician Theodorus (§ 39)[6], and expressly refers to the passage in which Plato prepares the way for proving that a philosophic training is essential to a perfect orator by attributing the preeminence of Pericles to his frequent converse with Anaxagoras (§ 14, 270 A). With the latter part of this last passage Cicero blends what we may fairly regard as a reminiscence of the memorable sentences on the following page, in which the importance of psychology is insisted on (271 B and D).

The hints that Plato throws out in the *Phaedrus* are elaborately expanded in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, especially in the first two books, which deal with the modes of producing persuasion (the πίστεις). In the first book these are classified; while the second includes (1) 'a careful analysis of the affections of which human nature is susceptible and also of the causes by which such affections are called forth; (2) a

τριβὴ καὶ ἐμπειρία, cf. Phaedrus 260 E, *ἄτεχνος τριβή*.

[1] de Or. i 47, iii 122, 129; Tusc. v 35.

[2] Thompson's *Phaedrus*, p. xiv.

[3] de Or. i 28, de Leg. ii 6.

[4] In de Div. i 80 (*μαντικὴ* from *μανία*).

[5] 245 C—E in Tusc. i 53 f. and de Rep. vi 27, and 250 D in de Fin. ii 52 and de Off. i 5.

[6] We can hardly suppose that the *deliciae vel potius ineptiae* of Thrasymachus, Gorgias and Theodorus (39), are a reminiscence of *τὰ κομψὰ τῆς τέχνης* (266 D) as seems to be implied in Thompson's note. Cicero's phrase refers to minute and trivial niceties of *rhythm*; Plato's, to subtle technicalities connected with the *subdivisions of speeches*.

descriptive catalogue of the various modifications of the human character and the sort of arguments adapted to each"[1]. The first two books, which thus deal with the invention of arguments (εὕρεσις), are followed by a third which is occupied with two other parts of rhetoric, style and arrangement (λέξις and τάξις), the subject of delivery being touched upon in such a way as to shew that its adequate treatment is still in the future. Cicero makes the orator Antonius confess in general terms to having read the rhetorical works of Aristotle[2]. He himself, as we have already seen, was well acquainted with the συναγωγὴ τεχνῶν. With the *Topica* he was fairly familiar, and we a[illegible] that he had a copy of that work in his library[3]. To the [illegible] he refers vaguely in several passages[4], but his direct quotati[illegible] it are not numerous[5]. In the *Orator*, the opening words [illegible]totle's treatise are translated (114); we have also a r[illegible]precept that 'prose should be rhythmical without bei[illegible], iii 8 § 1); further, a free translation of some si[illegible] (192—3), and a brief allusion (228) to other parts of [illegible] There are also several other parallels to which attention is [illegible] notes on §§ 51 (iii 1 § 6), 99 and 210 (iii 7 § 11) and 178 (iii 9 § 6), in all of which the thought originally occurs in the third book of the *Rhetoric*, and, with one slight exception, in the immediate context of the passage translated from the eighth chapter[6].

Aristotle's distinguished pupil, Theophrastus, was like his master a writer on Rhetoric. No less than ten works on this subject, all of them now lost, are ascribed to him by Diogenes Laertius (v 46—50), and of these the one which is presumably most closely connected with the *Orator* is the treatise περὶ λέξεως, which in Cicero's time was still extant,

[1] Thompson's *Phaedrus*, Introd. p. xx.

[2] de Or. ii 160 'Aristotelem, cuius et illum legi librum, in quo exposuit dicendi artes omnium superiorum, et illos, in quibus ipse sua quaedam de eadem arte dixit'.

[3] For references to the Topica of Aristotle see de Or. ii 152 and Or. 46. Cic. Topica 1 (see above p. l, note 1, and Grote's *Aristotle* i 44).

[4] de Or. i 43, 55 (Ar. and Theophrastus).

[5] In his earliest rhetorical work, he quotes the classification of the different kinds of speeches into the genus *demonstrativum*, *deliberativum* and *iudiciale* (the γένος ἐπιδεικτικόν, συμβουλευτικόν and δικανικόν of Ar. Rhet. i 3 § 3. The same classification is found in the *auctor ad Herennium* i § 2, but without any *mention of Ar.*). Cic. rightly ascribes it to Aristotle, 'qui huic arti plurima adiumenta atque ornamenta subministravit' (de Inv. i 7 cf. de Or. ii 43); and mentions *utilitas* as, according to Aristotle, the *finis* of the *genus deliberativum* (τὸ συμφέρον Rhet. i 3 § 5). In the *de Oratore* ii 32 we have a paraphrase from *Rhetoric* i 1 § 2, although not the slightest hint is given of its source (see Wilkins, de Or. l. c.). In the *partitiones oratoriae* (not to dwell on passages of greater uncertainty) we have in § 10 a parallel to i 3 § 2 of the *Rhetoric*.

[6] For other passages where the resemblance to the third book is less close, see notes on §§ 66 (1 § 8), 72 (7 § 1), 88 (18 § 7), 175 (1 § 9).—On the general question of Cicero's acquaintance with Aristotle, see Madvig, de Fin. *Excursus* vii p. 840, 843.

as it is quoted very shortly after by Dionysius[1]. Theophrastus is definitely mentioned in §§ 39 (on the style of Herodotus and Thucydides); 79 (on the four points of excellence in style); 172, 228 (on the rhythm of prose); and 194, 218 (on the paean). Several other passages where he is not expressly named, may with some probability be traced to him, e.g. 55 (on delivery and its effect on the emotions), 80 (on beauty of diction) and 81 (on moderation in metaphor). To Theophrastus also is due the threefold division of style into the grand, the plain, and the mixed or intermediate, which Cicero adopts in §§ 20, 21. With Theophrastus, however, these divisions represent the successive stages of a historical development; while to Cicero, whose object is purely critical, they are simply the different varieties of diction coexisting at the same time and sometimes even in the same person.

Isocrates is repeatedly referred to. His *Philippus* and *Panathenaicus* are quoted in illustration of his use of the figures of diction[2]; and to him, amongst others, is ascribed the rule that prose should be rhythmical, without being metrical[3]. Certain of his pupils are mentioned among Cicero's authorities, though it is quite uncertain whether he is quoting them at first hand or not. To Ephorus, who wrote a treatise *περὶ λέξεως*, he makes an incidental reference (172), alluding also to his views on the paean (218) and on the rhythm of prose (191—2, 194). Naucrates he merely mentions (172). We may readily conjecture that he had found good reason for mistrusting this authority, for it was this particular pupil of Isocrates who, by an undue partiality for his master, had ascribed to him the merit of having been 'the first to charm the ear with rhythmical prose' (de Or. iii 173), and had thus misled Cicero into assigning to Isocrates the credit of being the *inventor* of prose-rhythm and ignoring the prior claims of Gorgias and Thrasymachus. This mistake he corrects in the *Orator* (174—6)[4]. It may be fairly inferred that the

[1] De comp. verb. 16 (see note on § 79) and de Lysia 14 Θ. *ἐν τοῖς περὶ λέξεως γραφεῖσι...καταμέμφεται τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀντιθέσεις καὶ παρισώσεις καὶ παρομοιώσεις καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις σχήματα διεσπουδακότων*, where a few sentences on *ἀντιθέσεις* are cited from it...*τὸ μὲν ἴσον καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον παιδιῶδες, καθαπερεὶ ποίημα· διὸ καὶ ἧττον ἁρμόττει τῇ σπουδῇ· φαίνεται γὰρ ἀπρεπὲς, σπουδάζοντα τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς ὀνόμασι παίζειν καὶ τὸ πάθος τῇ λέξει παραιρεῖν· ἐκλύει γὰρ τὸν ἀκροατήν* (cf. § 209). This passage should be added to the fragments in vol. iii p. 191 of Wimmer's ed. of Theophrastus.

[2] §§ 38, 176.

[3] 187, 190. Cicero *was not himself acquainted with any rhetorical treatise*, or *τέχνη*, by Isocrates, although some indications of its existence have come down to us (Blass iii B 343).

de Inv. ii 8 (Isocr.) 'ipsius quam constat esse artem, non invenimus; discipulorum autem atque eorum qui protinus ab hac sunt disciplina profecti, multa de arte praecepta reperimus'.

[4] In Professor Jebb's *Attic Orators* ii 61 it is observed with perfect justice that Isocr. was the earliest *great* artist in the rhythm proper to prose; but his statement that Cicero 'more than once calls him its discoverer', should be read in the light of Cicero's subsequent correction. In the note he refers to the *Brutus* (32), and adds that, in Or. 175, Cicero 'quotes Thrasymachos himself

correction suggested itself to him while he was studying the pages of Theophrastus who certainly wrote on the style of Thrasymachus and most probably on that of Gorgias also[1].

Lastly, Theodectes, who was not only a pupil of Isocrates but also a friend of Aristotle, is simply quoted as at one with Theophrastus in holding the same view as Aristotle on the use of the paean (193, 218), and as concurring in the precept that prose should be rhythmical without being metrical (172).

The reader of the *Orator* cannot fail to be struck by the way in which Cicero repeatedly fers [illegible] of art in illustration of his theme. Thus he mentior [illegible] :es of painting, the Ialysus of Protogenes and the Coan [illegible] elles; and, of sculpture, the *doryphorus* of Polycleitus [illegible] ian Zeus of Phidias (5). On the ideal beauty of this [illegible] the chryselephantine statue of Athene, he dwells in [illegible] istic language. He is even familiar with the elabora [illegible] ield of the goddess, which, he implies, was not only beau [illegible] plete composition but also, if taken to pieces, no less beautiful in [illegible] (234). He further alludes to the manner in which the different degrees of sorrow are portrayed in the Sacrifice of Iphigenia by Timanthes (74); he touches, in passing, on the delight which was still afforded by pictures belonging to the earlier age when the colours used were but few in number (169); he notes the varieties of taste that prevailed in such matters, some preferring a 'rude, rough and sombre' style, others one that was 'bright, cheerful and brilliantly coloured' (36); and, lastly, he makes an appropriate reference



COINS OF ELIS WITH THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS.

(*See note on page* 6.)

to the same effect', apparently meaning thereby (for the words are liable to be misunderstood) 'assigns the same credit to Thras. which he had assigned to Isocr. elsewhere'. Had Cicero frankly said *in the Orator* that he had been himself *misled in the two earlier passages*, his latest statement on this point would alone have been quoted as expressing his real opinion.

[1] This may be concluded from Dion. Hal. de Dem. chapters 2—4; cf. *supra* pp. ix, x.

to the criticism of Apelles on the artists who, unlike himself, did not know when they had done enough (73).

Cicero's tastes in art resembled those of the most cultivated Romans of his time, but it may be doubted whether his knowledge of the subject was much more than superficial. In his travels he had, like Brutus, or any other intelligent Roman, seen the most famous of the works of art that came in his way as, for example, the master-piece of Protogenes at Rhodes. At Athens, he had spent some time during his earlier travels, but his interest was mainly concentrated on the study of rhetoric and philosophy, and not on that of art. He had visited it again on his way to Cilicia in 51, staying there about a fortnight, delighted with the place[1] and with the *urbis ornamentum*[2]. A year later, on his return from his proconsulship, he takes it on his way to Rome, and on hearing some disquieting rumours of the approaching civil war, he writes to his friend: 'What will become of us? How glad I am now that my quarters are on the Acropolis'[3]. It is obviously not the artistic splendour of his surroundings, but the security of his position on the platform of the Athenian citadel that is, for the immediate moment, his engrossing thought.

It was not, however, from travel alone, that he derived his acquaintance with the art of Greece. It may readily be assumed that he was also indebted to Greek writers on the subject, such as his contemporary Pasiteles who wrote a work in five books on the master-pieces of art throughout the world[4]. It is also probable that he learnt much from Varro who produced a remarkable work entitled *Imagines*[5], possibly including portraits of artists as well as other celebrities, and who, even in the small part of his writings that is still extant, has more than one reference to Greek art[6].

But Cicero does not appear to have regarded art as a subject of serious study. He avails himself of allusions to art as a source of illustration for other subjects, like rhetoric, with which he was far more familiar; and he has also a fancy for works of art as a means of adorning his various villas. In his earliest letters to Atticus, written two and

[1] ad Att. vi 1 § 26.

[2] See the commentators on ad Att. v 10 § 5.

[3] ad Att. vi 9 § 5 'quaeso quid nobis futurum est? in arce Athenis statio mea nunc placet' (cf. Merivale's note on Abeken's *Life and Letters of Cic.* p. 269).

[4] Pasiteles is once mentioned by Cic. (*de Div.* i 79). He is several times referred to by the elder Pliny who tells us he was commended *by Varro in one of his works now lost (xxxv 156); ib. xxxiii* 156 'circa Pompeii magni aetatem'. xxxvi 39 'quinque volumina nobilium operum in toto orbe'. The title of his work seems to have been περὶ ἐνδόξων (or παραδόξων) ἔργων. Cf. Otto Jahn in *Säcks. Gesell.* 1850 p. 124 quoted by Goehling *de Cic. artis aestimatore* p. 32.

[5] Plin. N. H. xxxv 11.

[6] de L. L. ix §§ 12, 18; he is quoted on points of art in Plin. N. H. xxxiii 154, xxxiv 56, xxxv 113, 154–7, xxxvi 17, 41.

twenty years before the *Orator*, we find him repeatedly sending h friend commissions for the purchase of works of art that would be sui able for his country-house at Tusculum:—statues of Megarian marbl double busts in Pentelic marble with heads of bronze, representir in one case Hermes and Athene, and in others Hermes and Heracle besides richly carved well-covers, and reliefs for his lesser *atrium*[1]. F the time, at least, it becomes a kind of hobby; but most of these worl are for the adornment of his study, and he is even more eager abo his books than his busts[2]. In a letter of uncertain date written Fadius Gallus (ad Fam. vii [illegible] obviously annoyed to find hir self committed to purchasing [illegible] ormous price a Mars and son Maenads, both of them subjec[illegible] arly inappropriate (he thinks) his peaceful and sober [illegible] same letter he adds that he wanting to decorate [illegible] ne alcoves he has lately throw out in a colonnade of [illegible], 'for' (he adds) 'if anything that line pleases me, it [illegible] is is not, it is true, the langua either of an enthusiastic [illegible] or of an intelligent *connoisseu* but we may at least accept it as a pledge of condescending appreciatio Elsewhere, he compares his chagrin at the sudden defacement that ha come over the character of Pompeius, which 'he had himself depict in the most glowing colours', to the mortification that would have be felt by an Apelles or a Protogenes, had they seen the master-piec of their art besmeared with mire (ad Att. ii 21 § 4); and, in the *Brut.* (257), where he is protesting against a merely utilitarian view of art a other matters, after admitting, by way of illustration, that it was of mo importance to the Athenians to have good roofs to their houses than possess the most beautiful ivory statue of Athene, he declares th whatever others might hold, he would himself far rather have been Phidias than the cleverest carpenter in Athens. But it is when l is dealing with points of *rhetorical criticism* that these illustrative cor parisons are most frequent[3]; and, in some of these instances, there a indications of a consciousness of a certain parallelism in the successi stages of development in oratory and in art[4], without, however, a comparison being instituted between individual artists and individu orators[5].

[1] ad Att. i 10 § 3; for other references, see note on § 5, p. 5.

[2] ad Att. i 4 ad fin., 10 § 4.

[3] See the references in the note on § 5, p. 5.

[4] e.g. *Brut.* 70, and compare the fuller and more accurate criticism of Quintilian, *xii 10 §§ 1—9.*

[5] *A deeper insight* is shewn by writers such as Demetrius (περὶ ἑρμηνείας 1[illegible] who compares the old εἰρομένη λέξις Greek prose to the archaic forms of scul ture and the subsequent periodic style the works of Phidias; and by Dionysi (de Isocr. ad fin.), who compares Is crates to Polycleitus and Phidias κα τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλότεχνον καὶ ἀξιωμ τικόν, and Lysias to Calamis and C[illegible]

was sent into exile, his house on the Palatine burnt and
ited, many of his choicest works of art were doubtless
troyed; but, before his departure, he carried his favourite
ra up to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and
it with the inscription MINERVAE CVSTODI VRBIS, and
rs later, in the last year of Cicero's life, it was damaged
rm, it was repaired by decree of the senate[1]. But,
of art may in various ways have passed from his pos-
that when he wrote the *Brutus* (24), one of the lawns of
ulum was adorned with a statue of Plato; and we may
iat it was still standing on that spot, when, a few months
d on the opening pages of the *Orator* more than one
to his fame.

VII. Abstract of the Orator.

rally falls into three main divisions: (i) the *Prooemium* or Intro-
) the *Tractatio* or treatment of the subject (33—236), and (iii) the

(i) *Prooemium* (1—32).

gins with observations on the difficulty of the task which he is
urgent request of his friend Brutus (1—2). The subject is then
terms, namely, an enquiry into the highest type of eloquence.
ss is, to attain the highest standard in any art, the student must
this difficulty (3—6). The subject is next more precisely defined
of the Ideal Orator. The general notion of an ideal is thereupon
he philosophy of Plato and from the art of Phidias (7—10).
ils of the ideal orator is primarily a philosophical training (11—19),
not of one style only, but of all. The three styles, the grand, the
ermediate, are accordingly briefly discriminated (20—21). De-
ribed as the perfect example in all alike, and as therefore the
tic eloquence (22—23). Then follows a disquisition on the true
riticisms on the various models followed by the Atticists of the day

ότητος ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς
(de Dinarcho 7 ad fin.)
riterion applied to the
nd their imitators, to
pelles and Polycleitus
ollowers (Blass *G. B.*
y (de Isaeo 4) the style
pared to that of the
h as Polygnotus and
their correct outlines
, and that of Isaeus to
and shade and more
f artists such as Zeuxis
and Parrhasius. Among minor illustrations from art, applied by the same writer to rhetorical composition, may be mentioned de Comp. Verb. 21 p. 146, and 23 p. 171 (painting), ib. 22 p. 148 (building), ib. 25 p. 208 (glyptic and toreutic), p. 209 (painting and toreutic); de Isocr. 13 (painting); de Dem. 41 init. (painting), ib. 50 p. 1108 (Polycleitus, Phidias, Alcamenes; Polygnotus, Timanthes, Parrhasius), and ib. 51 p. 1112—4.

[1] de Leg. ii 42, de Domo 144; Plut. Cic. 31; ad Fam. xii 25 § 1.

(ii) *Tractatio* (33—236).

The transition from the general introduction to the treatise itself is formed by a special introduction beginning with renewed reflexions on the formidable nature o the task undertaken by Cicero at the instance of Brutus, who is now engaged with singular success in the administration of Cisalpine Gaul, and passing on into other personal references to the circumstances in which the work has been composed, in particular to the author's recent publication of the *laus Catonis* (33—35).

The attempt to define and set forth the perfect ideal must not be discourage by existing divergences of opinion on points of taste and criticism (36). The proposed delineation of the perfect orator will be restricted to the practical oratory o public life, to the exclusion of that of [illegible] deictic branch, which, however, is fa from being unimportant to the orator [illegible] ect to form of expression (37—42). Then follows (43) the portraiture of t[illegible] t orator in the three relations of (i *inventio* (44—49); (ii) *collocatio* (50); [illegible]) *actio* and *elocutio*. Owing to th great variety of the elements that ente[illegible] onsideration, the investigation of hi relations to *actio* and *el*[illegible] is [illegible] lifficult task (51—53). Next comes brief but very comprehe[illegible] very (54—60); and after this a lon and elaborate disquisition [illegible]. The style of the perfect orator i first considered *negatively*, as [illegible] that of the philosopher (62—65), th sophist (65), the historian (66), [illegible] 66—68). It is next considered *positively*, and in the first place *generally*, in the orator's three functions of *docere delectare* and *flectere*, and also in relation to the three kinds of style. In all these h must exhibit a just sense of propriety (69—74). Passing from the general to th particular, we find that one of the points in which he shews a complete mastery c his art is the skilful employment of all the three *genera dicendi*, firstly of the plai style (76—90); next, of the intermediate style (91—96); and lastly, of the gran style (97—99). While the perfect orator must be master of all the three, his geniu is specially seen in the harmonious combination of the grand style with the tw others (100—101). The endeavour to attain such a combination may be illustrate from the author's own speeches (102—110), while for its completely successfu achievement he points to the perfect example of Demosthenes (111—112). Th orator must also be equipped with a knowledge of the subject-matter of (i) philosoph in its several branches of dialectics (113—7), ethics (118), and 'physics' (119); (i jurisprudence and history (120); and (iii) the theory of rhetoric (121). Then follo observations on the formal treatment of the different parts of the speech (122—5) of *θέσις* and *αὔξησις* (125—7); of *ἦθος* and *πάθος* (128—133); also on the prope employment of oratorical ornament, the *lumina verborum* (134—5) and *sententiarum* (136—9).

Before proceeding to treat of the arrangement of words and the construction of sentences, Cicero justifies himself for devoting his present leisure to such apparentl unimportant topics. He then deals with the proper collocation of words, in accord ance with the laws of euphony, entering into many minute details and illustrating h points with numerous examples (149—162); next, with the use of antithesis an other forms of symmetrical expression (163—167); lastly, with the subject of rhythm which occupies the remainder of the work.

After some introductory remarks in justification of oratorical rhythm (168—173 he dwells on its origin and historical development (174—176), its cause and foun dation (177—8), and then discusses at length its essential nature (179—182). In th course of this discussion the following enquiries are started and answered. Is the

such a thing as rhythm in prose and what is its nature (183—7)? Is this rhythm the same as that of poetry? and if so, what rhythm or rhythms must be used in prose (188—190)? What kinds of rhythms are most appropriate to the different varieties of prose (191—8)? Should the use of rhythmical forms be extended over the whole of the period or be limited to its beginning and ending (199—202)? The answers to these enquiries are briefly summed up (203), and are succeeded by a lengthy discussion on the right employment of rhythm (204—236). In the course of this discussion, replies are given to questions relating to the use, in forensic and deliberative oratory, of the highly rhythmical style of epideictic compositions, the questions being 'where must it be used?' (210), 'how long should it be kept up?' (211), and 'how should it be varied?' (212—220). The author also dwells on the appropriate employment of short and pointed sentences as specially suitable in the forensic branch of oratory (221—6). He concludes with an eloquent eulogy of the truly rhythmical style as distinguished from its feeble and ineffective caricature, and with an equally eloquent assertion of its real and practical importance (227—236).

(iii) *Epilogus* (237—8).

The concluding observations are addressed to Brutus. Cicero has endeavoured to state his own opinion as to the ideal type of orator, and cannot pretend to have done anything more. If he has failed to give satisfaction, either the task is in itself impossible, or, in seeking to oblige a friend, he has over-estimated his own capacity.

VIII. On the Text of the Orator.

The MSS of the *Orator*, like those of the *de Oratore*, fall into two principal divisions: (i) the *codices mutili*, or incomplete MSS, containing about a hundred sections (§§ 91—191) in the body of the work, and also the last eight sections; and (ii) the *codices integri*, which contain the whole.

The most ancient representative of the *codices mutili* is the *codex Abrincensis* (*A*; no. 238 in the Catalogue of the MSS of Arras and Avranches published in 1872). It was formerly preserved in the monastery of Mont St Michel, and it is included in the list of the MSS of that monastery in the comprehensive work of Montfaucon, the *Bibliotheca-rum Bibliotheca* (ii 1360, no. 184), published in 1739. In 1792, on the suppression of the French monasteries, it was transferred with many others to the neighbouring town of Avranches, which, from its lofty situation a few miles inland from the coast of Normandy, commands a fine and extensive view in which the island of Mont St Michel is a prominent object across the estuary. In 1840, Victor Cousin, who was then Minister of Public Instruction, commissioned M. Felix Ravaisson to examine the libraries of the western departments of France, and the report, published in the following year, included a selection of readings

from the *codex Abrincensis* which was contributed by M. Ed. Héricher, a scholar and antiquarian who is still living at Avranche In the following year it was examined by Schneidewin and v Leutsch[2]. Neither, however, of these collations proved to be suffi ently accurate or complete for the purposes of textual criticis accordingly, in 1881, it was very carefully collated by Dr Heerdegen Erlangen, with the assistance of M. Le Héricher, and the results of t collation were incorporated in a critical edition published in the autu of 1884. In September 1884, I visited Avranches and spent seve days in verifying afresh the r f the MS, and was thus enabled test the accuracy of Dr Heer ollation, and at the same time correct his readings in a few u ely unimportant instances[3].

The MS is written on 60 lea f parchment of the dimensions 9 inches by 8, including an o rgin of an inch and a-half. T first 50 leaves contain porti *de Oratore*. At the top of the 5 after a blank page, the tran he *Orator* begins, the first wo being *-loque robustius* in § 9 this point it goes on withou break as far as leaf 60, down ords *trochaeum quo enim* in § 1 These are immediately followed by *-per versetur genere* in § 231, w nothing to denote that any omission has taken place. After this co the last few sections of the work, which is finished on the back of l 60. With the kind permission of the Librarian, M. Duprateau, I ma a *facsimile* of the two extracts here reproduced, (*b*) containing the f few lines, and (*c*) the part where the abrupt transition above-mentio occurs (see frontispiece)[4].

The extracts from the *de Oratore* are for the most part written i

[1] *Rapports au ministre de l'instruction publique sur les bibliothèques des départements de l'Ouest*, published by Joubert, Paris, 1841. The select readings are printed on pp. 312—7, and are thus referred to in the preface: 'Je n'ai pas relevé toutes les variantes qu'offre le manuscrit, et dont un assez grand nombre sont des fautes évidentes: je me suis borné aux leçons qui m'ont paru plausibles. Plusieurs, à ce qu'il me semble, apportent au texte des ameliorations incontestables'.

[2] *Philologus*, x p. 758, xi p. 379, and H. Rubner, *de Oratoris Tulliani cod. Laur.* p. 9 (quoted by Heerdegen).

[3] See critical notes on §§ 109, 136, 142, 183, and (for some smaller points) 93, 151.

[4] After my own *facsimile* had been lithographed with such accuracy as is attainable by that process, there appeared, in June 1885, the second part of Émile Chatelain's *Paléographie des C siques Latins*, (Hachette) Paris, a col tion of specimens of important L MSS admirably reproduced in *héliogra* by Dujardin. Plate XIX consists of pages from the *codex Abrincensis*: (1) Or. iii. 115 'mente quasi impressun 119 'eadem sunt membra in utriusq and (2) Or. 143 '-pore et discentibus— 'apte cadat atque'. In the descrip letterpress it is somewhat unfairly st that Orelli, in his ed. of 1845, *a publié les variantes assez inexactem* As a matter of fact, the Zürich edito Cicero faithfully copied the colla communicated to him by the cour of the inspector general of the libra of France, but was himself in no responsible for the imperfections of collation.

hand of the ninth century, with the exception of about six pages supplied by a somewhat later hand, which has also added the portions of the *Orator* above described. In the upper right-hand corner of the blank page opposite to that on which these portions begin, there is a memorandum *hic deest quaternus*, in writing which is ascribed to the first part of the 13th century[1]. As §§ 91—180 occupy exactly eight leaves, it is suggested by Heerdegen that it is highly probable that §§ 1—90 occupied the same space, thus filling exactly eight leaves. He infers that the first 90 sections were included in the original from which this MS was copied, and also in the copy itself; and that they were torn out of the latter, in or before the beginning of the 13th century. (The statement that several leaves are missing is, I admit, not inconsistent with the present appearance of the binding of the MS.) On the other hand, §§ 191—231 were probably wanting in the original, as the transcriber goes on without a break from *quo enim* in § 191 to the middle of the word *sem-per* in § 231.

The suggestion that §§ 191—231 were missing in the original may be readily accepted, but it is less easy to admit the inference drawn from the fact that the second ninety sections fill exactly eight leaves. It will be observed that this inference assumes that the first ninety sections occupy the same amount of room as the second, which is not the case. Taking Kayser's text, I find that the number of lines of print in §§ 1—90 is 800, whereas in §§ 91—180 we have 920. Thus the first ninety sections would fall short of the amount necessary to fill the eight leaves of a *quaternio*, by 120 lines,—the equivalent of one leaf in our MS, which has on each page as much as would fill about 58 lines in Kayser's text. This difficulty can of course be got over by assuming that the transcriber left the first leaf blank and began on the third page. It is worth while, however, to draw attention to another point which suggests a different conclusion. The following table shews the portions which are preserved in *A* and the portions which are missing, with the number of complete lines of print in Kayser's text, corresponding to each.

parts missing	*parts preserved*
§§ 1—90 = 800 lines.	§§ 90—191 = 1030 lines (about).
§§ 191—231 = 415 lines.	§§ 231—238 = 76 lines.

It will be observed that the first of the two missing portions is as nearly as possible double the extent of the second. Thus it would appear that eight leaves were lost at the beginning, and four after § 191. Keeping this in view, I consider it probable that the lost MS from which

[1] See facsimile (*a*).

A was copied consisted of three *quaterniones*, containing the following sections respectively:

(i) §§ 1—90 = 800 lines of print, written on 8 leaves.

(ii) §§ 91—172 = about 800 lines of print, written on 8 leaves.

(iii) §§ 173—191 quod enim = about 200 lines = 2 leaves
§§ 191 paean habet—231 in eodem sem- = 415 lines = 4 leaves
§§ 231 -per versetur—238 = 76 lines = a page and a half = 1 leaf.
blank 1 leaf.

It will thus be seen that the [illegible] of the two missing portions corresponds to the four leaves in th[illegible]lle of the third *quaternio;* and we have only to fold a sheet of p[illegible]o sixteen pages, by dividing it into half and repeating the proces[illegible] and then cutting the edges, to see that these are the very leav[illegible]ould most readily fall out. It will also be observed that th[illegible]s probably contained on each page an equivalent to about [illegible] print, or about eight lines less than the copy.

In the orthography of the MS, the following are among the more interesting points. It keeps the correct spelling *pælex* (107) and *scæn[illegible]* (134) instead of *pellex* and *scenae.* The accusative singular of words borrowed from Greek generally ends in *n*, as *Aeschinen* (111), *Isocraten* (174), *allegorian* (94). The accusative plural of stems ending in *i* varies between *is* and *es;* but *aures*, *omnes* are more frequent than *auris*, *omnis*. It generally has *ii* and *iis*, but in 184 *eis;* on the other hand, almost always *idem*, *isdem*, once *iisdem* (172), thrice *eisdem* (157); and only one *i* in compounds of *iacio*, e.g. *subicitur* (92). It sometimes has the earlier form in *o*, in *volgi* (237) and *pervolgatissimus* (147); at other times the later in *u*, in *vult* (111), *vulgo* (146) and *divulgari* (112). It has *u*, always in *adulescens*, and generally in such words as *lubenter* and *lubido* (*libentius*, however, occurs in 236); *optumus* in 136 and 161; never *quo-* or *quu-* but always *cu-;* as *cum*, *relicum* (143), *secuntur* and *locuntur*, *secutus* and *locutus;* once *iniqum* (159); regularly *cotidie* (120) and *cotidianus* (109, 186). In compound verbs, the prepositions are usually assimilated, except in *inrepit* (97), *inluminatum* (182), and *adsensum* (237)[1].

Of the mistakes in this MS, many may no doubt be fairly attributed to the original from which it was copied. Those alone call for special notice, in which a word is accidentally altered by the transcriber owing to a similar word having occurred a few lines earlier; thus in § 92, *orationis* is altered into *ornamenti* owing to the preceding *ornamenta;* in § 98 *argute-que* into *acuteque* owing to the preceding *acuto;* in § 103, *arbitrarer* into

[1] For further details, see Heerdegen, p. vii.

accusarentur owing to *accusationis;* in § 106 *eramus* into *oramus* owing to *oratio*[1]. Similarly in § 162 *una postulata* is due to *-ina postulari.*

Besides the *codex Abrincensis*, 37 *codices mutili* are enumerated by Heerdegen (p. ix). The best known of these are the *Gudianus* 2 (cent. xiv)[2], the *Monacensis* 15,958 at Munich (early in cent. xv), and the *Erlangensis* 303 (cent. xv)[3]. The MSS of this group in our own country are two in the British Museum, *Egerton* 2516 (cent. xiv)[4]; and *Addit.* 19,586 (end of cent. xiv)[5]; one in the library of St John's College, Oxford (cent. xiii or xiv); one in Sir Thomas Phillips' library at Cheltenham 16,284, formerly in the Libri collection (cent. xiv); and one in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow (copied in 1453).

All these MSS agree with the *codex Abrincensis* in omitting §§ 1—90 and §§ 191—231. In some of them the opening words are identical; in others, attempts are made to complete the sense by writing *quantoque robustius* or *multoque robustius.* The most conclusive proof of their derivation from the *codex Abrincensis* rests however on the manner in which they treat the symbol for *autem* which occurs in 28 places in that MS. This symbol resembles the letter h[6]. In all these places and in these alone, it is repre-

[1] Heerdegen, p. viii.

[2] = Gu[3] of Schuetz. It is collated by Klein in Goeller's ed. p. 474. The *codices Gudiani* derive their name from Marquard Gudius, who died in 1689. The above MS and most of those bequeathed by him are in the library at Wolfenbüttel, whence they are sometimes called the *codices Guelferbytani* (cf. Lessing, ed. H. Goering, XV 281).

[3] Collated by Hoerner.

[4] In double columns in extremely small characters, written, according to a note inside the cover, *versus fin. s. xiii.* At the foot of the second column of page 62[v], after a gap of 16 lines, we have the heading *incipit eiusdem liber quartus* (the *Orator*, being here, as often, mistaken for a fourth book of the *de Or.*), followed by *toque robustius.* In the second line we have *enim* by mistake for *autem.* As in *A*, there is a gap (of half a line) after *excola* (155). It belonged to W. H. Black in 1827, and was bought of E. Tucker in 1879.

[5] Begins (after a blank page) with *multoque robustius*, these words being superscribed with *al. toque robustius.* In § 99 has *hic k^m copiosissim'*, where the symbol h (for *autem*) is mistaken for *enim.* The *Orator* is followed by the *de opt. gen. oratorum.* It is a magnificent volume with illuminated initials and several miniature portraits. *It was formerly* in the Sussex collection, and was purchased at Dr Hawtrey's sale in 1853.

[6] See lines 1, 3, 8, 9 in the *facsimile.* The same abbreviation is found in the form h in the 'Book of Kells' (cent. vii), h in the 'Gospels of St. Chad' (about 700); similarly in the Harleian MS of the 'Passio' 2965 (cent. viii), and in the MS of Cassiodorus on the Psalms (plate 164 of *Palaeographical Society's Publications*, series i), also in the Cotton MS of Baeda (cent. viii, ib. plate 141), and in the 'Book of Deer' (cent. x; Camb. Univ. Libr. Ii 6, 32, published in facsimile by Dr John Stuart, 1869). The dot, which is sometimes added in the MS at Avranches (e.g. lines 1 and 3 of my specimen), is apparently a survival of the prolonged stroke starting from about the middle of the curve of the letter h which is often found in the MSS above mentioned. I am indebted to Mr Bradshaw for drawing my attention to this point, and for much interesting information connected with it. To the MSS already quoted may be added the well-known MS of Baeda in the Univ. Libr. (cent. viii), and the Domini Passio &c in the 'Book of Cerne' in the same library, Ll 1, 10 (cent. viii). On my happening to cite, for the use of this symbol, the Harleian MS of the 'Passio', Mr Bradshaw soon made the interesting discovery that it was really a duplicate of this Cambridge MS. The abbreviation

sented in the MS belonging to St John's College, Oxford, by a s
resembling k; and in two of the other English MSS (the secon
fourth of those above enumerated) there are traces of the original
viation. In all the remaining *mutili* the place of the abbreviat
taken, either always or in a majority of passages, by *enim*, thus p
that the copyists must have had before them an abbreviation whic
found it difficult to understand, and suggesting the conclusion th
the *mutili* are derived from the *codex Abrincensis*[1].

Several, however, of the *mutili* differ from the *Abrincensis* in sh
traces of considerable additions or corrections. Thus, in § 103,
A has: *ni vel nota esse accusarentur vel opes possent legere qui quae*
the Erlangen MS has: *ni vel* his *nota esse* qui *accusarentur* aut de
rentur vel per se *possent legere qui quaererent.* Again, in § 106, wh
has: *itaque nostri quicunque orabamus*, the Erlangen MS has: *itaq*
qualitercumque *orabamus.* Lastly, in § 185, while *A* has: *sed ut*
in rebus necessitatis inventa antiquiora sunt quam voluptatis; ita
Herodotus et eadem superiorque aetas, &c., the Erlangen MS, and
that resemble it, have between *voluptatis* and *itaque* the following
ita et (or *ita*) *in hac re accidit, ut multis saeculis ante oratio nuda ac*
ad solos animorum sensus exprimendos fuerit reperta, quam ratio nu
rum causa delectationis aurium excogitata[2]. The character of the
readings proves that the *mutili* in which they occur were correcte

in question is, in slightly varying forms, common to all the above MSS, and is in fact the ordinary Hiberno-Saxon symbol for *autem*.

In Wattenbach's *Anleitung zur Lat. Palaeographie*, p. 24 of lithograph, it is mentioned first among the abbreviations 'principally derived from the *notae Tironianae*'. But it does not follow, as (I suspect) is sometimes supposed, that it is the ordinary *nota Tironiana* for *autem*. By examining the *lexicon Tironianum* in the British Museum (*Addit. MSS*, 21,164; probably the first half of cent. x), I find h given as the equivalent of a, and the same letter, with the addition of certain diacritical marks, standing as the symbol for a number of words in various parts of the lexicon, all of them beginning with a, viz. *ante*, *antea*, *antiquam*, *alteruter*, *alit*, *alea*, *avarus* and *aecum* (the last placed somewhat oddly in a series consisting of *cum*, *tecum*, *aecum*, *secum*, *inicum* and *perinicum*). But in the same lexicon, the symbol for *autem* itself is different. It is ∿. Nevertheless, I think it probable that the copyists of the Hiberno-Saxon MSS, really borrowed their symbol, or something like it, from the *notae* [Tiro]*nianae*, in a MS of earlier date (of than that just mentioned; and tha the best informed among them aware that the symbol was not ori identical with h, but was only equivalent for a, and would have diated such a spelling as *hautem*, as a combination of the symbol h *autem* added to explain it. [Se p. xcix.]

[1] Heerdegen, pp. x—xiii. however, in a review of Heerdege considers two of the *codices muti* lated by Lagomarsini independen (*Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, 13 1884 p. 1823). He supposes that number of the Italian *mutili* are not from *A*, but from a lost MS resembling it, its 'twin-brother', calls it in the *Blätter f. bayer.* 1885 xxi p. 32. There are doubtle culties about the conclusion that *mutili* are derived from *A*; but have been copied in other places reaching the library of Mont St M

[2] Heerdegen, p. xii. The extent interpolation is, however, very unc

interpolated by some unknown scholar, who has been conjectured[1] to be none other than Gasparino da Barziza, of Bergamo, who, before the recovery of the complete MS of the *de Oratore*, conceived the audacious design of writing afresh the lost portions of that dialogue[2]. In the case of the *de Oratore*, his design was apparently only frustrated by the fortunate discovery which we must now proceed to relate.

In the year 1422, Gherardo Landriani, bishop of Lodi (*Laus Pompeia*) near Milan, while searching for some ancient charters in his cathedral church, opened a chest that had long remained closed, and there found a manuscript[3]. This was none other than a complete copy of the principal rhetorical works of Cicero, including the *Brutus*, which up to that time had been entirely lost, and the *de Oratore* and *Orator* which had only been preserved in an imperfect form. News of the discovery spread rapidly among the scholars of Italy, both at home and abroad, reaching Poggio in London and Aurispa at Constantinople. Aurispa was somewhat prematurely promised an early transcript by his correspondent, the enthusiastic copyist and collector of MSS, the Florentine Niccolo de' Niccoli; while Poggio, who, eight years before, had been the first to discover and to transcribe a complete copy of Quintilian, wrote at once to Niccolo, delighted at this similarly unexpected discovery in the same field of literature, and impatiently longing for the chance of copying the MS himself[4]. Meanwhile, the bishop of Lodi sent the precious volume to Gasparino da Barziza, a *grammaticus rhetorque*

[1] By Heerdegen, p. xiii.

[2] Flavio Biondo, in *Italia Illustrata*, Basileae, 1559 p. 346 (=p. 83ʳ of his *Romandiola*, ed. 1503 Venice); Lagomarsini in Bandini, *Cat. Codd. Lat. Bibl. Laurent.* ii 499. On Biondo, the learned antiquarian (1388—1463), see Symonds' *Renaissance*, II² 220—2, and Voigt's *Humanismus*, II² 34.—Cf. Sorof, *de Or.* p. xlvii f.

[3] Biondo, *l. c.* 'repertus Laudae...multis maximisque in ruderibus codex Ciceronis pervetustus et cuius litteras vetustiores paucissimi scirent legere'. Cf. Voigt, I² 247.

Vespasiano, *Vite di Uomini Illustri*, reprinted by G. Barbèra, Florence, 1859, p. 474. 'L'orator ed il Brutus furono mandati a Nicolao di Lombardia, ed arrecorronlo gli oratori del duca Filippo quando vennono a domandare la pace nel tempo di papa Martino, e fu il libro trovato in una chiesa antichissima in uno cassone ch'era stato lunghissimo tempo che non s'era aperto, e cercando di certi privilegi antichi, vi trovorono questo libro in uno esemplo vetustissimo'. On Vespasiano 'the last of mediaeval scribes, and the first of modern booksellers', see Symonds' *Renaissance*, II² 306—8, and Voigt, I² 397, 402.

[4] *Ep.* 16 (10 June 1422, from London), 'de Oratore, quod ais repertum esse Laudae idque Franciscum Barbarum testari; credo quod illi affirmant et hoc magnum est lucrum'; 17 (25 June, ib.), 'libros Tullii de Oratore perfectos, itemque Oratorem et Brutum integros esse repertos summe gaudeo'; 19 (15 May, 1423, from Rome), 'cupio habere de Oratore, Brutum et Oratorem, ideo te rogo ut illos ad me quamprimum mittas'; 48, 51; 53 (23 June 1425) 'postulavi et a te et a Nicola [one of the Medici family] totiens Brutum et Oratorem' &c (quoted, from Poggio's letters to Niccolo, by Mehus, in his long and learned preface to the letters of Ambrogio Traversari, Florence, 1759, p. xlvi). Cf. Detlefsen, *Philologen-versammlung* (Kiel) 1869, p. 104. On Niccolo, see Symonds' *Renaissance*, II² 178—182, and Voigt, I² 298—308.

celeberrimus, who had been invited from Pavia by Filippo Maria Visc and was then engaged in teaching with signal success at Milan[1]. ziza kept the original and sent the bishop a transcript, accomp with a letter in which he naively remarks: *feci autem, ut pro illo tissimo, ac paene ad nullum usum apto, novum manu hominis docti scriptum ad illud exemplar correctum alium codicem haberes*[2]. The ori was last heard of at Pavia in April, 1425.

To recover the readings of this lost MS, which, from the place discovery, is generally known as the *codex Laudensis*, we have to rel three MSS which (as Heerdegen maintains) were directly transcr from it:—

(1) The *codex Florentinus* (*F*) in the Magliabecchian Librar Florence (I 1, 14). It contains the *Brutus* and the *Orator* alone. was formerly in the monastery of San Marco, to which it was bequea by Niccolo de' Niccoli. It was possibly this MS that was sen Niccolo from Milan by the hands of the envoys of Filippo Maria conti, duke of Milan, when they came to Florence to sue for peac the time of Pope Martin V[3]. Its date is determined by a transcri the Laurentian Library (50, 18) which, according to the cop was completed on the 1st of October, 1423[4].

(2) The *codex Palatinus* 1469 (*P*) formerly at Heidelberg, the *Palatina*, and now in the Vatican Library. It contains the *de Or* and the *Orator*. At the beginning of the latter, a hand different to of the copyist, besides making numerous corrections in the text,

[1] Biondo, *l.c.* Cf. Symonds *l.c.* 107.

[2] Gasparino da Barziza, *Opera* p. 215 ed. Furietti, 1723. According to Biondo, the *homo doctissimus* was Cosmus of Cremona, who 'tres de Oratore libros primus transcripsit'. Biondo himself was the first to copy the *Brutus*. Barziza, near the beginning of his letter to the bishop, expressly mentions the *Orator* only, '*Oratorem* a te compertum'; at a later point he congratulates him, 'quod omnes *oratoriae institutionis* partes illas, quibus carebamus, ex his tenebris in lucem extulisti'. It is not clear whether the transcript sent by Barziza consisted of the *de Oratore* alone, or included the *Orator* also.

[3] Detlefsen, p. 102, while quoting Vespasiano, says (in passing) of these negociations: *ich kenne das Ereigniss nicht, das hier angedeutet wird.* After searching in vain in Sismondi, for an embassy that would exactly fall in with the dates above-mentioned, I applied to Professor Creighton, whose 'History of the Papacy during the period of the Reformation' has placed him in the foremost rank a living authorities on the times in que 'Vespasiano', he remarks, in the c of his reply, 'is not a historian, nor he write with historical accuracy. words would most naturally refer t peace made on 8 Feb. 1419, Martin V was in Florence'. But will not suit the dates; there is, how an embassy which is referred to as fo in the *Commentario di Neri di Capponi* (Muratori, *Rerum Ital. S.* xviii 1158): 'Il duca di Milano m del *mese d'Aprile* 1422 cinque amb tori a Firenze, e sponsono la 'mbas a' Signori, cioè quanto esso duca disiderato la pace con la Signoria In any case, Milanese envoys must been plentiful, he assures me, in Flo between 1420 and 1424. (L. Url *Eos* ii 351, 1866, refers, I find, to M tori, *Ann. d'Italia* ix 1, 144, for an bassy in 1422, but needlessly gives in favour of one in 1420.)

[4] Heerdegen, p. xv.

added in the margin: *Incipit orator;* and, against § 91, *huc usque dec* and, lastly, at the close: *Ex vetustissimo codice. Libri tres de Ora ad Q. fratrem. Item orator ad M. Brutum transcripti perfectique pliciuni et ad exemplar emendati. Deo gratias.* This hand is identified Heerdegen as that of Gasparino da Barziza[1].

(3) The *codex Ottobonianus* 2057 (*O*), also in the Vatican Libr It contains the *de Oratore, Orator*, and *Brutus*, and (by another ha the *de optimo genere oratorum.* After the end of the *Brutus* the copyist written in very small characters at the foot of the page: *MCCCCX. die ꝑtio novembr in sero | finit Am.* Between these words and the of the *Brutus* the corrector has written a long statement, in which mentions that the MS belongs to *Franciscus Bossius* of Milan, *Epi pus Cumanus;* and adds: *qui tres oratorii libri* (the *de Or., Or. Brutus*) *correcti auscultati collecti emendati et iustificati fuerunt codice illo vetustissimo et ipsa intuitione religionem quandam ment hominum inferente quem r(everendissimus) p(ater) et d(ominus) d(omi Gerar(dus) Landr(ianus) Episcopus Laudensis et Comes in archivio e siȩ suȩ repperit litterarum cupidior. per Antonium Johannis, Simo Petri, Bossios et me Franč. Viglevium de Ardicijs quanvis .. MCCCCXXV die* xxvi *Aprilis Indictione tercia, in civitate papiȩ stu rum matre.* The statement closes with complimentary references Gherardo Landriani and Francesco Bossio, to the former for the covery of the lost MS, and to the latter *propterea quod primum vetere superiorem codicem non sat a plerisque legibilem ob antiquarum littera effigiem stilumque incognitum in latinas et explicatas bene litteras stud que interpunctas summa diligentia renovavit.* From this it has been cluded that the MS was copied from the *codex Laudensis* in 1422 corrected from the same in 1425 at Pavia, which is the last that we of the original. The corrector, Viglevius, adds in the margin of MS some severe criticisms on the mistakes of the copyist, e.g. in § after correcting *insilit terrā* into *nisi litterā*, he adds: *pessime e amicus noster antiquarum litterarum cognovit effigiem.* Occasionally he a various readings from other sources e.g. in § 159 *al. inclitus* for *indu* in § 163 *al. auratus aries colchorum* for *at tauricos locorum*, and in § after *cogniti: al. etiam a latinis.* Lastly the copyist himself has n in the margin a number of points of orthography in which the orig differed from his copy. This he does in 35 places, adding *Antiq̄* o to indicate the *codex Laudensis.* From these notes it is inferred

[1] id. p. xvi. He has since suggested that *P* was actually copied by Cosmus of Cremona, and is the original of the MS at Modena, mentioned on p. lxxxv, n (*Jahrb. Philol.* 1885, 2 p. 111).

the original MS preserved the older forms *perficiundi*, *maxume*, *volt*, *omnis* and other accusatives plural in *is* from nouns in *i*[1].

The three transcripts above described enable us to arrive, some degree of certainty, at the readings of the lost MS. Of the transcripts the *codex Florentinus* is considered by Heerdegen to b most accurate[2].

Apart from the three transcripts which have just been desc there are a very large number of copies ultimately derived fron same source. These are divided by Heerdegen into three classes:

(1) *codices suppleti*, i.e. *co[illegible] ili* which, after the discovery codex *Laudensis*, have been [illegible] ented from the *codices integri*. this class belong 12 MSS, in[illegible] the *Laurentianus* 50, 1, with others in Italian libraries; a[illegible] in our own country, namely t the British Museum *Harl*[illegible] [3] and 2619[4]; also one belong New College, Oxford, 25[illegible] er in Sir Thomas Phillips' libr Cheltenham, 4273.

(2) the *codices correcti*, [illegible] *integri* corrected with the h *codices mutili*. To this class belong 32 MSS enumerated by Heerd 20 of these are in Italian libraries; among the remainder may be tioned the *codex Dresdensis* Dc 108[5]. The MSS of this class in ou country are one in the British Museum 11, 923[6]; one in the Bod *D'Orvillianus* x 1. 5, 2; one at Magdalen College, Oxford, 206; c

[1] Heerdegen, pp. xvi—xviii. Stangl, in the review of Heerdegen's ed. already referred to, considers O^1 to be the text transcribed by Cosmus of Cremona from the lost MS; O^1 *vetus* the readings of the lost MS itself; and O^2 *al*, as derived from another lost MS belonging to the same general group as the *mutili*, but older and less imperfect than *A*.

[2] Stangl considers *O* and *P* to be only indirect copies of the lost MS and of these he regards *P* as superfluous. On the other hand, he has a high opinion of another MS at Modena (*codex Mutinensis*, vi D 6), which closes as follows, with a statement similar to that in *P*: 'Orator ad M. Brutum feliciter explicit transcriptus perfectusque et ab eo exemplari emendatus: quod a vetusto illo codice primum transcriptum correctumque fuerat: pridie idus Septemb. 1425, Mantuae. F(ranciscus) C(alcagninus)' The date is read as above by Detlefsen, p. 101, and by Heerdegen (*Jahrb. Phil.* u. s. 110). Stangl, *bayer. Gymn.* p. 39, makes it 1424, and insists on preferring *M* to *P*. He has been good enough to supply me with the readings of *M* in several passages, and, so far as I have observed, they are identical with those of *P*. *M*, like *F*, differs from *O* anc being written continuously, with n cation of paragraphs, and in this r it probably agrees closely with th original (ib. 40). The first two plain copies transcribed for scholar other two (especially *O*) more elab embellished for the libraries of w patrons of learning (ib. 42). [Stan accepts 1425 as the date of *M*.]

[3] An illuminated MS forme Wimpole. The subscription ru follows: 'Marci Tullii Ciceronis d fecto oratore liber explicit ad laude amen. Scriptus a me evangelista cisci de Rubeis e Asisio et exple palatio dominorum priorum civitati sii dum ibi eram notarius domino priorum. Anno Domini MCCCCL mense Julii et Augusti. Laus terna Deo et gloriosae Virgini et Sancto Francisco et omnibus'.

[4] Ends with § 195 'si saepe utemur'; marked as belonging to ce

[5] Also the *Guelferbytanus* 199 [C

[6] Formerly in the *Bibliotheca* *riana* (Bp Butler of Lichfield, the of Aeschylus) and in that of H. I The *Orator* is entitled *de perfecto o*

Cheltenham 16, 296 (formerly in the Libri collection) and one in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh 18, 3, 12.

(3) the *codices non mixti*, which have neither been supplemented from the *codices integri* nor corrected from the *codices mutili*. Of these Heerdegen enumerates 63, of which 38 are in Italian libraries. As an example of this class may be mentioned the *codex Gudianus* 38 [= Gu¹ of Schuetz], collated by Weller and Klein. In our own country it is represented by seven MSS in the British Museum, viz. 10, 383[1]; 10,965[2]; 11,922[3]; Harleian 2712[4], 2733[5], and 2771[6]; also by one in the Bodleian, *D'Orvillianus* x 1. 3, 23; one at Balliol College, Oxford, 248 E; one in the University Library, Cambridge, 2299 (emended)[7]; one in that of St John's College, Cambridge, I 12[8] (also emended); one at Cheltenham, 23,088[9]; and lastly one belonging to the University of Glasgow, F 6, 16.

Each of the above three classes includes specimens whose value is derived from the fact that they have been *emended* by scholars. Thus, the *mutili suppleti* (1) include the *codex Laurentianus* 50, 1, which contains such emendations as *dicit* for *dicat* (15); *voluptati* for *voluntati* (68); *oratoris* for *orationis* (69); and *inusitatum* for *usitatum* (80)[10]. As a similar specimen of (2), the *integri e mutilo correcti*, there is the *codex Vaticanus* 1709 (n. 2). Among the emendations in this MS are *cui* for *quo* (3); *ut* for *an* (4); *infringatur* for *infringat* (6).

It is, however, the third class, the *non mixti*, to which most of the emended MSS belong. The most important of these is the *Laurentianus* 50, 31, containing the *de Oratore*, *Paradoxa*, *Brutus* and *Orator*. At the close of the *Orator* are the words: *Scripsit Poggius Martin(i) Papae V Secretar(ius)*; and similarly at the end of the *de Oratore*. We have already seen (on p. lxxxii, note 4), how eager Poggio was to obtain a

[1] 'M. T. C. Brutus; eiusdem de Or. liber ex emendatissimo codice Leonardi Bruni Aretini exemplatus anno 1456', chartaceus, 4to.

[2] Formerly in the *Bibl. Bülow*. It omits the 'interpolation' ('ita et in hac re—excogitata') in § 186.

[3] Formerly in the *Bibl. Butleriana*, 'from the Nicolini library', beautifully written and illuminated; vellum (cent. xv) folio.

[4] A small volume containing the *Orator* alone, formerly belonging to the convent of *Casa Dei*, to which it was presented by Reginaldus de Blott in 1477; vellum, cent. xv.

[5] *Brutus* and 'de oratore perfecto ad Brutum', cod. saec. xv, brilliantly illuminated.

[6] Saec. xv. In § 26 it has *dira* which is corrected into *dura* in the margin, in different ink to the text. *dira* has hitherto been known only as an emendation proposed by Ernesti.

[7] = Mm 2, 4; *de Or.*, *Brut.*, *Or.*, *Paradoxa*, *de Am.*, *de Sen.*; 'a large folio on vellum of 140 leaves in double columns...distinctly written in a Gothic hand of the XVth century. The MS is neatly rubricated, flourished and illuminated. It was collated by Z. Pearce for his ed. of the *De Or.*'

[8] Presented by Thomas Baker, the historian of the College; formerly in the possession of the non-juring bishop, Thomas Wagstaf.

[9] A vellum folio, bound in velvet, formerly in Dr Hawtrey's library; cent. xv.

[10] A collation of this MS by Vitelli is published by Rubner, *de Or. codice Laurentiano*, 1882.

copy of the *codex Laudensis.* Had he not been at a distance fron Italy at the time of the discovery, we should probably be in possessio of a direct copy of that MS, executed by Poggio himself. As it was, h had to be content with copying a transcript only. It is proved b Heerdegen that Poggio's copy was transcribed from the *codex Florenti nus* (*F*). This conclusion is drawn from its coincidence with that M in many passages where it differs from the *Palatinus* and the *Ottoboni anus.* Among the readings found in this MS which may fairly b ascribed to Poggio himself, are *quoi* for *quo* (3); *par est omnia omnibu* (for *omnis omnia*) *experiri* (4); *pos*[illegible] for *esse possit* (7); *iudico* for *vide* (11); *temperatus* for *temperand*[illegible] *singulis* for *singulis* (22); als *unumque* for *que vim* or [illegible] *raescriptionum* for *persecutionum* (141); *anquirit* (210); *p*[illegible] (222); and *tam* for *tamen* (237) With this MS are connected [illegible] MSS at Cambridge, that in th University Library and in the [illegible] St John's College[1]; as also th *codex Vitebergensis* (forme[illegible]berg, now at Halle), written i 1432. This, however, co[illegible] an independent source som emendations (e.g. in § 219, *nu*[illegible]*n*) which are missing in all th three earliest transcripts of the *codex Laudensis*, as well as in Poggio' copy of *F.*

The *codex Einsiedlensis* 307, a manuscript preserved at Einsiedel between the bay of Uri and the lake of Zürich, to which a somewh exaggerated value was ascribed by the Zürich editor, Orelli[2], is prove by Heerdegen to have been derived from *F.* It includes, howeve some emendations independent of that source, such as *ad quod* for *q* (3), *infringatur* for *infringat* (6); and *illius viribus* for *ipsius viribus* (23

The *codex Laurentianus*, 50, 18, copied in 1423 for Cosimo d Medici, is directly derived from *F.* Among its emendations are *na* for *an* (4); *praesentibus* for *praestantibus* (6); and *ex* before *omnib terris* in § 34.

Apart from the evidence derived from actual MSS of the *Orator*, w have a certain amount of testimony as to the text, in the form quotations by various authors, most of whom have been alread mentioned (p. lxvi f.)[3]. To these may be added Rufinus of Antioch, writer on metre and rhythm, who probably belongs to the early part the fifth century, and whose quotations (from §§ 66, 171—4, 212, 21

[1] I find these MSS agreeing with Poggio's in all the readings quoted above, except that they have *unum* and *-que unum* respectively (23), while the Univ. MS retains *video* in 11.

[2] Ed. 1830, p. cxii f. 'codicem istum... *omnium* adhuc collatorum optimum esse diuturno usu comperi'.

[3] In Heerdegen's ed. these *testimon* are very conveniently printed between t text and the various readings; Stan has since given a summary of them p. xii of the *prooemium* to his ed.

and 223) are preserved in a MS of apparently the ninth[1], possibly coeval with the lost *Laudensis*. Again, we have manuscript evidence of the same century in the case of Nonius, who refers to §§ 20, 21, 25, 28, 38, 39, 40, 59 and other passages; of the tenth century, about the time of the *Abrincensis*, in that of Quintilian; and of the twelfth in that of Julius Victor, who gives us excerpts from §§ 57, 69—71, 76—89, 97 and 137[2]. Such evidence, however, though occasionally valuable, must be used with the greatest care and discrimination.

Among editors of the text there has been considerable difference of opinion as to the relative value of the *codices mutili* as compared with the *integri*. While the earliest editors (1469—1511) adhered almost exclusively to the *codices integri*, those of the next age (1514—1550) borrowed cautiously from the *mutili* in passages, where they supplied a better text, more particularly as regards the order of the words[3]. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, the best edition was that of Lambinus (1566), which, however, was to some extent marred by its including interpolations derived from an unsatisfactory specimen of a *codex mutilus* known as the *codex vetus Caroli Stephani* (cod. Parisinus 7750, copied A.D. 1417). In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, appeared the edition of Ernesti (1777), in which some use was made of the *codex Vitebergensis*. In the present century, Orelli's first edition of the whole of Cicero (1826) was succeeded by a separate recension of the *Orator* by his pupil Meyer (1827). In this work special attention was given to such evidence as to the text as could be derived from the quotations of rhetoricians and grammarians. The *apparatus criticus* also included a conspectus of the text as printed by previous editors, together with a record of the readings of the *codex Vitebergensis*, *Dresdensis* and *Monacensis*, as well as of the three MSS at Wolfenbüttel (Guelferbytanus 1, 2, 3), and the *vetus Stephani*. The two last of these, which were much interpolated, led him to form a very unfavourable opinion of the *mutili*[4]; and this opinion received the sanction of Orelli in his special edition of the *Orator* with the *Brutus* and *Topica* (1830)[5], which was mainly founded on the *Einsiedlensis* and *Vitebergensis*, MSS which, it will be remembered, have since been traced to Poggio's copy of a MS still in existence. A collation of the *codex Erlangensis*, left at Orelli's disposal by Beier, led him to distinguish between two classes of interpolations in the *mutili*, one belonging to the middle ages, and another which he ascribed to the fourth or fifth century[6].

[1] Keil, *Gr. Lat.* vi 552—3.
[2] Index to Keil's *Gr. Lat.* Cf. Stangl, *Bayer. Gymn.* 1885 p. 124.
[3] Orelli, ed. 1830, p. cxvii f.
[4] Meyer, *Praef.* xix and note on § 100, p. 57.
[5] p. cxix.
[6] p. cxv.

Peter and Weller in a school edition with critical and explanatory notes in German, published in 1838, regarded the *Vitebergensis* as the best, and, next to this, the *Monacensis* and *Dresdensis*. An appendix to this edition gave a collation of two of the Wolfenbüttel MSS (Gu. 1 and 2). A collation of all three by Klein was similarly printed in a more important edition brought out in the same year by Goeller, with an elaborate though somewhat diffuse Latin commentary, but without any proper *apparatus criticus*. Orelli's third recension of the *Orator* (1845, in Baiter and Orelli's revised edition of the whole of Cicero), was the first to record any re[illegible] *codex Abrincensis*. These were taken from the somewhat [illegible]lation of Le Héricher already mentioned on p. lxxvii, bu[illegible]t allowed much weight in deciding the text. The influence [illegible]*ices integri* was still strongly preponderant, and conjectur[illegible] were very sparingly admitted.

The *codices mutili* as a [illegible] a cloud until their credit was to some extent restored [illegible]n an article written in 1851[1]. Kayser, again, has been foll[illegible]her scholars who have drawn attention to many passages in which the readings of the *integri* are corrupt and must be corrected with the aid of the *mutili*[2]. Kayser's text (1860), while rarely preferring the *codices integri*, as represented by the *Vitebergensis* and *Einsiedlensis*, introduced many readings from the *mutili*, namely the *Abrincensis*, the *Gudianus* 2, and the *Erlangensis*. In point of orthography it shewed a distinct advance on its predecessors. But it was also remarkable for the extreme deference paid to the always interesting and instructive but sometimes rash and unduly sceptical criticisms of the Dutch scholar, Bake, at whose instance numbers of words and clauses are in this edition marked as spurious.

In 1869 appeared the third issue of a school edition with admirably terse and concise German notes by Otto Jahn. For the first edition of this work (1851), several emendations were supplied by Lachmann, and it also received some important contributions from Mommsen. The second edition (1859) included not a few corrections by Sauppe.

Between the second and third editions by Jahn, was published a school edition with German notes by Piderit (1865), who had already edited the *de Oratore* and the *Brutus*. The parallel passages quoted from these last, as well as from Quintilian, are among the many valuable points in this edition, which also gives more attention than that of Jahn to the detailed exposition of Cicero's argument, and has besides an admirably written Introduction, as well as an explanatory index of

[1] Münch. Gel. Anz. 1851, p. 439.

[2] See the articles by K. Schenkl, Stegmann, Hoerner, Rubner, and Stangl, mentioned among the dissertations on p. xcv f.; also the *prolegomena* to Heerdegen's edition, p. xxv f.

proper names and technical terms, giving a considerable amount of information which might perhaps, however, have been more conveniently incorporated in the notes or left to the province of biographical dictionaries and other books of reference. The critical appendix states, and sometimes discusses, the points in which the text differs from that of Orelli and Baiter's revised edition. After Piderit's death, a second edition appeared in 1876, in which, besides some slight corrections in the commentary, important alterations were made in the text by the removal of some unnecessary emendations of Piderit's, and the introduction of textual improvements due to the criticisms of Jahn, Madvig, Sauppe, Schenkl and others. The author of this revision, whose name does not appear in the work itself, is known to have been Halm.

In the last editions of Jahn and Piderit, the text is founded mainly on that of Kayser, which depends unduly on manuscripts removed in the third degree from the *codex Laudensis*, and also rests on an imperfect collation of the *codex Abrincensis*. A satisfactory collation of this manuscript, as well as a statement of the evidence derived from the earliest Italian copies of the *Laudensis*, was one of the many valuable points in Heerdegen's edition of 1884. In his *prolegomena* no less than 185 MSS are carefully enumerated and classified and some of the textual difficulties briefly discussed.

In the Teubner texts, the convenient edition of Klotz (ed. 2, 1863) will shortly be superseded by a new edition of the rhetorical works by W. Friedrich, the first part of which has already appeared. A new recension of the text of the *Orator* has been completed by Th. Stangl of Würzburg, who has recently devoted considerable attention to the MSS of the principal rhetorical works of Cicero.

The text of my own edition has been founded on a careful study of the evidence that has been accumulated by scholars down to the present time. On points of orthography, I am glad to find myself in almost complete agreement with the principles indicated in the Introduction, and carried out in the text, of the masterly edition of the *Academica* recently produced by Dr Reid. Taking Kayser's text of 1860 as the general basis of my revision, I have adhered to it in the following orthographical details. I have kept the ordinary superlative termination *-imus*, not *-umus*, except in § 161, where the older form, *optumus*, is probably right. I have regularly printed *o* after *v* in *volt*, *voltus*, *voltuosus* (60), *volgi* (237), *divolgari* (112), and *pervolgatissimus* (147), where other editors either (as Stangl) consistently print *u*, or (as Heerdegen) sometimes *u* and sometimes *o*, according to the varying evidence of our existing MSS. I have accepted *eis* and *eisdem*, instead of the forms in *ii*. I have retained *-is* as the accusative plural of the *i*-

declension, as in *omnis* and *auris;* and *-em* as the accusative of Greel nouns in *-es*, though I am aware there is good evidence for *-en*. Of th consonantal characters *j* and *v*, the distinctive use of which was appa rently first recommended by Petrus Ramus[1], I have kept the *v*, but no the *j*.

On the other hand, I have abandoned Kayser's text, and followe the best evidence we now possess, in printing *scaena* (86, 134), *paele* (107), *pulcher* (note on 160) and *incohare* (33), instead of *scena*, *pellex* *pulcer* and *inchoare*. While retaining *adferens* (21), *adfluens* (42, 79) *adgressus* (35) and *adcommodare* have preferred the assimilate forms in *irridere*, *illustris*, *llocare*, the consonants lendin themselves to assimilatio... r in the latter case than in th former; though, in both cases, t ilated form probably represent Cicero's own pronunciation, w nassimilated form preserves th most ancient spelling and l etymology. As the genitiv singular of nouns end in *-ius* and *-ium*, I hav adopted *-i* instead of *-ii*, as d *Sulpici* (132), *ingeni* (4) an *tibicini* (198). Further, I have n the text *relicum* (143), *inicum* (159, 183), *secuntur* and *locuntur* (although I have once or twice bee less precise in my notes, e.g. on p. 21). In these instances Kayse and others adhere to the combination *quu*, though they have rightl abandoned what Dr Reid denounces as 'the odious *quum*', which 'is c the rarest possible occurrence even in the most corrupt of MSS'[2]. I the words just mentioned, the earliest evidence we now possess a to the text of the *Orator* is, on the whole, in favour of the forms in c Again, in the very many cases in which words and clauses, and eve whole sentences, are in Kayser's edition placed in brackets and thu marked as spurious, I have very seldom followed him. Lastly, I hav frequently altered his text, in passages where the evidence of MSS of se condary authority has been since superseded by the careful collation c others of primary importance.

I have duly recorded almost all the suggestions recently propose by Heerdegen and Stangl, and I have accepted several of them, e.g. *a quid sequi deceat* (104), *quaere, cur ita sit: dicent iuvare* (159), *uti de* (126) [*et*] *neve* (221)[3]. So far as these eager rivals agree with one another, should probably have gone still further in the same direction with them especially as regards the weight which they, on the whole, justly an deservedly, attribute to the *codex Abrincensis*, had not long familiarit

[1] C. Waddington, *Ramus*, p. 348. V is the normal type in inscriptions, and *u* in MSS, for the vowel and the consonant *alike*.

[2] *Academica* (ed. 1885), p. 73.

[3] The first two are due to Heerdegen the second two, to Stangl.

with the annotated editions of Jahn and Piderit prepossessed me, perhaps unduly, in favour of the traditional text. I may perhaps be allowed to add, that the experience gained by lecturing repeatedly on this subject, as well as the discipline of writing a somewhat extensive commentary, which, as it happened, was already in type before the publication of Heerdegen's recension, and the printing of that of Stangl, have convinced me of the soundness of many passages which the most recent editors have, perhaps needlessly, suspected. But the general value of their critical labours is undoubtedly great; indeed, no one can edit any portion of an author like Cicero, without being conscious of the debt that he owes to his immediate, as well as to his remoter predecessors; and such indebtedness can scarcely be acknowledged in a more useful form than by a detailed conspectus of the literature of the subject. An editor of an ancient text, that has occupied the attention of many generations of scholars, while he is bound to welcome the latest light from every quarter, can hardly attempt such a review of the past in a more appropriate spirit than that suggested by Cicero himself, when dwelling in the *Orator* on the importance of history,—history, which he elsewhere eulogizes as the *testis temporum*, the *lux veritatis*, and the *vita memoriae*[1]:—

quid enim est aetas hominis, nisi memoria rerum veterum cum superiorum aetate contexitur? (§ 120.)

IX. List of Editions, Dissertations, and works of reference.

(A) SELECTED EDITIONS OF THE TEXT.

(1) Ed. Romana, *De Oratore, Brutus* and *Orator* (page 156 *r*, line 4—188 *r* 30) printed by Sweynheim and Pannartz (Rome) [There is a copy of this very rare *editio princeps* of the *Brutus* and *Orator* in St John's Coll. Libr. Ii 1, 48, to which I have frequently referred; the text of the *Orator* in this edition is collated in the appendix to Goeller's ed.], 12 Jan. 1469. (2) *Ven. i, *De Oratore, de perfecto Oratore, Topica, Partitiones, de claris Oratoribus, de petitione consulatus, de optimo genere oratorum;* Bartholomeus Alexandrinus and Andreas Asulanus (Venice) 1485 [a copy of this rare edition, in the Library of the British Museum, 11400 *i*]. (3) *Ven. ii, *Orator, de Fato, Topica, de Universitate*, Bonetus Locatellus (Venice) [a copy of this rare volume, in Trin. Coll. Libr. VI[8] 4, 2 = no. 317 in Sinker's Catalogue; see *infra* B 1] 1492. (4) *Mainly a reprint of (2), by Anthonius Koberger (Nuremberg) 1497. (5) *Mediolanensis, *Ciceronis Opera* [Thomas Linacre's copy of the rare *ed. princeps* of the whole of Cicero, Univ. Libr. Ab 1, 12] Minutianus, (Milan) 1498.

[1] de Or. ii 36.

* Denotes the editions whose readings are recorded by Meyer, no. 30.

(6) *ASCENSIANA I, *Cic. Opera* [generally agrees with (5) in the *Orator*], Parvus et Iodocus Badius (Paris) 1511. (7) *ALDINA I, *Opera Rhetorica* ([Univ. Libr. L 16, 29] 1514. (8) *JUNTINA I, reprint of (7), *Opera R* (Florence), ed. 1, 1514. (9) *TULICHIUS; *Orator* (Leipzig), 1515. (10) * SIANA II, *Opera* (Paris), 1522. (11) *JUNTINA II, *Opera Rhetorica* (Florence (12) *CRATANDRINA, *Opera* (Basel), 1528. (13) *ALDINA II, *Op. R* (Venice), 1533. (14) *GRYPHIANA I; *Orator* cum Victoris Pisani comm Seb. Gryphius (Lyons) 4to, 1536. (15) *P. VICTORIUS, *Opera*, Junta ([Univ. Libr. L 14, 9] 1534—7. (16) ROB. STEPHANUS, *Opera* (Paris) [i Nn 5, 13] 1538, '43 f. (17) *GRYPHIANA II, *Orator*, Franciscus Gryphius 1542 [4to in Meyer's list on p. xxi of his ed.; an ed. in 8vo dated 1536 is asc the same prin... elli i... r *Editionum* p. 232]. (18) MAN *Opera Rhetorica* 15... Libr. L 20, 20], *1550, 1554 [ib. L (19) *CAR ST... O...) [ib. L 13, 15] 1554 f. (20) LAM *Opera* (Paris) ... L... nice) 1569 f, (Paris) 1573 [L 18, 4], *1578 [L 13, 1... fficina Sanctandreana', ii and iii prin Jeremias des Pl... this ed. I have not found either in the Univ. Library ... m]; (Ant. Gryphius, Lyons) 1585 [L (London) 1585 ... 572, all except the first two are post editions; in the ... duced into the text by Lambinus him placed in the ma...

(21) *GOTHOFREDUS (Geneva) 1588, *1617. (22) GULIELMIUS et GRU (Hamburg) [L 13, 19] *1618, reprinted (Leyden) 1642, (Amsterdam) 1659 (London) 1681; edited by Jacob Gronovius (Leyden) [L 16, 4] 1692.

(23) OLIVETUS, *Opera* cum delectu commentariorum, including some con by Muretus (Paris) 1740—2 (repeatedly reprinted). (24) GLASGUENSIS, *Brutus* and *Orator* 18mo (Glasgow) 1748; also *Cic. Opera* 'in aedibus Aca exc. Robertus et Andreas Foulis' 1749 [reprint of text of 23]. (25) J. A. E *Opera* (Halle) *1774—7, inaccurately reprinted in Oxford 1810 and Londo (26) *SCHIRACH, *Orator* (Halle) ['cura admodum levis' Orelli] 1766. OXONIENSIS, *Opera* cum indicibus et variis lectionibus (Clarendon Press, C the text is that of no. 23. [the 'variae lectiones' include the readings of numero mainly those in the libraries of Oxford, collated by Thomas Hearne; at the vol. i are given some readings from the *Orator* in the well-known Balliol MS ψ containing nearly the whole of Cicero] 1783.

(28) C. G. SCHUETZ [denoted in critical notes by Sch.]; *Rhetorica* rece illustravit (Leipzig) *1807; *Opera* (ib.) *1815. (29) *J. C. ORELLI [=o¹] (Zürich) 1826. (30) H. MEYER, *Orator*, ex tribus codicibus [Vitebergensi, censi, Dresdensi] denuo recensuit; addita est integra et codicum [vii] et edi [xxvi] lectionis varietas, pp. xxii + 162 (Leipzig) 1827. (31) C. F. A. N *Opera* (Leipzig) 1828, 1855, 1869. (32) J. C. ORELLI [=o²], *Orator*, and *Topica* (Zürich) 1830. (33) J. C. ORELLI [=o³] and J. G. B *Opera* (Zürich) 1845 f. (34) R. KLOTZ, *Opera*, part ii vol. 2 (Leipzig) 1851 (35) C. L. KAYSER [=K], *Orator* printed separately and also as part of v Baiter and Kayser's *Cicero* (Leipzig) 1860. (36) F. HEERDEGEN (=H), pp. xxxviii + 86 (Leipzig) 1884, reviewed by Th. Stangl in 'Deutsche Lit zeitung' 13 Dec. 1884 p. 1823—4, E. Stroebel in 'Philologische Rundsch

* Denotes the editions whose readings are recorded by Meyer, no. 30.

March 1885 p. 334—41, J. E. Sandys in the 'Academy' 21 March 1885 p. 208—9. and W. Friedrich in 'Philologus', 1885. (37) TH. STANGL [=st] *Orator* pp. xiv+68 (Prague) 1885.

For the bibliography of all editions previous to 1834, see the *Index Editionum* in Orelli and Baiter's *Cicero VI*, *Onomasticon* i pp. 197—215, 232—3.

(B) COMMENTARIES ON THE ORATOR.

(1) VICTOR PISANUS, notes from the lectures of Giorgio Valla of Piacenza [ob. 1499], printed round the text of the ED. VEN. II, *supra* A 3. At the end is the subscription 'finis commentarii in Ciceronis Oratorem accuratissime pro rerum necessitate expositi per magnificum ac generosum dominum Victorem Pisanum, Patricium Venetum', (Venice) 1492. (2) PHILIP MELANCHTHON, *Orator* cum explicationibus P. M. (Rob. Stephanus, Paris) 1534, reprinted eight times in the next thirty years. See Melanchthon's works in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. xvi 769—803. (3) J. L. STREBAEUS, Rhemensis [Strebée, ob. 1550]. *Orator* cum scholiis; justly described by Oliveti, praef. p. 15 ed. 1740, as written 'in tironum gratiam; sed accurate tamen et ab homine artis rhetoricae peritissimo' (Mich. Vascosanus) 1536. (4) In omnes de arte rhetorica M. Tullii Ciceronis libros, doctissimorum virorum commentaria, in unum veluti corpus redacta, ac separatim a Ciceronis contextu, quem a diversis impressum nemo iam in bibliotheca non habet, ne quis inani sumptu gravetur edita. [Includes the above-mentioned scholia of Victor Pisanus pp. 455—90, Melanchthon, pp. 614—623, Strebaeus, pp. 490—614; I have occasionally referred to my copy of this folio volume without, however, finding any help worth mentioning] (Venice, apud Aldi filios) 1546. (5) M. A. MAJORAGIUS, in Oratorem commentarius (J. Oporinus, Basel) 1552. (6) M. JUNIUS, in Oratorem scholia (Strassburg) 1585.

(7) J. PROUST, *Orator* with *Brutus*, *Topica*, *Oratoriae Partitiones*, *de Opt. gen. Oratorum*, cum interpretatione et notis in usum Delphini, iuxta ed. Parisiensem. [Oliveti, praef. p. 15, observes of this commentator: 'ut is maiorum gentium non est, ita nec quintae classis'. Orelli *u. s.* p. 231 describes the reprint of the *Brutus* in 1718 as a 'pessima editio'.] (Oxford) 1716. (8) I. VERBURG, *Opera* cum notis variorum (Amsterdam) 1724. (9) OLIVETUS, *Opera* cum delectu commentariorum = A 23. [Vol. i includes 10 pages of notes on the *Orator*, mainly extracted from Strebaeus and Proust] 1740—2. [The notes on the *Orator* in (7) and (9), and the text of Ernesti, are reprinted with an *apparatus criticus* compiled from the Oxford ed. of 1783, and from Ernesti and Orelli (ed. 1826), in Valpy's *Cicero* vol. ii p. 1425—1552 (London) 1830].

Separate Editions. (10) L. J. BILLERBECK [an inadequate school edition with short German notes], (Hanover) 1829. (11) C. PETER and G. WELLER, a critical and explanatory school edition in German, with Introduction pp. 89, and text and notes &c pp. 270 (Leipzig), 1838. (12) F. GOELLER, [a school-edition with short Latin notes], (Leipzig), 1838. (13) F. GOELLER, [text followed by 352 pages of Latin commentary], (Leipzig), 1838. (14) A. O. LINDFORS, 'notis illustravit et Suethice vertit', pp. 263, (Lunda), 1838. (15) O. JAHN, *Orator* and *De optumo genere Oratorum*, [an excellent school-edition in German, with Introduction pp. 28, text and notes pp. 29—159, short critical appendix pp. 165—7], (Weidmann, Berlin, ed. 1, 1851, ed. 2, 1859), ed. 3, 1869. (16) K. W. PIDERIT, [a comprehensive school-edition in German, with Introduction pp. 28, Analysis pp.

29—32, text and notes pp. 33—159, explanatory indices pp. 160—202, and appendix pp. 203—211]. (Teubner, Leipzig) 1865, 2nd ed. revised by Halm p 1876. (17) A. Henry (Paris) 1866, '75. (18) C. Aubert (ib.) 1866, '7 '78. (19) F. Deltour (ib.) 1867, '72, '77. (20) Hémardinquer (Paris) (21) A. Julien (ib.) 1881. [The last five editions have only a page or Introduction, with a few elementary notes in French at the foot of the text.]

(C) DISSERTATIONS ON TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

(1) J. Rivius, castigationes locorum quorundam ex *Bruto* et ex *Oratore*...(*giacum* i.e. Solingen) 1537. [The *codex* often referred to by Rivius is none than the *Ed. Romana* of 1469; Orelli *n. 1.* p. 226].

(2) H. A. Burchard, animadversiones ad Cic. Or. (Berlin) 1815. (Weller, symbolae criticae ad Cic. Or. pp. 13 (Meiningen) 1837. (4ᵃ) Héricher, collation of the *codex Abrincensis*, contributed to Ravaisson's 'Ra sur les bibliothèques des départements de l'Ouest' pp. 312—7 (Paris) 1841. Von Leutsch, on a collation of the same MS by himself and Schneidewin in the *logus* x p. 758 and xi 379, 1842. (5) J. Bake, de emendando Cic. Or. Brutum pp. 82 (Leyden), 1856; id. ἄτακτα (on Cic. *Orator* §§ 27, 47, 50, Brut Officiis) in *Mnemosyne* ix 299—307, 1860. (6) C. L. Kayser, in *G Anzeigen*, xxxiii 385—439 (Munich) 1851; id. 'zur Literatur von Cic. rhetor Schriften' in *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie* lxxix pp. 503, 844—63 (Le 1859. (7) H. Sauppe, coniecturae Tullianae [includes criticisms on §§ 4, 50, 57, 62, 93], pp. 12 (Göttingen), 1857, id. Tulliana [includes criticisms on 57], pp. 16 (ib.) 1867. (8) M. Seyffert, on §§ 33, 152, 202 in *Zeitschrif Gymnasialwesen*, xv p. 61 f, 1861. (9) E. Vollbehr, symbolae criticae a Or. pp. 18 (Glückstadt) 1864. (10) K. W. Piderit, in *Eos* i 401—9, 18 168—181, 1866; also in *Jahrb. f. Class. Philol.* xci 372—4, 765—772, 1865. (Urlichs, Beiträge zur Handschriftenkunde, Cicero, in *Eos* ii 351, 1866. (1 Detlefsen, 'über die mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken Nord-Italiens', in the *Ver lungen der 27ten Versammlung Deutscher Philologen &c in Kiel*, 1869, esp 93—109 on MSS of Cic. *de Or.*, *Brutus* and *Or.* (Leipzig) 1870. (13 Schenkl, an elaborate review of Jahn's third ed. with many original criticis *Zeitschrift für die Oesterreichischen Gymnasien*, XXI pp. 619—31, (Vienna) (14) J. N. Madvig, Adversaria Critica, vol. ii p. 188—191, on *Or.* §§ 4, 37, 4 68, 80, 144, 147, 160, 227, 231, 235, (Copenhagen) 1873; vol. iii pp. 95—1 §§ 23, 44, 47, 57, 70, 73, 163, 183, 221, 230, (ib.) 1884. (15) K. Steg de Or. Tulliani mutilis qui dicuntur libris [noticed in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* pp. 47 (Osterwieck) no date, 1874—5? (16) W. Friedrich on §§ 8, 111, *Jahrb. f. Class. Philol.* no. 111 pp. 857—64, 1875, and no. 121 pp. 137- (17) E. Hoffmann, on § 23, ibid. no. 113 p. 365—6. (18) W. G. Pluy on § 135, in *Mnemosyne* viii 367, 1858. (19) Chr. Hoerner, Or. Tullian Erlangensem mutilum contulit, adnotationes criticas adiecit [cf. Bursian's *J bericht* xiv 199], pp. 28 (Zweibrücken) 1878. (20) L. Polster, Quaes Tullianae, p. 14—15, in § 57 conjectures *adicit* for *dicit*; § 65 *uberius* for *a* (Ostrowo) 1879. (21) H. Rubner, de Or. Tulliani codice Laurentiano [disseruit collatumque [a Vitellio] protulit, pp. 67 (Speier) 1882; id. on § 109 in *Anzeiger* x 100. (22ᵃ) Nesemann, zur Kritik des Orator (§ 115), 1882. (22 Eussner, on § 174, in *Philologus* xlii 2, p. 624, 1882—4 (also conjectures p for the first time in Stangl's ed.). (23) H. Kraffert, 'Beiträge zur

und Erklärung lateinischer Autoren', iii Teil, pp. 107—8: in § 22 conjectures *singulorum* for *singuli*; 23 *ex eo discant*; 33 *sermones requirens* [*tuos*]; 35 *iniuste oneris impositi*, and 189 *longe animi provisione*; 39 *Theopompus* for *Theophrastus*; 54 *agere* for *augere*; 73 [*in quo—esset satis*]; 112 *progrediamur*; 176 *quas Isocrates tamen cum audisset*; 195 *permiscendos et confundendos*; 234 *quin aliter? dixerit*. [I cannot say that I agree with any of these suggestions; I record them simply because the pamphlet in which they occur is probably unknown in England. Dr Stangl of Würzburg has been good enough to lend me his copy]. (Aurich) 1883. (24) L. MUELLER, on § 159 and Gellius ii 17, in *Philologus* xliii 2, p. 360—3, 1884. (25) F. HEERDEGEN, on the early transcripts of the codex Laudensis, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xxxviii p. 120—5; and on the codex Abrincensis, ib. 245—250, 1883, [reviewed by Th. Stangl in the *Wochenschrift f. kl. Philol.* i 21, p. 648—652 (Leipzig), May, 1884; a reply by Heerdegen was circulated with the *Berliner Wochenschrift* not long after. These articles are incorporated in a revised and corrected form in the Prolegomena to Heerdegen's ed.] (26) TH. STANGL, (*a*) Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Ciceros rhetor. Schriften, *Blaetter f. d. bayer. Gymnasialschulwesen*, 1882; (*b*) ἀπολογητικὰ in Cicero's rhet. Schriften und den Lateinischen Rhetoren, ibid. xix pp. 22, 1883; (*c*) die Handschriften von Lodi und Avranches, ibid. xxi pp. 24—47, 118—127, 1885. (27) F. HEERDEGEN, zu Ciceros Brutus and Orator [on the lost *codex Laudensis*, and on *FOP* and *M*], *Jahrb. f. Class. Philol.* pp. 105—112 (Leipzig) 1885. (28) H. DEITER, in § 16 proposes 'quid dicam...copiam? an de vita...potest?', *Philologus* xliv 352, 1885. (29) AEM. BAEHRENS, on § 163, proposes '(inde ab hoc tractu, fremit) Qua pontus Helles supera Tmolum ad Doricos...Finis frugifera et uberta arva Asia tenet', (*Jahrb. f. Class. Philol.* 129 p. 841, 1884), where Stangl accepts 'Asia' but prefers 'supera Tmolum ac Tauricos...fines'.

(D) DISSERTATIONS ON PROLEGOMENA, EXEGESIS, &c.

(1) PETRUS RAMUS, Brutinae Quaestiones in Oratorem Cic. (Paris), 1547, '49 [reprinted, with his Ciceronianus, at Basel, 1577, Univ. Libr. L 19.45; pp. 273—418, strictures on the *Orator*, thrown into the form of a polemical pamphlet addressed by Brutus to Cicero]. (2) JOACHIM PERIONIUS, oratio pro Ciceronis Oratore contra Petrum Ramum (Paris), 1547. (3) N. LE SUEUR, Urania de Oratore Perfecto [a vague and rambling piece of criticism; the only copy I have seen is in the Library of the British Museum], pp. 67 (Paris), 1548.

(4) C. L. PAUL, in Cic. Or. quae sit disputationis in partes descriptio, pp. 15 [a short analysis of the contents of the *Orator*], (Thorn) 1844.

(5) L. ROERSCH, in *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* xvii (= 12 *nouvelle série*) 1869, p. 425—7. In § 10 'ratione et intellegentia contineri', he understands *contineri* to be equivalent to *constare, consistere*, as in Nat. Deor. ii 59 and Lucr. i 1085: 'les idées n'ont pas d'existence corporelle, ce sont de purs esprits, *composées* uniquement d'intelligence et de raison' [see, however, the note ad l.]. The context is further discussed by E. BOSMANS, ib. xviii (= 13), 1870, p. 358, and xix (= 14), p. 62—4, and again by Roersch, xviii p. 359 and xix p. 64. Bosmans maintains that Cic. is not speaking of objective 'ideas' taken absolutely, but of 'innate ideas' impressed on the soul of man. This is (to some extent, rightly) denied by Roersch. Roersch, ib. xvii p. 425—7, criticizes Piderit's note on the latter part of § 35, which has been corrected in the revised edition; and supposes *ius retinendae maiestatis* in § 102 to refer to the right of the senate to give discretionary power to

the consuls by the formula: 'videant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti c a right which was threatened by the accusers of Rabirius. In § 191 ib. xvi —2, he suspects a lacuna before the words: 'contraque accidere in sp trochaeo'. [These articles I have not seen myself; but Mr E. A. Gardne of Gonville and Caius College, has kindly examined them on my behalf in th of the British Museum; and the above account of them is abridged from hi abstract of their contents.]

(6) J. A. ROZEK, Cicero's Erklärung über *nobiscum* (§ 154), in *Zeitsch Oester. Gymn.* 1869, p. 725—32. (7) H. ECKSTEIN, Observationes Gra ad Cap. xlv—xlviii [noticed in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, i 683], pp. 40 (Leipzi (8) J. E. NIXON, on § 160 'nec enim Graecam litteram adhibebant', in *J Philology*, vi 1876, p. 253—6, cf. vii 1877, p. 176. (9) STAMM, '*et qu ...quidem*) bei Cicero', pp. 16 [lent me by Dr Stangl: *et quidem* in § 42 = 'un in § 168 = 'aber'; in § 152 *et quidem nos* = 'und so gar ich selbst'], Rössel,

(10) GASTON BOISSIER, Cicéron et ses Amis [on Brutus, p. 321—79] 1865, '72, '74, &c. (11) S. v. REPTA, Ciceros Kampf mit den zeitgen Rednern (Suczawa), 1872. (12) H. LANTOINE, de Cic. contra [aeta oratores Atticos disputante, pp. 86 (Paris), 1874. (13) O. HARNECKER und die Attiker, in *Jahrb. f. Philol.* 1882 p. 604 [noticed in Bursian's *Jah* xxxix 69].

(14) G. WUEST, de Clausula Rhetorica quae praecepit Cicero, qua orationibus secutus sit [an elaborate dissertation, full of minute details; see §§ 212—8]. (15) ADAM, Cicero's Redner und Horaz' Kunst des Dicht ihrer inneren Verwandschaft verglichen [a general comparison between th and the *Ars Poetica*, written in a popular style with no reference to points o pp. 31 (Urach), 1882. (16) E. O. WEBER, quibus de causis Cic. post Or. editos, etiam Brutum scripserit et Oratorem [noticed in Bursian's *Jahr* xxii 217] pp. 9 (Leisnig).

(E) TRANSLATIONS.

English. (1) E. JONES, Cicero's Brutus or History of Famous Orato his Orator, or accomplished speaker, now first translated into English (B. Horace's Head, Fleet Street, London) 1776, reprinted in 1808 [a somewl phrastic rendering]. (2) W. GUTHRIE, The character of an orator, (Whittaker, London), 1839. [This I have not seen.] (3) C. D. YONGE, in Classical Library' (in vol. iv of 'Cicero's Orations', 1856, new title-page (Daldy) 1879 [bald, without being accurate].

French. (1) J. V. LE CLERC 1866, '73, '75; (2) A. PANNELIER et H. 1875; (3) A. AGNANT, revue par J. P. Charpentier, 1867 [in the same v translations of the *Brutus*, *De Opt. gen. Orat.*, *Partitiones Oratoriae*, con printed with the Latin at the foot of the page]; (4) P. L. LÉZAUD, 1867 CUCHEVAL, 1875 (Paris).

German. (1) W. S. TEUFFEL, 1861; (2) C. A. MEBOLD, ed. 2, 186 SOMMERBRODT, 1870 (Stuttgart).

(F) WORKS OF REFERENCE, &c. ON ORATORY AND RHETORIC.

(a) *Classical Texts.*

Greek. (1) ORATORES ATTICI, ed. Baiter and Sauppe (Zürich), 1850; also separate editions in the Teubner series. (2) ARISTOTLE'S RHETORIC, ed. Spengel (Leipzig), 1867. Cope's *Introduction* to, 1867; Cope's *Commentary*, revised by J. E. Sandys (Cambridge), 1877. (3) DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, ed. Reiske (Leipzig), 1774. (4) RHETORES GRAECI, ed. Walz, 9 vols. (Stuttgart and Tübingen), 1832. (5) RHETORES GRAECI, ed. Spengel, 3 vols. (Leipzig), 1853.

Latin. (6) CORNIFICIUS, *Rhetoricorum ad C. Herennium libri iv*, ed. Kayser (Leipzig), 1854. (7) CICERO, ed. Baiter and Kayser (Leipzig), 1860—69. (8) *De Oratore*, ed. K. W. Piderit (Leipzig), ed. 5 revised by Adler, 1878; ed. G. Sorof (Berlin), 1875—6; ed. A. S. Wilkins (Oxford), Book i 1879, ii 1881. (9) *Brutus*, ed. O. Jahn (Berlin), ed. 4, revised by Eberhard; ed. Piderit, ed. 2, 1875. (10) *Partitiones Oratoriae*, ed. Piderit, 1861. (11) *Lexikon zu den Reden des Cicero*, by Merguet, 4 vols. (Jena), 1873—84. (12) ANNAEUS SENECA, *Controversiae*, A. Kiessling (Teubner text), 1872. (13) QUINTILIAN, *Institutio Oratoria* by C. Halm (Leipzig), 1868—9; E. Bonnell, ed. 4 (Berlin), 1873, id. Lexicon Quint. in vol. vi of Spalding's ed. (14) TACITUS, *dialogus de Oratoribus*, Orelli, ed. 2 revised by G. Andresen, 1877. (15) RHETORES LATINI MINORES, ed. Halm (Leipzig), 1863.

(b) *Modern Works.*

(1) G. J. VOSS, commentariorum rhetoricorum libri sex (Leyden), 1630; ed. 4 (pp. 974), 1643. (2) J. C. T. ERNESTI, lexicon technologiae Graecorum rhetoricae, id. Latinorum (Leipzig), 1795—7. (3) L. SPENGEL, Artium Scriptores ab initiis usque ad editos Aristotelis de rhetorica libros, pp. 230 (Stuttgart), 1828. (4) A. WESTERMANN, Geschichte der Beredtsamkeit in Griechenland und Rom, 2 vols. (Leipzig), 1833—5. (5) C. BENOIT, Sur les premiers manuels d'invention oratoire jusqu'à Aristote, pp. 160 (Paris), 1846. (6) E. M. COPE, On the Sophistical Rhetoric, in *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, ii 129-169, iii 34-80, 253-288 (Cambridge), 1855, '57.

(7) F. BLASS, die Griechische Beredsamkeit in dem Zeitraum von Alexander bis auf Augustus (Leipzig), 1865. ID. Die Attische Beredsamkeit, vol. i von Gorgias bis zu Lysias, 1868 [ed. 2 in preparation]; ii Isokrates und Isaios, 1874; iii Demosthenes, 1877; iii B Demosthenes' Genossen und Gegner, 1880. (8) G. PERROT, l'éloquence politique et judiciaire à Athènes: les précurseurs de Démosthène, 1873. (9) R. C. JEBB, The Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeos, 2 vols. (Macmillan, London), 1876.

(10) R. VOLKMANN, die Rhetorik der Griechen und Roemer in systematischer Uebersicht dargestellt (Berlin), 1872, ed. 2, 1874: a new edition announced, 1885. (11) J. E. NIXON, a few Notes on Latin Rhetoric (pp. 64) with Tables and Illustrations (Cambridge), 1876. (12) A. S. WILKINS, Sketch of the History of Rhetoric, with an Analysis of the Rhet. ad Herennium, pp. 25—60 of Introduction to *de Oratore*, 1879 supra F (a) 8.

(13) F. ELLENDT, brevis eloquentiae Romanae ante Caesares historia, p. 1—150 of his ed. of the *Brutus* (Königsberg), 1844. (14) H. MEYER, Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta (Zürich), 1832, ed. 2, 1842. (15) BERNHARDY, Grundriss der Römischen Litteratur §§ 114—5, p. 782—794 ed. 5 (Braunschweig), 1872. (16) GRELLET-DUMAZEAU, le barreau Romain (Paris), ed. 2, 1858 [p. 251—266 'style du barreau', 267—282 'influence de la philosophie sur le barreau', 347—373 Horten-

sius]. (17) J. E. DEMARTEAU, l'éloquence républ., 1870. (18) A. BERGER et CUCHEVAL, éloquence Latine, 1872.

(19) C. STEINER, de numero oratorio, pp. 23 (Posen), 1849. (20) H. JENTSCH, Aristotelis de arte rhetorica quaeritur quid habeat Cicero pp. 58 (Berlin), 1866, id. de Aristotele Ciceronis in rhetorica auctore quaestionum pars i pp. 24 (Berlin), 1874. (21) G. DZIALAS, rhetorum antiquorum de figuris doctrina, pp. 27 (Breslau), 1869. (22) H. MONSE, veterum rhetorum de sententiarum figuris doctrina, pars prior, pp. 40 (Breslau), 1869, id. pp. 24 (Waldenburg), 1874. (23) J. STRAUB, de tropis et figuris quae inveniuntur in orationibus Dem. et Cic., pp. 147 (Würzburg), 1883.

(24) H. BLAIR, Lectures on Rhetoric, 1783, 1823. (25) G. CAMPBELL, Philosophy of Rhetoric, 2 vols. (Edinburgh), new ed. 1816. (26) R. WHATELY, Elements of Rhetoric, ed. 1863. (27) A. BAIN, English Composition and Rhetoric, ed. 4, 1877. (28) J. KLEUTGEN, ars dicendi priscorum potissimum praeceptis et exemplis illustrata, ed. 5 (Turin), 1868. (29) G. GERBER, die Sprache als Kunst, 2 vols. (Bromberg), 1871—4. (30) P. GROSS, die Tropen und Figuren (Köln), 1881.

Addendum to the note on the symbol for *autem* on pp. lxxx—i.

The form *hautem* is actually printed by Whitley Stokes as well as by Constantine Nigra in the Latin text of some fragments of a commentary on St Mark's Gospel, as reproduced in their editions of the Turin Irish Glosses from a MS of cent. ix, formerly at Bobbio (see Whitley Stokes, *Goidelica* ed. 2, 1872). But Mr Stokes himself kindly assures me that in the MS the word is invariably denoted by the usual symbol only; and this, as I have pointed out, is derived, not from the letter *h*, but from the Tironian equivalent for *a*.

It was probably from the *notae Tironianae*, either directly or (more likely) through MSS by Irish copyists at places like Luxeuil, St Gall, Bobbio, and Fulda, that the symbol for *autem* came into partial use in MSS written (like the *codex Abrincensis*) in the widely prevalent Caroline minuscule character supposed * to have been first elaborated in the *scriptorium* of St Martin's at Tours, after Charles the Great had in 796 placed Alcuin of York at the head of that abbey. Between Tours and Fulda, in particular, there were several points of contact; and it may be interesting to add that the oldest existing MS of the *notae Tironianae* (second half of cent. viii) now at Cassel, came from Fulda (W. Schmitz in *Rheinisches Museum* 1876, xxxi 293). It is also possible that Alcuin's copyists may have become familiar with the symbol through MSS in an Irish hand in the famous library at York (cf. Introduction to the *Palaeographical Society's Publications*, p. ix f). That it was actually known at Tours in the time of Alcuin, I infer from its constant use in a MS in the library of Cologne cathedral (no. cvi), written in an Irish hand near the end of cent. viii, and comprised in the same volume as the only MS which can be traced with certainty to the copyists of Alcuin's school (see Arndt's *Schrifttafeln* no. 33).

On the library at York, and on Tours and Fulda, see Mullinger's *Schools of Charles the Great*, 1877, p. 60, and chaps. ii, esp. pp. 113, 118, and iii; also pp. 83–4 on Alcuin's 'Rhetoric'; and pp. 167–8 on the letter of Servatus Lupus of Ferrières, begging pope Benedict III [855–8] for a copy of Cicero *de Oratore* and the xii books of the 'institutiones oratoriae' of Quintilian, 'quorum utriusque auctorum partes habemus, verum plenitudinem per vos desideramus obtinere' (*Ep.* 103, Migne cxix 579). A letter of Servatus Lupus to Einhard, who died about 839, refers to MSS of some of Cicero's rhetorical works (either at Fulda or Seligenstadt), but we cannot be certain about their exact contents (*Ep.* 1, ib. 435; cf. Stangl in *Bayer. Gymn.* 1885, pp. 27–30).

* See, however, J. H. Hessels in the *Academy* for 11 Oct. 1884.

'Chreme, tantumne ab re tua est oti tibi',
ut etiam Oratorem legas? Macte virtute!

CICERO, *ad Atticum* xii 6 § 3.

M TULLI CICERONIS

AD M. BRUTUM ORATOR.

1 UTRUM difficilius aut maius esset negare tibi saepius roganti an efficere id, quod rogares, diu multumque, dubitavi. nam et negare ei, quem unice diligerem me carissimum esse sentirem, praesertim et iusta pete
5 praeclara cupienti, durum admodum mihi videbatur, c cipere tantam rem, quantam non modo facultate co difficile esset, sed etiam cogitatione complecti, vix arbitrab eius, qui vereretur reprehensionem doctorum atque prude

4 *carissimum me* K cum cod. Einsiedlensi.

PROOEMIUM §§ 1—33. §§ 1, 2. *Cicero is prompted by his friendship for Brutus to undertake at his friend's request what he fears will prove a difficult task.*

§ 1. **utrum.** In a few of the countless passages in which *utrum* is followed by *an*, the former is clearly used as the neuter of the pronoun (which, indeed, is the origin of its ordinary use as a conjunction), *e.g.* II in Verr. i 147 'utrum existimatis minus operis esse unam columnam efficere ...an quattuor illas reponere?', and pro Fonteio 41 = 31 'videte utrum sit aequius, hominem ... dedi inimicissimis... nationibus, an reddi amicis.' (Cf. de Or. i 233, 'quibuscum ego non pugno, utrum sit melius aut verius.') Its use in the present passage (as in pro Quinctio 41, and the words of Antonius quoted in Phil. xiii 39) is ambiguous. It is possible, indeed, to take it as a conjunction; but it seems better to understand it as a dependent interrogative pronoun, with *negare...an efficere* in apposition to it, placing (if necessary) a comma after *esset*.

Brute, dubitavi. Quint. ix 4 § 101.

difficilius aut maius. The epithet *difficile* may be applied with equal fitness to the refusal of the request of Brutus (*negare*) and to the accomplishment of the task (*efficere*), whereas *magnum* is more appropriate to the latter. The tence is an expansion of the sim trast, *negare durum* (= *difficile*), *magnum est*. **esset,** cf. miraremur

negare, used absolutely as where we further find 'et recta et petenti' as an equivalent for **petenti et praeclara cupienti** in sent passage.

suscipere is generally 'to und one's own free will,' whether (as another's request, or not; *recipe* have implied a *promise* on Cice The present passage is one of m prove the inaccuracy of the vi *suscipere* is 'to take up unasked,' *pere* 'to take up by request' commentators on de Or. ii 101 offensio vel neglegentiae, suscepti vel perfidiae, receptis').

facultate consequi, 'to attain tice,' contrasted with **cogitatio plecti** (§ 8), 'to grasp in imagina

doctorum atque prudentium. professes to be apprehensive of tures of those of his contempora were not only accomplished cri also men of practical good sens epithet *docti* is repeatedly applied petent critics, in the Brutus, §§ 1 198, 283 and 320 ('non quivis

2 quid enim est maius, quam, cum tanta sit inter oratores bonos dissimilitudo, iudicare quae sit optima species et quasi figura dicendi? quod quoniam me saepius rogas, adgrediar non tam perficiundi spe quam experiundi voluntate. malo enim, cum studio tuo sim obsecutus, desiderari a te prudentiam meam 5 quam, si id non fecerim, benevolentiam.

3 Quaeris igitur idque iam saepius, quod eloquentiae genus probem maxime et quale mihi videatur illud, quo nihil addi

2 *optima: optuma*, et similia, ubique J. 3 *adgrediar* K: *agg.* ceteri. 8 *quo* H cum *L* (i.e. consensu codicum *FPO*): *cui* MOKJP cum cod. Vitebergensi; *ad quod* cod. Eins. emendatus; *quoi* emendatio Poggii in cod. Laurentiano 50, 31 (idem habet Tulichius ed. 1515). Codicum bonorum lectionem (*quo*), quam Heerdegen locis infra exscriptis optime defendit et primus omnium quod sciam in

populo, sed existimator doctus et intellegens'). *doctrina* and *eruditio* are contrasted with *prudentia* in de Or. ii 1, and elsewhere.

§ 2. **quid enim est maius.** *maius* refers back with emphasis to the general sense of the latter half of the preceding sentence, and also takes up afresh the *maius* of the opening words of the first section. The position of *est* after, instead of before, *enim* transfers the emphasis from *quid* to *maius*, according to Madvig's rule (§ 471 obs. 1 and de Fin. i 13). The order is the same in 227 'nihil enim est aliud,' but different in 120 'quid est enim turpius.' (Ellendt, however, in his note on de Or. iii 119 gives a large number of references on this point and concludes that it is immaterial whether the second or the third place in the sentence is assigned to *enim*, *autem*, *igitur*, when combined with *est* or *sunt*.)

tanta...dissimilitudo. De Or. iii §§ 25 ff. esp. § 28 'suavitatem Isocrates, subtilitatem Lysias, acumen Hyperides, sonitum Aeschines, vim Demosthenes habuit; quis eorum non egregius? tamen quis cuiusquam nisi sui similis?' Brut. 204 'in his oratoribus (Sulpicius and Cotta) illud animadvertendum est, posse esse summos, qui inter se sint dissimiles.'

optima species et quasi figura dicendi, 'the highest ideal and (as it were) the finest type of oratory.' *species* is Cicero's equivalent for ἰδέα (Tusc. i 58, Acad. i 30, Tim. §§ 4, 22, 35 (ed. Müller); cf. Topica 30). Cf. 9 '*species* pulchritudinis eximia quaedam...perfectae eloquentiae *speciem*,' 18 '*species* eloquentiae, quam cernebat animo,' de Or. iii 71 'si illam praeclaram et eximiam *speciem* oratoris perfecti et pulchritudinem adamastis.' In this sense, *species* is often combined with its synonym *forma*, as in 43 'excellentis eloquentiae *speciem* et *formam*,' 101 'illam Platonis...rei...*formam* et *speciem*' and 10 ad fin.; while *forma* is used as an equivalent to *species* in 133 'eam *formam* quae est insita in mentibus nostris,' 19 'comprehensam animo quandam *formam* eloquentiae'; 10 'has rerum *formas* appellat ἰδέας...Plato.' In the present passage it is coupled with *figura*, which is here metaphorically transferred from the concrete sense of 'outline' and 'shape' to the abstract sense of 'ideal type'; cf. de Or. ii 98 'suam quandam expressit *quasi formam* figuramque dicendi,' iii 34 '*quasi formae* figuraeque dicendi.'

quasi is here used to apologise for a new and tentative rendering of ἰδέα. There are many passages precisely similar in form to this where Piderit's explanation that it apologises for the abstract use of a concrete term will not apply; e.g. Acad. i 26 'variae et quasi multiformes,' where two translations of πολυειδεῖς are given, for one of which Cicero thinks it necessary to apologise, as a tentative rendering. Similarly Acad. i 32 'argumentis et quasi rerum notis,' two renderings of σύμβολον (Reid).

desiderari...prudentiam. So, in the parallel passage at the close of the treatise, 238 'scribendi imprudentiam.' According to § 33 ad fin., one of the special characteristics of Brutus was *prudentia*.

§§ 3—6. *Statement of the subject: an enquiry into the* summum et perfectissimum eloquentiae genus. *The difficulty of attaining the highest standard must not deter students from the pursuit of eloquence.*

§ 3. **quaeris**, by letters from Gallia Cisalpina, as appears from §§ 34, 52, 174.

quo, 'whereunto,' here, as elsewhere, used instead of the more obvious *cui*;

possit, quod ego summum et perfectissimum iudicem. in quo vereor ne, si id, quod vis, effecero cumque oratorem, quem quaeris, expressero, tardem studia multorum, qui desperatione debilitati experiri id nolent, quod se adsequi posse diffidant. 5 sed par est omnis omnia experiri, qui res magnas et magno opere expetendas concupiverunt. quodsi quem aut natura sua [aut] illa praestantis ingeni vis forte deficiet aut minus instructus erit magnarum artium disciplinis, teneat tamen eum cursum, quem poterit: prima enim sequentem honestum est in secundis

contextum recepit, ego quoque revocandam esse censui; ceterum e contraria parte non praetereundum est Madvigii monitum lectiones tales ex *quoi* pro *cui* nonnumquam ortas esse iudicantis (ad Fin. ii 75 et emend. Liv. p. 386). 1 *perfectum* Lahm. 4 *nolent* MOJPHSt cum *FPM* et Columella; *nollent O*: *nolint* K cum cod. Viteb. *assequi* MOJH: *adsequi* KP. *diffidant FPO*: *diffident* Columella (Stangl). 5 *omnis* KH: *-es* ceteri.

6 *natura sua aut* delenda esse censuit Sauppe (coniecturae Tullianae p. 6), om. J (coll. Columella R R i praef. 29) P[1]. *natura sua atque* Vollbehr. *natura sua* Madv. adv. crit. ii 188 (P[2]). *natura sua* ('fortasse *destituet* vel *impediet* vel *parum adiuvabit*') *aut* H, qui verbis *natura sua* significari arbitratur 'munera illa naturae (i.e. oris et corporis et vocis), de quibus plura dicit de Or. iii 114 sqq. aliisque locis.'

7 *ingeni* J: *-ii* ceteri.

p. Mur. 28 'quo ego non possim...addere,' Phil. xi 15 'quo cum addi nihil potuisset,' ad Fam. iii 13 § 2 'meum erga te studium, quo nihil videbatur addi posse,' de Fin. ii 75 'summam voluptatem, quo (Baiter and Müller; *cui* Madvig) addi nihil possit.'

perfectissimum, a very rare superlative, found however in § 47 and in Brut. 118 where Brutus applies the term *Stoico perfectissimo* to Cato. Possibly even in the *Orator* the use of the exceptional superlative may be really due to Brutus. Cicero himself is [illegible] content with the positive *perfectus* which is superlative in sense. [illegible] is used in Acad. ii 15 and by Quint. [illegible] § [illegible] § 24. For similar superlatives, cf. [illegible] (found in [illegible], Cic. Tim. 4, the Plinies, Quint. &c.).

oratorem expressero, 'if I succeed in [illegible] (§§ 8, 10, 61) that orator for whom you are in search' (§§ 11, 14, 69).

quem quaeris, i.e. 'your ideal orator.' [illegible] is often similarly expressed, as in §§ [illegible] 100: Fin. ii 37, [illegible] 110: [illegible] 'quem [illegible]' (Keil).

expressero, a [illegible] modelling, [illegible] [illegible]

desperatione debilitati, 'in the weakness of despair.' [illegible]

simul cum spe perdiscendi abiceremus.' Quint. i pro. § 20, 10 § 8.

§ 4. **omnis omnia experiri.** For the sense, cf. de Am. 35 'omnia facere'; for the *form*, de Or. i 94 'omnes omnium rerum...fontes,' and Pl. Menex. 249 C πᾶσαν πάντων παρὰ πάντα ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενη.

natura sua. The abl. is defended by 41 ad fin. The manuscript reading, by repeating *aut*, makes *natura sua* nominative, and introduces a false contrast between natural gifts and *ingenium*, whereas here, as often elsewhere, the real contrast of sense is between *ingenium* (φύσις) and *doctrina* (ἐπιστήμη). We may perhaps be content with striking out *aut* after *natura sua*, without following those critics who omit *natura sua* as well.

minus instructus &c., 'inadequately trained in the higher forms of culture,' esp. Greek literature and philosophy.

teneat...cursum, for the metaphor from navigation, cf. de Or. i 1 'cum vitae cursum tenere,' and pro Sest. 99 'tenere cursum...et capere otii illum portum et dignitatis,' also de Rep. i 10 and Tusc. iv 33.

prima...sequentem &c. 'It is no discredit for one who is striving after the first place, to rest in the second or the third.' *Sequi* is used in the same sense in §§ 53, 133, 139, 164, 174, 191, 234. For the sense, cf. Columella de R. R. i praef. 29 'summum enim culmen affec-

tertiisque consistere. nam in poëtis non Homero soli locus est, ut de Graecis loquar, aut Archilocho aut Sophocli aut Pindaro, sed horum vel secundis vel etiam infra secundos; nec vero Aristotelem in philosophia deterruit a scribendo amplitudo Platonis, nec ipse Aristoteles admirabili quadam scientia et copia ceterorum studia restinxit. nec solum ab optimis studiis excellentes viri deterriti non sunt, sed ne opifices quidem se *ab*

1 *nam* post Junt[2] edd. omnes; *an* codd. et Columella; *sane* coni. O[2].
4 *Aristotelen* H. 7 *ab* addidit Lambinus, inseruerunt edd. fere omnes; idem superscriptum est in *P* secunda manu.

tantes satis honeste vel in secundo fastigio conspiciemur.' Quint. xii 11 § 26 'etiamsi quis summa desperet (quod cur faciat, cui ingenium, valetudo, facultas, praeceptores non deerunt?) tamen est, ut Cicero ait, pulchrum *in secundis tertiisque consistere*.' Hieronym. Comm. in Ezech. prol. in l. xii (quoted by Heerdegen) 'prima enim, ut ait sublimis orator, quaeque sectanti honestum est etiam in secundis tertiisve consistere.'

in poetis. In selecting the several instances of Greek poets, Cicero mentions those who were regarded by literary critics as the first in the several kinds of poetry, the epic, the 'iambic,' the tragic, and the lyric. **Homero,** Quint. x i § 46. **Archilocho,** ib. § 60 'ex tribus receptis Aristarchi iudicio scriptoribus iamborum (*sc.* Simonides of Amorgos and Hipponax) ad ἕξιν maxime pertinebit unus Archilochus; summa in hoc vis elocutionis, cum validae tum breves vibrantesque sententiae, plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum.' **Sophocli,** ib. § 67. **Pindaro,** ib. § 61 'novem lyricorum longe princeps.'

horum secundis = τούτων δευτέροις. By a construction resembling the usual Greek idiom, *horum* is here used not as a partitive gen., but as an equivalent to the ordinary dative after *secundus*. The obvious ambiguity of *his secundis* is thus avoided. [As a similar construction we have *longe* with gen. in late Latin (Reid), e.g. Apul. Met. v 9 'longe parentum velut exulantes.'] In Columella's adaptation of the passage *l.c.* we have 'sed eorum et proximis et procul a secundis...'

infra secundos stands for *eis qui infra secundos sunt*, τοῖς καὶ τῶν δευτέρων κατωτέρω, being equivalent in sense to a dative corresponding in construction to *secundis* (Nägelsbach, *Lateinische Stilistik* § 75. 3). 'Those of the second, or even lower, class.'

§ 5. Aristotelem—De Fin. i 6 'Theophrastus mediocriterne delectat cum tractat locos *ab Aristotele ante tractatos*.'

in philosophia is parallel in sense to *in poetis*, but shifted slightly in position so as to place Aristotle at the beginning of the sentence, as a contrast to Plato at the end. **amplitudo Platonis,** Plin. Ep. i 10 'Platonica latitudo,' which corresponds still more closely to the possibly traditional phrase πλατύτης τῆς ἑρμηνείας, which was perhaps originally suggested by the very name of Plato. About a century after the time of the younger Pliny, the phrase is used by Diogenes Laertius (iii 4) to express the breadth and dignity, the copiousness and richness of Plato's style. Brut. 121 'quis uberior in dicendo Platone?'

opifices, δημιουργοί, Tusc. Disp. i 34 'sed quid poetas? opifices post mortem nobilitari volunt. quid enim Phidias sui similem speciem inclusit in clipeo Minervae, cum inscribere non liceret?' Artists are here degraded by Cicero into 'craftsmen,' and thus set below the level of *excellentes viri*, or men of mark, like poets and philosophers. 'According to the Roman view,' as is well remarked by Jahn, 'art and science deserved recognition only so far as they were immediately connected with public life and practical pursuits; in other respects, they were simply regarded as an amusement for leisure hours. With the Romans, the lowest place was held by the arts of painting and sculpture; Romans of free birth would not readily condescend to their cultivation; there were even misgivings about reckoning them among the *artes liberales*, and they are accordingly contrasted with *studia optima* in the present passage.' On this general topic, see especially Friedländer's *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* II ii 7 b, pp. 168—170; III ii 1 e, pp. 267—281 of ed. 5, 1881; and his essay *Ueber den Kunstsinn der Römer* (1852), with K. F. Hermann's reply (1855).

Cicero's own taste for art, which is mainly that of a *dilettante*, is very imperfectly exemplified in the fourth oration

artibus suis removerunt, qui aut Ialysi, quem Rhodi vid
non potuerunt aut Coae Veneris pulchritudinem imitari

2 *pulcr.* K ubique.

against Verres (*de Signis*) where works of art are often described in terms of vague admiration and as objects of curiosity to the tourist. But the interest which he there deliberately dissembles in a speech intended for the general public, breaks out unmistakeably in the repeated commissions for busts and reliefs to adorn his villas, which he sends to Atticus and to other friends (ad Att. I 1 § 5, 4 § 3, 6 § 2, 8 § 2, 9 § 2, 10 § 3, 11 § 3; ad Fam. VII 23 § 2, cf. XIII 2); and in the frequent references to sculpture and painting, borrowed perhaps in part from Greek sources now lost to us, which he uses here and elsewhere to illustrate his criticisms on the subject of rhetoric (cf. §§ 8—9, 36, 65, 73, 74, 169, 234; Brutus 70, 75, 228, 257, 261, 296, 320; de Or. i 73, ii 38, 69—70, 73, iii 26, 98; de opt. gen. or. 11). His relations to art are the subject of a genial and appreciative essay in Stahr's *Torso* II[2] pp. 209—230; and in a dissertation by Koenig, 'De Cicerone in Verrinis artis operum aestimatore et iudice,' he is favourably represented as a well-informed and intelligent connoisseur. The views of these writers are attacked, and in some degree corrected, in Goehling's disquisition 'De Cicerone artis aestimatore,' 1877. See *Introd.* p. lxxii—v.

In the present passage, the four masterpieces of art mentioned in the text, are very happily selected; we have two works of painting and two of sculpture; both of the painters and both of the sculptors are contemporary with one another; while, in the types selected, there is the greatest possible variety, the subjects in the first pair being a demigod and a goddess; in the second, a god and a man.

Ialysi, the *heros eponymus* of the town of that name in Rhodes; and the subject of one of the most celebrated paintings of Protogenes (of Kaunos, a town in Caria, subject to Rhodes)—a contemporary of Apelles, in the second half of the fourth century B.C. Plin. N.H. XXXV 102 'palmam habet tabularum eius Ialysus, qui est Romae dicatus in templo Pacis'... 104 'propter hunc Ialysum, ne cremaret tabulam, Demetrius rex, cum ab ea parte sola posset Rhodum capere, non incendit, parcentemque picturae fugit occasio victoriae' (cf. Plut. Demetr. 22, and Gell. *Noct. Att.* XV 31 quoted in Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* § 1915 ff). In th
other passages in which Cicero re
it, he mentions it (as here) togeth
the Coan Venus of Apelles:—ad
21 § 4 'Apelles si Venerem aut si
genes Ialysum illum suum coeno c
videret, magnum credo acciperet do
and 11 in Verr. iv 135. Of the
itself we know little beyond one
of its accessories; the dog in
foaming mouth the master is said t
accidentally attained the effect he d
by throwing a sponge at his pict
desperation, and 'the partridge, wh
riveted the attention of unprofe
spectators by its extraordinary r
that the artist, in annoyance, is s
have scraped it out' (Woltmann
Woermann's *Hist. of Painting*, ed. (
pp. 62—3, after Plin. l. c.). Sever
or more were spent upon the wor
we are told that when Apelles sa
stood speechless for a while and
exclaimed: *μέγας ὁ πόνος καὶ θαυ*
τὸ ἔργον, οὐ μὴν ἔχειν χάριτας
οὐρανοῦ ψαύειν (*ψαύσειν*?) *τὰ ὑπ'*
γραφόμενα (Plut. l. c.).

quem Rhodi vidimus. Ciceró
certainly in Rhodes in 78 and se
and Brutus may have stopped th
the year 53 on his way to Cilicia.
writer's reference to his having
the painting of Protogenes is too
sory to allow of any inference
drawn as to his capacity for
ciating works of art. Romans on
travels appear to have taken only a
ficial interest in art, as compared
the legendary and historical associ
of the places they visited (see de
Pomp. 40, de Fin. v pro., de Leg
§ 4; Aetna ed. Munro 565—598, c
in Friendländer's *Sittengeschichte*
III 168—170).

Coae Veneris, the famous painti
Apelles, the *Ἀφροδίτη ἀναδυομένη*, p
for the temple of Asklepios in the
of Kôs, and carried off to Rom
Augustus who 'by way of compen
remitted a hundred talents of the tr
money due from the people of the is
(Woltmann p. 60, where there is a
translation of one of the many epi
on this picture, which are quot
length in Overbeck's *Schriftquel*
1849 ff.). In § 1861 Overbeck, in
ing the texts on the masterpie

simulacro Iovis Olympii aut doryphori statua deterriti reliqui minus experti sunt quid efficere aut quo progredi possent; quorum tanta multitudo fuit, tanta in suo cuiusque genere laus, ut, cum summa miraremur, inferiora tamen probaremus. in

4 *miraremur...probaremus* MOJPH cum codd.: *miremur...probemus* Normann (κ et π); *admiremur...probemus* Bake.

Apelles, rightly refers to the present passage, but wrongly repeats it after § 1245, under the heading of the Coan Aphrodite, one of the somewhat less celebrated works of the sculptor Praxiteles. That a masterpiece of painting, and not of sculpture, is here meant is proved, not only by its juxtaposition with the work of the painter Protogenes, but also by the plural *picturis* below, § 8. Plin. N. H. XXXV 91 'Venerem exeuntem e mari divus Augustus dicavit in delubro patris Caesaris, quae Anadyomene vocatur... cuius inferiorem partem corruptam qui reficeret non potuit reperiri.' It is specially mentioned by Cic. de Div. i 23, de Nat. Deor. i 75 and elsewhere. **pulchritudinem.** On the orthography of this word, see note on 160.

simulacrum, of a god = *ἄγαλμα*: **statua,** of a man = *ἀνδριάς*.

Iovis Olympii, the celebrated chryselephantine image, sculptured by Phidias for the temple of Zeus at Olympia; (again alluded to in § 9). The numerous references to it in ancient literature are quoted at length in Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* §§ 692—754; while some of the more important may be found in Perry's *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, pp. 191—7. It appears on the specially interesting coins of the time of Hadrian, described and figured in Dr Gardner's *Types of Ancient Coins* p. 137, Plate xv 18, 19; in the same writer's *Coins of Elis*, p. 49, it is inferred from certain distinct departures from the usual representations of the enthroned divinity that 'the die-cutter's object was to produce a more faithful copy of the world-famed statue.' (See page lxxi of the *Introduction*.)

doryphori statua, the bronze statue of a youth leaning on a lance, one of the master-pieces of the elder Polycleitus of Argos, born at Sikyon, one of the younger contemporaries of Phidias; Plin. N. H. xxxiv 55 'idem et doryphorum viriliter puerum fecit [et] quem canona artifices vocant liniamenta artis ex eo petentes veluti ex lege quadam, solusque hominum artem ipsam fecisse artis opere iudicatur' (Jahn in *N. Rheinisches Museum* ix 315 f). In the *Brutus* 70, after referring to the works of Canachus, Calamis and Myron, Cicero describes those of Polycleitus as in his opinion 'pulchriora et iam plane perfecta,' and in 296, he mentions the 'Polycliti doryphorum' as the model followed by the sculptor Lysippus. Quintilian, again, in insisting on a manly style of eloquence, illustrates his strictures on some of the effeminate fashions of his own day by a reference to the same statue as a standard type of perfect manliness (v 12 § 21 'Doryphoron illum aptum vel militiae vel palaestrae'); and in contrasting the excellencies of Polycleitus and Phidias, he says of the former sculptor, 'ut humanae formae decorem addiderit supra verum, ita non explevisse deorum auctoritatem videtur' (xii 10 § 8). Further details may be found in Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* §§ 953—962, and also in his *Geschichte der Gr. Plastik* 1^3 p. 389 (esp. note 130), where there is an engraving of the statue from Herculaneum at Naples, together with a gem at Berlin, both of which are doubtless derived from the ancient master-piece mentioned in the text. See also Michaelis in *Annali dell' Inst.* 1878 p. 5 ff, *Monumenti* x pl. 50; A. S. Murray's *Hist. of Greek Sculpture* i p. 272—6, and Waldstein's *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* p. 51. A more popular account may be found in Perry's *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, pp. 353—7 and Mrs Mitchell's *Ancient Sculpture*, p. 385. There is a cast of the statue above mentioned in the Gallery of Casts from the Antique at South Kensington, and in the Cambridge Archaeological Museum.

quid—possent. Columella de R. R. i praef... 'ne minoris quidem famae *opifices* per tot iam secula videmus laborem suum destituisse qui Protogenem Apellemque cum Parrhasio mirati sunt, nec *pulchritudine Iovis Olympii* Minervaeque Phidiacae sequentis aetatis attonitos piguit experiri Bryaxim, Lysippum, Praxitelem, Polycletum, *quid efficere aut quousque progredi possent*' &c.

suo cuiusque. On the uses of *suus quisque*, see Madvig on de Fin. v 46.

laus, here either 'repute,' or more probably, 'merit.'

miraremur...probaremus. The En-

oratoribus vero, Graecis quidem, admirabile est quantum inter omnis unus excellat: ac tamen, cum esset Demosthenes, multi oratores magni et clari fuerunt et antea fuerant nec postea defecerunt. quare non est cur eorum, qui se studio eloquentiae
5 dediderunt, spes infringatur aut languescat industria; nam neque illud ipsum, quod est optimum, desperandum est et in praestantibus rebus magna sunt ea, quae sunt optimis proxima.

3 *ut antea* Jahn. 5 *aut spes* Lambinus (st).

glish idiom compels us to use the pre[illegible] tense: 'while the higher works of art [illegible] our admiration, the less excellent g[illegible] nevertheless our approval.' Madvig L. G. § 383. In the *Orator* and elsewhere. *mirari* is repeatedly used in [illegible] sen[illegible] as an equivalent to *admirari* [illegible] 104, 174, in all of which [illegible] proposes *admirari*, which i[illegible] De Or. ii 59 supplies an ex[illegible]

§ 6. **Graecis quidem**, a [illegible] prompted partly perhaps by the [illegible] modesty, and thoroughly justified by the undoubted fact that before his own time there had been no single instance of a Roman orator who had attained a position of undisputed pre-eminence. Thus, in referring to the orators of the immediately preceding generation, Cicero does not unreservedly award the palm of eloquence either to Crassus or to Antonius, though his deliberate judgment appears to have been in favour of the former (see Wilkins' Introd. to de Or. p. 16).

cum esset Demosthenes, 'in spite of D.' 'And yet, Demosthenes notwithstanding, many great and famous orators existed, and *had* existed before his time, nor was there any lack of them after it.' In the preceding illustrations from Greek poetry, philosophy and art, Cicero has insisted that the eminence of a leading man in any one of these departments has not deterred his contemporaries or successors from endeavouring to attain the highest standard within their reach in that department. Before applying these illustrations to the encouragement of Roman aspirants to oratorical fame, he borrows a further illustration from the domain of Greek oratory; but he here puts the same point in a slightly different form. Though, among all the Greek orators, Demosthenes (he observes) stands preeminent, there was room nevertheless for other degrees of excellence in oratory, not only among his actual contemporaries, such as Aeschines (*ob.* 318 B.C.) and Hyperides (*ob.* [illegible]) but also among those who flourished [illegible]ore him, such as Pericles (*fl.* 465— [illegible]) and Gorgias (*fl.* 427), Lysias (*fl.* [illegible]380) and Isocrates (436—338); as [illegible] among his successors, e.g. Demetrius Phalereus (*ob.* 283). The two clauses [*et ante*]*a fuerant* and *nec postea defecerunt* [illegible]t in apposition to the preceding [illegible]ce; for, if so, the immediate contemporaries of Demosthenes would have [been i]gnored, and the verb *fuerunt* would [have] been needless. The first of these two clauses forms a natural antithesis to the second and is a necessary part of an exhaustive reference to the successive generations of Greek orators, which might, however, have been more clearly expressed by some such words as 'multi oratores magni et clari, *et simul* fuerunt, et antea fuerant, nec postea defecerunt,' or 'ut antea fuerant, ita simul fuerunt, nec postea defecerunt.' But it must be admitted that, as Demosthenes could not have either deterred or encouraged his precursors, the words *et antea fuerant* have no logical connexion either with the general drift of the preceding context or with the conclusion which Cicero is on the point of drawing.

Dr Reid suggests that *cum esset Dem.* may mean 'even when Dem. was alive,'—a suggestion which removes some of the difficulties raised in the above note. He compares de Fin. i 7 'utinam esset ille Persius!' Cf. Plin. N. H. xxxvi 11 'cum hi essent, iam fuerat...'.

et in praestantibus—proxima, 'and in things eminent all is great, which to the best is nearest.' One of the many aphorisms of the *Orator*; we have already had two in § 4. *proxima*, the nearest, though separated from the first by a perceptible distance, Brut. 173 'duobus summis L. Philippus proximus accedebat, sed longo intervallo proximus,' Hor. C. i 12, 16—19.

§§ 7—10. *The object of the treatise more precisely defined, namely the delinea-*

7 Atque ego in summo oratore fingendo talem informabo, qualis fortasse nemo fuit. non enim quaero quis fuerit, sed quid sit illud, quo nihil esse possit praestantius, quod in perpetuitate dicendi non saepe atque haud scio an numquam, in aliqua autem parte eluceat aliquando, idem apud alios densius, apud alios 5
8 fortasse rarius. sed ego sic statuo, nihil esse in ullo genere tam pulchrum, quo non pulchrius id sit, unde illud ut ex ore aliquo quasi imago exprimatur; quod neque oculis neque auribus neque ullo sensu percipi potest, cogitatione tantum et mente complectimur. itaque et Phidiae simulacris, quibus nihil in illo 10 genere perfectius videmus, et eis picturis, quas nominavi, cogi-

3 *esse possit* KP cum *FPO*: *possit esse* MOJHSt post Poggium, cod. Laurentiani 50, 31 scriptorem. 8 *quod tamen* coni. Friedrich. 11 *eis* KJP: *iis* OH: *his FPO*, *hiis* Eins.

tion of the Ideal Orator. The notion of an ideal illustrated from the philosophy of Plato and the art of Phidias.

§ 7. **fingendo...informabo**, these metaphors of 'moulding' and 'shaping' derived from the plastic art, may be approximately rendered by our weaker metaphors of 'sketching' and 'delineating.' For *fingo*, cf. de Or. i 117. 'sed quia de oratore quaerimus, fingendus est nobis oratione nostra detractis omnibus vitiis orator atque omni laude cumulatus,' and ii 123 'hunc oratorem quem nunc fingo.' For this sense of *informare*, see §§ 33, 37, 75, 85.

qualis fortasse nemo fuit. Quint. i 10 § 4...'respondeo quod M. Cicero scripto ad Brutum libro frequentius testatur, non eum a nobis institui oratorem qui sit aut fuerit, sed imaginem quandam concepisse nos animo perfecti illius et nulla parte cessantis'; id. pro. § 19; Juv. vii 56.

quod in perpetuitate dicendi—The highest degree of oratorical perfection seldom, if ever, shines with an unbroken splendour pervading the whole utterance from first to last. Yet, here or there, sooner or later it bursts into light; though, with one orator, these radiant flashes follow fast, while with another they are separated by longer pauses (Piderit). **in perpetuitate dicendi**, almost equivalent to *in orationibus perpetuis*; or, perhaps, as suggested by Dr Reid, 'right over the range of the rhetorical art,' taking *dicendi* in the sense of *ῥητορικῆς*, which it often bears in Cic.

haud scio an numquam Madv. L. G. § 453; Roby § 2256.

§ 8. **sed ego sic statuo**—*It is important to note that Cic. is here referring* to the Platonic *ἰδέα* which he (like most of those of his time) realised merely as an ideal type (Reid).

ut ex ore...exprimatur, 'There is no thing of beauty which is not less beautiful than the original from which it is copied, like a cast from a countenance.' The source of the metaphor may be seen in Plin. xxxv 12, 44 = § 153 'hominis autem imaginem gypso e facie ipsa primus omnium expressit ceraque in eam formam gypsi infusa emendare instituit Lysistratus Sicyonius frater Lysippi.'

picturis, those of Protogenes and Apelles in § 5. **cogitare possumus pulchriora.** This remark is hardly true of ordinary observers of the masterpieces of art. It would have been more just if, in accordance with the purport of the following sentence, it had been applied to the artists themselves. Goehling, 'De Cic. artis aestimatore,' p. 47, asserts that the language of the sentence (which by the way he misprints) is *absurda et vitiosa*; while a maturer critic, Stahr, who is not generally wanting in respect for Cicero, characterizes it as a strange and almost silly remark. 'Into this last remark,' he adds, 'Cicero was led by a false comparison between the art of the artist and that of the orator. At the close of a long and famous career as an orator, he saw himself forced to the conviction that all his efforts, theoretical as well as practical, had fallen short of his ideal of the perfect orator and of the perfect eloquence, and he erroneously applied to the ideals of art the personal opinion that arose from this confession' (*Torso* II[2] p. 220).

cogitare is a reminiscence of the Platonic λογισμός. In any case, the critics

tare tamen possumus pulchriora; nec vero ille artifex cum f[...] Iovis formam aut Minervae, contemplabatur aliquem, e[...] similitudinem duceret, sed ipsius in mente insidebat sp[...] pulchritudinis eximia quaedam, quam intuens in eaque de[...]

press the use of the first person (*possumus*) needlessly hard. It would be quite true to say that great artists always feel something higher than they represent (Reid). After laying down first that in every art there is an 'idea' surpassing all [...] to realize it, Cic. draws the [...] conclusion that it is possible to [...] of something more beautiful [...] the works of Phidias. If I admit the major premiss, I must admit the conclusion whether I am an artis[...] (Nixon).

§ 9. **Iovis formam.** See note [...] In Waldstein's *Essays* (p. 70—4) [...] some interesting pages on this [...] piece, dwelling on it as the highest embodiment of the ideal art of Phidias.

aut Minervae, the chryselephantine statue of Athene παρθένος in her temple on the Acropolis (Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* §§ 645—690, Michaelis *der Parthenon* p. 266 ff., Perry's *Gk. and Roman Sculpture* pp. 182—9). Brut. 257 'Atheniensium plus interfuit firma tecta in domiciliis habere quam Minervae signum ex ebore pulcherrimum; tamen ego me Phidiam esse mallem quam vel optimum fabrum tignarium' (cf. Paradox. prooem. 5). The shield of the goddess is specially mentioned below, § 234.

For the general sense, cf. Plotinus Ennead. v 8 p. 1002, ἔπειτα (l. ἔπλασεν) ὁ Φειδίας τὸν Δία πρὸς οὐδὲν αἰσθητὸν ποιήσας, ἀλλὰ λαβὼν (νῷ) οἷος ἂν γένοιτο εἰ ἡμῖν ὁ Ζεὺς δι' ὀμμάτων ἐθέλοι φανῆναι (Overbeck, *Schriftquellen* § 716); and Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, vi 19 § 2, οἱ Φειδίαι καὶ οἱ Πραξιτέλεις μῶν ἀνελθόντες ἐς οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀπομαξάμενοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἴδη τέχνην αὐτὰ ἐποιοῦντο, ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἦν, ὃ ἐφίστη αὐτοὺς τῷ πλάττειν; ἕτερον, ἔφη, καὶ μεστόν γε σοφίας πρᾶγμα. ποῖον; εἶπεν, οὐ γὰρ ἄν τι παρὰ τὴν μίμησιν εἴποις. φαντασία, ἔφη, ταῦτα εἰργάσατο σοφωτέρα μιμήσεως δημιουργός. μίμησις μὲν γὰρ δημιουργήσει ὃ εἶδεν, φαντασία δὲ καὶ ὃ μὴ εἶδεν, ὑποθήσεται γὰρ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ ὄντος ('These forms, he replied, were fashioned by Imagination, an artificer more skilful than Imitation. For Imitation will represent only what she has seen, but Imagination even what she has not seen, for she will suggest it to herself by reference to the standard of what is actual[...] tent'. The passage is not quite ac[...]ly rendered in Perry's *Gk. and Sculpture* p. 202, where the wri[...] been misled apparently by a misp[...] Overbeck § 801, φαντασίᾳ for φα[...] On the Ideal in the art of Phidi[...] Brunn, *Gr. Künstler* i pp. 197—20[...] the subject of ideal beauty in w[...] art, we have an interesting par[...] Cicero's remark on Phidias in [...] from Raphael to Baldassare Casti[...] —'With respect to the Galatea, I [...] hold myself to be a great master, [...] were in it one-half of the merits o[...] you write, but in your words I [...] fail to perceive the partiality [...] friendship for myself. To paint a [...] truly beautiful, it might be necess[...] I should see many beautiful form[...] the further provision that you [...] yourself be near, to select the be[...] seeing that good judges and b[...] women are scarce, I avail myself o[...] tain 'idea' which comes into my m[...] *mi servo di certa idea che mi vien[...] mente*). Whether I have in mys[...] portion of the excellence of art, I [...] not, but labour heartily to secu[...] *Lettere pittoriche* Milano 1822 II [...] Vasari's Lives iii 24 (note) in Eng[...] Sir Joshua Reynolds in his third Di[...] (p. 33 ed. Gosse) quotes the prese[...] sage of Cic., as well as Proclus [...] Tim. ii, in support of the positio[...] 'all the arts receive their perfectio[...] an ideal beauty, superior to that [...] is found in individual nature.'

quam intuens in eaque defixus [...] the form, cf. Verg. Aen. i 495 'obt[...] haerens defixus in illo', and for th[...] Plat. Cratylus p. 389 A βλέπω[...] ἐκεῖνο τὸ εἶδος, and Timaeus p. 28 A [...] on § 10, with Cicero's transl. Som[...] like this in expression, is to be fo[...] Plat. Rep. vi p. 484 C οἱ...μηδὲν [...] ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντες παράδειγμα, μηδ[...]μενοι, ὥσπερ γραφῆς, εἰς τὸ ἀληθ[...] ἀποβλέποντες κἀκεῖσε ἀεὶ ἀναφέρο[...] καὶ θεώμενοι ὡς οἷόν τε ἀκριβέστατ[...] p. 501 B, ἀπεργαζόμενοι τύκνα ἂν ἐκ[...] ἀποβλέποιεν πρός τε τὸ φύσει δίκα[...] καλὸν καὶ σῶφρον. In both of the [...]sages the attitude of the philosop[...] gaged in developing a perfect repr[...]

ad illius similitudinem artem et manum dirigebat. ut igitur in III formis et figuris est aliquid perfectum et excellens, cuius ad cogitatam speciem imitando referuntur ea, quae sub oculos ipsa [non] cadunt, sic perfectae eloquentiae speciem animo videmus,

1 *dirigebat FPO*: *derigebat* scripsit H. 3 *imitando* post Bakium secl. K. 4 *non* cum codd. retinuerunt Orelli, Meyer, Peter-Weller, Klotz, P: secluserunt Victorius (variae lectiones xi 14), Perizonius, Robortellus, Lambinus, Ernesti, Goeller, Bake, KJH. *quae sub oculos ipsa non cadente cadunt* Vollbehr. *eaque* (scil. species) *sub oculos ipsa non cadit* coniecit H(st); idem laudat quae disputavit W. Friedrich (Neue Jahrbücher f. Phil. 123 p. 180 sqq.). *easquae* F^1, *eaquae* F^2OM.

described in language borrowed from the art of painting (Ed. Müller, *Gesch. d. Theorie d. Kunst* II p. 198 quoted by Goehling, de Cic. Artis aestimatore p. 45). But it is more probable that Cicero was thinking of passages of Plato, like that of the Timaeus l. c., bearing directly on the doctrine of 'ideas.'

For quam...in ea, cf. § 61 quem...in eo. Madvig § 323 b (quoting Brut. 258 qui... nec eos), observes: 'sometimes, if the relative ought to stand first in the *nominative* and then in some other case, the demonstrative *is* is used the second time instead of the relative;' but the above instances show that this use is not confined to the nominative. See also Madv. on de Fin. i 42 'quod ipsum...ad id autem.'

in formis et figuris, i.e. the shapes and outlines of sculpture and painting. *aliquid perfectum*, the αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν, cognisable only as a purely intellectual conception; hence '*cogitatam* speciem.'

cadunt. The MSS have *non cadunt*; if we retain *non*, the sense at first sight appears to be: 'As therefore in the shapes and outlines of sculpture and painting there is a something perfect and pre-eminent, after the mental ideal of which, those objects are by imitative art represented and realised which do not themselves come before the eye, so with the mind we see an ideal of perfect eloquence, while with the ear we strive to find its copy.' This rendering of *referuntur* assumes that *referre* can be used by Cicero in the sense of 'setting forth afresh, representing, reproducing,' which is found more frequently in verse than in prose. The dictionaries quote 'parentis sui speciem referre' from Liv. x 7; but I am unable to find any example of this use in Cicero, who in such a case would probably have written *exprimuntur*.

The sense of *referre ad* which is best suited to the context of this passage, and to the general usage of Cicero, is that of 'referring to a standard', '*appealing to* an authority,' as in § 159 'refer ad aures, probabunt,' 162 'illa ad intelligentiam referuntur, haec ad voluptatem,' de Or. i 142 'ad personarum dignitatem omnia referentur,' iii 111 'aut ad cognoscendi aut ad agendi vim rationemque referatur,' Brut. 5, 'non ad amicitiam sed ad domesticam utilitatem referre.'

The sense of the first part of the sentence would thus be: As in art, there is something ideally perfect, the imaginary 'idea' of which is the standard to which imitative art refers the objects which are themselves visible, so &c.

Piderit, retaining *non*, comments on *imitando referuntur* as follows: 'The ideal portrait within, floating before the mental vision, is the *pattern*, by copying which in accordance with the principles of art (μιμεῖσθαι), the artist represents that which otherwise has no existence in the world of sense; the *cogitata species* supplies the *standard*, and in accordance with this, every part,—head, face, arms, hands,—of which an actual visible original is not forthcoming, must be fashioned even to the minutest details. The artist submits himself solely to the guidance of this ideal and derives therefrom a creation of which the visible world affords him no example.' The same explanation is given at greater length in his article in *Eos* (1864) i 401—3. With *non cadunt* may be compared Acad. i 31 'quae sub sensum cadere non possent.'

I cannot say I am satisfied with this explanation; it seems to intermingle and confuse the two separate senses of *referre* to which attention has been drawn in the earlier part of this note. Cicero is using the notion of the ideal in art to illustrate the contrast between ideal eloquence and its actual realisation. This contrast is clear in itself and is expressed by the antithesis between the abstract ideal (*species*) and its concrete copy (*effigies*). Let us now go back to the words which Cicero uses in the earlier part of the sentence for purposes of illustration, and

effigiem auribus quaerimus. has rerum formas ap

see if they correspond to this clear conclusion. In the illustration, we look for something corresponding to *perfectae eloquentiae species*, and we find it at once in *cogitata species eius, quod in formis et figuris perfectum est et excellens.* We next look for something corresponding to the *effigies*, and what we obviously expect is a phrase expressing the actual concrete objects of art which are seen by the eye, corresponding to what we endeavour to find with the ear, namely, the concrete copy of the ideal eloquence. Such a condition is satisfied by the phrase *ea quae sub oculos ipsa cadunt*; and this consideration is in favour of striking out the negative.

This use of *ipsa* is well compared (by Bake) with Plato's contrast between the abstract αὐτὸ and the concrete αὐτὰ, e. g. in the Phaedo p. 74 B—C, where αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον is contrasted with αὐτὰ τὰ ἴσα. So in § 101 we have *illud ipsum* used with reference to the abstract ideal of eloquence. With *cadunt sub oculos* Dr Reid compares the expression common in Sextus, Epictetus, &c. τὰ ὑποπίπτοντα τῇ αἰσθήσει (e. g. Sext. P. H. i 46).

It is only fair to add Piderit's note on *auribus quaerimus* which he endeavours as follows to bring into correspondence with *quae sub oculos ipsa non cadunt*. 'Although we see the form of the perfect orator with the mental eye, the corresponding likeness is not there; we have not yet found it, but still seek to know whether we can hear it in life with the outward ear.' *quaerimus* would thus have to be considered equivalent to *non invenimus*.

Mr Nixon, retaining *non*, suggests that the sentence *ut igitur—non cadunt* puts *generally* what has already been put as a *special* case. Phidias, not being able to see Jove, referred his idea of Jove to an ideal standard; and so, just as in sculpture, when we *cannot see* the thing we try to represent, we refer constantly, in our attempts at representing it, to the conception of a standard of ideal excellence; so we conceive in our mind an ideal standard of perfect eloquence and then try and work out a copy of it to satisfy our ears,—lit. 'we use our ears to seek out a copy of it.'

§ 10. has rerum formas appellat ἰδέας. Among these *rerum formae* are included the *cogitata species* &c of the first half of the preceding sentence, and the *perfectae eloquentiae species* of the second. *formae* is here s the plural of *species* (§ rare in the nom. and ac exist in the gen. and dat. (31, where Cicero refers grammar in discussing *fo* not, as here, with any Platonic theory of idea equivalents for εἶδος in its and where he expressly tween *formae* and *partes*).

Cicero's account of the of ideas is probably fou reminiscences of passage 65 D, 74 A—78 E, 100 B— ἴσον, ἀγαθόν, καλόν, θερμό *Republic* iii 402 C (idea ἀνδρεία, ἐλευθεριότης, με the like, with those of th 476 A—C (ideas of ἀγαθ and their opposites), and ἡ ἀχρώματος τε καὶ ἀσχη φὴς οὐσία, ὄντως οὖσα, μόνῳ θεατὴ νῷ, and 250 A ὁμοίωμα ἴδωσιν. With al we have reason to know or less familiar. The *Parn* and *Timaeus*, as has bee Dr Henry Jackson in his a later theory of ideas' in of the Journal of Philolog adjustment and correctio it appears in the *Phaed* In p. 132 D of the dialogue with which Ci not acquainted,—the εἴδη δείγματα 'models or t in nature', particulars second passage above-q *Phaedrus*, 'copies or like ὁμοιώματα. His acquai *Philebus*, which is comn proved by the plain allu Finibus i 5, pointed out Laelius p. 12.

The words in the tex *statu* are not however a d of any of the passages ab the Index to Piderit's e passage on αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸ speech in the *Symposium* quoted *in extenso*: πρῶτ οὔτε γιγνόμενον οὔτε ἀπολ αὐόμενον οὔτε φθίνον...ἀλ μονοειδὲς ἀεὶ ὄν, τὰ δὲ ἄ ἐκείνου μετέχοντα τρόπον γιγνομένων τε τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐκεῖνο μήτε τι πλ γίγνεσθαι μηδὲ πάσχειν very much to the purpo

ille non intellegendi solum, sed etiam dicendi gravissimus auctor et magister Plato, easque gigni negat et ait semper esse ac ratione et intellegentia contineri; cetera nasci, occidere, fluere, labi, nec diutius esse uno et eodem statu. quicquid est igitur,

3 *fluere labi* MOKJP cum codd.: *affluere labi* (collato Platonis Symposio 211, αὐξανόμενον...φθῖνον, πλέον...ἔλαττον γίγνεσθαι) frustra coniecit Friedrich *l.c.* III (1875) p. 857 (St); *fluere* obelo nequiquam notavit H, cf. Acad. i 31 'continenter laberentur et fluerent omnia'.

parallel; but as there is no proof, so far as I am aware, that Cicero had read the *Symposium*, I prefer drawing attention to one or two passages from the *Timaeus* as the probable source of part of his description. The *Timaeus*, it will be remembered, was actually translated by Cicero, (shortly after the composition of the *Academica* in B.C. 45; the year immediately succeeding that of the appearance of the *Orator*). p. 28 A, τί τὸ ὂν ἀεί, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον καὶ τί τὸ γιγνόμενον μὲν ἀεί, ὂν δὲ οὐδέποτε; τὸ μὲν δὴ νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περιληπτὸν ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὄν, τὸ δ' αὖ δόξῃ μετ' αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγου δοξαστὸν γιγνόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὄντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὄν...ὅτου μὲν οὖν ὁ δημιουργὸς πρὸς τὸ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἔχον βλέπων ἀεί (cf. § 9), τοιούτῳ τινὶ προσχρώμενος παραδείγματι, τὴν ἰδέαν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ἀπεργάζηται, καλὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης οὕτως ἀποτελεῖσθαι πᾶν κ.τ.λ. It is exactly at this point that the fragments of Cicero's translation begin, as follows: 'quid est, quod semper sit, neque ullum habeat ortum, et quod gignatur, nec unquam sit? quorum alterum intellegentia et ratione comprehenditur; quod unum semper atque idem est: alterum quod opinioni sensus rationis expers affert; quod totum opinabile est, id gignitur et interit, nec umquam esse vere potest...quocirca si is, qui aliquod munus efficere molitur, eam speciem, quae semper est eadem intuebitur, atque eam sibi proponet exemplar, praeclarum opus efficiat necesse est' (cf. supra § 9). *ib.* p. 48 E ὃν μὲν ὡς παραδείγματος εἶδος ὑποτεθέν, νοητὸν καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὄν, μίμημα δὲ παραδείγματος δεύτερον, γένεσιν ἔχον καὶ ὁρατόν (Cicero's translation of the latter passage is lost).

It must be observed, in conclusion, that Cicero's reference to the Platonic theory of ideas, though introduced in a way that is calculated to raise our expectations, proves on closer examination to be little more than an *illustration* of the general subject of his treatise. The Platonic *ἰδέαι have except in name little* in common with Cicero's delineation of the ideal orator. The former are unchanging and eternal, and they have an objective existence independent of ourselves: the latter is the subjective opinion of the writer; and, at the close of the treatise, Cicero admits that his own view may change and that he himself may have one ideal and Brutus another. 'Few if any in Cicero's time,' as remarked by Dr Reid, 'had any real understanding of the Platonic theory of ἰδέαι. Little or no attention was paid to it by philosophers after Aristotle.' See further in Zeller's *Plato and the Older Academy*, chap. vi.

intellegendi...dicendi. Cicero is endeavouring to justify his use of Plato's theory of ideas, to illustrate the search after a perfect pattern of eloquence, by describing Plato as not only a profound philosopher but also one whose mastery of style made him an authority in the province of rhetoric.

intellegendi and *dicendi* correspond to διαλεκτικῆς and ῥητορικῆς, the two divisions of λογική, according to the Stoic doctrine generally accepted in Cicero's time. ῥητορική is almost always rendered by *dicendum*, διαλεκτική by *disserendum* (Acad. i 5). *intellegendum* occurs in de Or. iii 73 (Reid).

ratione et intellegentia. Plat. Rep. vi 507 B τὰς ἰδέας (φαμὲν) νοεῖσθαι μέν, ὁρᾶσθαι δ' οὔ, cf. 'intellegentia et ratione comprehenditur' in Cicero's translation of Tim. l. c. **contineri** c. abl. = 'depend on' as in de Or. i 5, ii 150, 236 (Nägelsbach, Stil. § 112); infra 187.

fluere. Plat. Cratyl. p. 439 D δοκεῖ ταῦτα πάντα ῥεῖν· ἀλλ' αὐτό, φῶμεν, τὸ καλὸν οὐ τοιοῦτον ἀεὶ ἔστιν οἷόν ἐστιν; In Aristotle's summary of the Platonic ontology Metaph. 1 6 § 2, one of the distinguishing features of Plato's teaching is 'the doctrine, derived from the Heraclitean Cratylus, of the flux (ῥοή) of αἰσθητά, which consequently are not the objects of knowledge' (Dr H. Jackson *Journ. of Phil.* X p. 285).

de quo ratione et via disputetur, id est ad ultimam sui generis formam speciemque redigendum.

Ac video hanc primam ingressionem meam non ex oratoriis disputationibus ductam, sed e media philosophia repetitam et ea 5 quidem cum antiqua tum subobscura aut reprehensionis aliquid aut certe admirationis habituram. nam aut mirabuntur quid haec pertineant ad ea, quae quaerimus,—quibus satisfaciet res ipsa cognita, ut non sine causa alte repetita videatur,—aut reprehendent, quod inusitatas vias indagemus, tritas relinquamus. ego autem 10 et me saepe nova videri dicere intellego, cum pervetera dicam, sed inaudita plerisque, et fateor me oratorem, si modo sim aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiae

3 *oratoriis* Meyer, Goeller, Peter-Weller, ...Hst, cum Strebaeo et Gronovio ad Brut. § 305; idem probat Bentleius ad Tusc. ...p. i 3 § 6 'oratoriae laudis': *oratoris FPO* et Nonius s.v. ingressus; *oratorum* c... Vit. 4—5 *ea...antiqua...subobscura* post Bakium KJP: *eam...antiquam...*...*bscuram* cum codd. MOH.

ratione et via, 'rationally and methodically,' according to scientific principles and scientific method, the usual Latin equivalent for Aristotle's μεθόδῳ, cf. Plat. Phaedr. 263 B ὁδῷ διῃρῆσθαι, and see § 116, de Fin. ii 1 'via et ratione disputare,' de Or. i 87, Tusc. ii 6 'ratione et v. philosophantur', Brut. 46 'neminem via nec arte.' (See also Cope on Ar. Rhet. 1 1 § 2).

ad ultimam...formam, i. e. the ultimate idea, the highest type, of its kind. Plat. Rep. vii 517 B ἐν τῷ γνωστῷ τελευταία ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέα καὶ μόγις ὁρᾶσθαι, de Fin. i 42 'vel summum vel ultimum vel extremum bonorum' (= τέλος).

§§ 11—19. *Among the essentials of the ideal orator is primarily a philosophical training.*

§ 11. **oratoriis.** Brut. 305, 'oratoriis exercitationibus.' The adj., equivalent in sense to *oratorum*, seems more satisfactory than the manuscript reading *oratoris* which is explained by Jahn as 'appropriate to an orator, from an orator's point of view,' a gen. like *laus oratoris* in § 103. *oratoris*, however, may very well stand for *de oratore*, and so seems to suit better the title and subject of the work. Many closely similar uses of the gen. occur in Cic. e.g. in § 111 (oratio) 'falsae legationis' (Reid). Cf. Reid on Acad. ii 5.

aliquid admirationis habituram, *admirationem habere* is the regular Latin substitute for the passive of the deponent verb *admirari*, or *mirari*. Phil. i 7 '*reversio quae plus* admirationis habet,' ... letter to Brutus quoted in Quint. ... 6 'eloquentiam quae admirationon habet, nullam iudico;' so *habet* ...*tionem* for the pass. of *veneratur* ...lsbach, Stil. § 95).

...ibus satisfaciet—videatur, i. e. 'a fuller acquaintance with the subject' (as unfolded in the course of Cicero's exposition § 14) 'will satisfy them, so that they will find I have had good reason for starting from so distant a point.'

§ 12. **quicumque sim.** Similar assumed modesty in p. Arch. 1, de Or. ii 122, iii 33, Fam. vii 1 § 5, ix 18 § 3; also Liv. iii 40 § 7 (quicunque sum), Quint. vi 2 § 36, and Dem. de Cor. § 277 (Reid).

non ex rhetorum officinis— The general drift of the following passage is this: 'My oratory comes not from the mechanical workshops of rhetoric, but from the groves of the Academy; for (whatever others hold to the contrary) they *are* the real school for every kind of discourse,—those walks *are* the field (or tournayground) for philosophic discourse of all kinds, where Plato was the first to leave his footsteps' (Nixon).

Academiae. The quantity of the penultimate syllable is sometimes considered doubtful. The long penultimate which is universal in the Greek poets is retained by Cicero's freedman Tullius Laurea, quoted in Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxi 23 § 8, 'atque Academiae celebratam nomine villam'; it is also apparently retained by Cicero himself in a verse quoted in de Div. i 13, 22 'inque Academia umbrifera

spatiis exstitisse; illa enim sunt curricula multiplicium variorumque sermonum, in quibus Platonis primum sunt impressa vestigia. sed et huius et aliorum philosophorum disputationibus et exagitatus maxime orator est et adiutus: omnis enim ubertas et quasi silva dicendi ducta ab illis est, nec satis tamen instructa ad forensis causas; quas, ut illi ipsi dicere solebant, agrestioribus Musis 5

4 *maxime* K: *maxume* H. 5 *forensis* K: *-es* H.

nitidoque Lyceo,' unless Hermann and Lachmann are right in holding that there is a hiatus and that the *i* is short. It is only in late Latin poets that it is certainly short, e.g. Claudian xvii 94 'in Latium spretis Academia migrat Athenis,' and Sidonius Apollinaris xv 120 (cf. Wilkins on de Or. i 98).

spatiis. The shaded 'walks' in the open air, 'inter silvas Academi,' are here contrasted with the narrow schoolrooms and workshops (*officinae*) of the rhetoricians. De Fin. v 1, 'cum autem venissemus in Academiae non sine causa nobilitata spatia, solitudo erat ea quam volueramus.' Quint. xii 2 § 23 'M. Tullius non tantum se debere scholis rhetorum quantum Academiae spatiis, frequenter ipse testatur' (cf. Tac. Or. 32). *Spatium* being also used in the sense of a 'race-course' (de Sen. 83), like *στάδιον* with which it is etymologically connected, the *spatia* of the Academy are in the next sentence naturally described as *curricula:* cf. de Amic. 40 'deflexit...de spatio curriculoque.'

curricula—vestigia. 'For in those walks is run the race of manifold and varied debate,—those walks in which the footsteps of Plato first were planted.' So (of Socrates) de Or. iii 61 'ex illius variis et diversis et in omnem partem diffusis disputationibus,' and Tusc. Disp. v 11 'cuius multiplex ratio disputandi rerumque varietas et ingenii magnitudo, Platonis memoria et litteris consecrata.' Servius on Verg. Aen. viii 408, quoting from memory, takes *curricula* in a local sense: (curriculum) 'Cicero in Oratore pro loci spatio: haec sunt curricula ac spatia multiplicium variorumque verborum.'

impressa vestigia. Brut. 307 'nostrum cursum perspicere...et videre quemadmodum simus in spatio Q. Hortensium ipsius vestigiis persecuti;' p. Balbo 13 'cum fortitudinis, tum vero humanitatis...*impressa vestigia*;' Lucr. iii 4.

et exagitatus...et adiutus. Plato and other *philosophers besides*, notwithstanding the war they waged against rhetoric (e. g. in the *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*), had really rendered it considerable service. The emphasis (as Piderit points out) is on the second word *adiutus*. For the services rendered to rhetoric by the school of Plato, cf. de Nat. Deor. ii 168 'quoniam in utramque partem vobis licet disputare, hanc potius sumas, eamque facultatem disserendi, quam tibi a rhetoricis exercitationibus acceptam amplificavit Academia, huc potius conferas' (Mayor). For **exagitatus**, cf. 42 'Plato exagitator omnium rhetorum'; the verb is also used in §§ 26, 27, 149.

silva, ὕλη, properly, of timber for building; and hence, metaphorically, of any large supply of material in a rough and unfinished form; here of the 'subject matter' (ὑποκειμένη ὕλη) of oratory. Cf. § 139, de Or. ii 65 'infinita silva,' iii 93 'rerum est silva magna,' 103 'primum silva rerum [ac sententiarum] comparanda est,' 118 'cui loco omnis virtutum et vitiorum est silva subiecta,' 54 'ea est ei (oratori) subiecta materies;' de Inv. i 34 'quandam silvam atque materiam universam permixtam et confusam exponere omnium argumentationum'; de Fin. iii 61; de Off. i 16.

nec satis instructa, the material is rough-hewn, not yet sufficiently shaped and polished. Cf. de Or. ii 54, where *perpolivit* is metaphorically contrasted with *dolavit*.

agrestioribus Musis. So Plat. Phaedr. 229 E ἀγροίκῳ τινὶ σοφίᾳ χρώμενος (of the untutored ingenuity of certain rationalising mythologers). Cicero appears to be referring to some actual phrase either of Plato, or some other philosopher, describing τὸ δικανικὸν as ἄμουσον or ἀγροικότερον: but though both of these words are common in Plato, I can find nothing exactly corresponding to the words before us. Cf. de Or. ii 1 'rhetoricis...libris quos tu agrestes putas', and esp. ad Fam. i 9, 23 (written in Sept. B.C. 54) 'nam etiam ab *orationibus* diiungo me fere referoque

reliquerunt. sic eloquentia haec forensis, spreta a philosophis et repudiata, multis illa quidem adiumentis magnisque caruit, sed tamen ornata verbis atque sententiis iactationem habuit in populo nec paucorum iudicium reprehensionemque pertimuit: ita 5 et doctis eloquentia popularis et disertis elegans doctrina defuit.

IV Positum sit igitur in primis, quod post magis intellegetur, sine philosophia non posse effici, quem quaerimus, eloquentem, non ut in ea tamen omnia sint, sed ut sic adiuvet ut palaestra histrionem; parva enim magnis s[...]e rectissime conferuntur. 10 nam nec latius neque copiosius de [.]agnis variisque rebus sine philosophia potest quisquam dice[...] quidem etiam in Phaedro

2 *illa quidem* ed. Rom. 1469, Madvig de [.]in. iv 16 § 43, JPH: *quidem illa* cum codd. Orelli, Meyer, Peter-Weller, K. [...] *magnisque adiumentis* KP cum cod. Eins.: *adiumentis magnisque* MOJH cum *FP*[...] *adiumenta* (corr. 2) *magnisque O*. 7 *eloquentem* secl. K. 8 *sint omnia* [...]pinus (St). 10 *neque* OKJP cum cod. Eins.; *nec* M: *atque* H et St cum *FPO* (c[...]tio) et Vit.

ad *mansuetiores Musas*' (referring to the composition of the *de Oratore* and the poem *de temporibus meis*).

§ 13. **illa quidem...sed**, §§ 30, 32, 44, 76, 81, 213. For this concessive use of *ille quidem*, where in English the pronoun is not expressed, see Roby § 2259, 2261, Madv. § 289 b). The pronoun serves to recall with emphasis the subject of the sentence, especially when (as here) some few words have intervened, e.g. Brut. 239 'C. Piso...minime ille quidem tardus...verumtamen...'

adiumentis, the advantages capable of being derived by the orator from the study of the various branches of philosophy, namely dialectics, physics and ethics (§§ 15, 16).

iactationem habuit—pertimuit, 'exulted in the applause of the people and was not afraid of the censorious criticisms of the few:' pro Cluent. 95 'homines se non iactatione populari, sed dignitate atque innocentia tuebantur,' de har. resp. 43 'primus aditus ad popularem iactationem atque ascensus.' The sense seems different in de prov. cons. 38, where 'ex illa iactatione cursuque populari' appears to refer to the *fluctus* of the preceding sentence.

doctis, philosophers, just as *elegans doctrina* refers to the accomplishments of philosophy. **disertis**, 'good speakers,' see § 18 note.

§ 14. **positum sit** is less strong than *κείσθω*, being here used of a provisional assumption, a theme for further elucidation.

ut palaestra histrionem, 'simply to help him, just as the actor (to make a humble comparison) is helped by gymnastics.' De Or. ii 83 'Hoc tibi...primum persuadeas velim, me non multo secus facere cum de oratore disputem, ac facerem si esset mihi de histrione dicendum; negarem enim posse eum satis facere in gestu, nisi palaestram, nisi saltare didicisset,' i 73 'ut qui pila ludunt, non utuntur in ipsa lusione artificio proprio palaestrae, sed indicat ipse motus didicerintne palaestram an nesciant,' (even so, it is clearly seen whether the speaker is 'omnibus ingenuis artibus instructus')—**parva**. Verg. Georg. iv 176 'si parva licet componere magnis.' Acting, as compared with oratory, is called in de Or. i 18 'histrionum levis ars,' and it is similarly described ib. 129 'in artificio perquam tenui et levi.'

§ 15. **in Phaedro Platonis**, p. 269 E (Socrates is proceeding to show that a philosophic training is a necessary condition of attaining the highest excellence as a speaker) πᾶσαι ὅσαι μεγάλαι τῶν τεχνῶν, προσδέονται ἀδολεσχίας καὶ μετεωρολογίας ('endless discussion and high speculative discourse') φύσεως πέρι· τὸ γὰρ ὑψηλόνουν τοῦτο καὶ πάντῃ τελεσιουργὸν ἔοικεν ἐντεῦθεν πόθεν εἰσιέναι. ὃ καὶ Περικλῆς πρὸς τῷ εὐφυὴς εἶναι ἐκτήσατο· προσπεσὼν γάρ, οἶμαι, τοιούτῳ ὄντι Ἀναξαγόρᾳ, μετεωρολογίας ἐμπλησθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ φύσιν νοῦ τε καὶ ἀνοίας ἀφικόμενος, ὧν δὴ πέρι τὸν πολὺν λόγον ἐποιεῖτο Ἀναξαγόρας, ἐντεῦθεν εἵλκυσεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην τὸ πρόσφορον αὐτῇ (where see Thompson's commentary and cf. Plutarch, Pericles c. 5, τοῦτον ὑπερφυῶς τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμάσας ὁ Περικλῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης μετεωρολογίας καὶ μεταρσιολογίας ὑποπιμπλάμενος,...ὡς

Platonis hoc Periclem praestitisse ceteris dicit oratoribus Socrates, quod is Anaxagorae physici fuerit auditor; a quo censet eum cum alia praeclara quaedam et magnifica didicisse, tum uberem et fecundum fuisse gnarumque, quod est eloquentiae maximum, quibus orationis modis quaeque animorum partes pellerentur: 5

1 *Periclem* H. *dicit* MOKJP et H cum cod. Laur. 50, 1: *dicat FPO.* 2 *censet* delet Bake, secl. K. 3 *didicisse tum* Schuetz, KJP, Naber in Mnemosyne iv 230: *didicisset* Orelli, Meyer et H cum codd. 4 *gnarumque* OKJP cum codd.: *narumque* MH et St.

ἔοικε, τὸ φρόνημα σοβαρὸν καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑψηλὸν εἶχε). Brut. 44 'Pericles...primus adhibuit doctrinam; quae quamquam tum nulla erat dicendi, tamen ab Anaxagora physico eruditus exercitationem mentis a reconditis abstrusisque rebus ad causas forenses popularesque facile traduxerat. huius suavitate maxime hilaratae Athenae sunt, huius ubertatem (cf. **uberem**) et copiam admiratae, eiusdem vim dicendi terroremque timuerunt.'

hoc praestitisse ceteris. For the constr. cf. de Or. i 197 'quantum praestiterint nostri maiores prudentia ceteris gentibus'. In Cicero (and Caesar) *praesto* in this sense is always a neuter and never an active verb. Contrast Livy v 36, 4, 'quantum Galli virtute ceteros mortales praestarent.'

gnarumque ... pellerentur. 'Plato's meaning' (as remarked in Dr Thompson's note on the Phaedrus l.c.) 'was probably this. Pericles, having become familiar with the Anaxagorean distinction between the Rational and Irrational principles as exhibited on a great scale in Nature, found it easy to apply the same distinction to that department of nature (the mind of man) with which as an orator and statesman he had to do. He would know how to distinguish between the λόγον ἔχον and the ἄλογον—the reasoning and unreasoning principle in his audience —and to address himself successively to each in its turn. It is thus, apparently, that Cicero understands the passage.' Doubtless, in the words **quibus orationis modis quaeque animorum partes pellerentur,** Cicero has also in view a passage on the very next page in the same dialogue, where Socrates, after insisting that the true art of rhetoric must have a psychological basis, draws in the following terms (as translated by Thompson, *Introd.* p. xx) the admirable sketch that was afterwards elaborately filled in and completed in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle: 'Any one who really means to give us an Art of *Rhetoric worthy of the name,* must first accurately describe the human soul: telling us whether it is one and uniform, or whether it admits of as many varieties as the body. Secondly, he must tell us how the different parts of the soul act, also how they are affected, and by what agencies. Thirdly, he must be able to classify the different kinds of arguments, as well as the different modifications of soul, and the affections of which these are susceptible, and then fit the several arguments to the several mental constitutions, and show why such and such souls are necessarily wrought upon by such and such discourses' (διαταξάμενος τὰ λόγων τε καὶ ψυχῆς γένη καὶ τὰ τούτων παθήματα, δίεισι τὰς αἰτίας, προσαρμόττων ἕκαστον ἑκάστῳ, καὶ διδάσκων οἵα οὖσα ὑφ' οἵων λόγων δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡ μὲν πείθεται, ἡ δὲ ἀπειθεῖ). 271 B, cf. ib. 271 D.

In the *de Oratore* Cicero repeatedly dwells on a knowledge of psychology as a necessary part of an orator's training, e.g. i 17 'omnes animorum motus quos hominum generi rerum natura tribuit, penitus pernoscendi,' 53 'nisi qui naturas hominum vimque omnem humanitatis causasque eas, quibus mentes aut incitantur aut reflectuntur, penitus perspexerit, dicendo quod volet perficere non poterit,' 60 'num admoveri possit oratio ad sensus animorum atque motus vel inflammandos vel etiam exstinguendos, quod unum in oratore dominatur, sine diligentissima pervestigatione earum omnium rationum, quae de naturis humani generis ac moribus a philosophis explicantur?' 87, 'quod item fieri nullo modo posse, nisi cognosset is, qui diceret, quot modis hominum mentes et quibus et quo genere orationis in quamque partem moverentur,' and similarly in §§ 165, 219, 220.

quibus...quaeque. The latter is the plural of *quisque* and the construction is the same as in § 196 'dicendum est... quibus orationis generibus sint quique accommodatissimi'. The pl. of *quisque* is naturally not common; but it also occurs in Suet. Aug. 89, 'prout quique nobilitcna

quod idem de Demosthene existimari potest, cuius ex epistulis intellegi licet quam frequens fuerit Platonis auditor. nec vero sine philosophorum disciplina genus et speciem cuiusque rei cernere, neque eam definiendo explicare, nec tribuere in partis

4 *partis* K: *-es* ceteri.

indigerent' and with a superlative in Hor. Ep. ii 1, 28, Liv. i 9 § 8 and in later prose. In good Latin it can only be applied to things which constitute a *group*; as here, where the phrase in which it occurs is rendered by Dr Reid 'each *set* of feelings.'

The sing. ***quaeque animi pars*** might be applied to the different parts of the mind of a single person; while the corresponding parts of the minds of the several persons composing the orator's audience are accurately expressed by the pl. ***quaeque animorum partes***. This point is missed in Piderit's edition, where *quaeque* is misunderstood as = *et quae* ('und auf welche verschiedenen Seiten der menschlichen Seele gewirkt wird') and consequently, in his note on 'quibus orationis modis,' a subject ***animi*** is awkwardly supplied from the subsequent *animorum*. —**pellerentur**, 177, Or. Part. 4 'ad impellendos animos valent.'

Demosthene...epistulis. Similarly in the *Brutus*, Cic. appeals to the evidence of the letters of Dem. to prove that orator's indebtedness to Plato: § 121, 'lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur (cf. de Or. i 89),—idque apparet ex genere et granditate verborum; dicit etiam *in quadam epistula* hoc ipse de sese.' This letter is no longer extant. In the fifth of the letters attributed to Dem. there is 'an indirect recognition of Plato's celebrity but nothing more' (Piderit's *index*); *Ep. ad Heracleodorum* p. 1490, 11, *τῆς Πλάτωνος διατριβῆς, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ὡς ἀληθῶς τῶν μὲν πλεονεκτημάτων καὶ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα σοφισμάτων ἔξω, τοῦ βελτίστου δὲ καὶ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου πάνθ' ἕνεκα ἐξητασμένη*. The tradition that Dem. was a pupil of Plato has been traced as far back as an anonymous writer quoted by Hermippos (at the end of the third century B.C.): Plutarch, Dem. 5 (p. 60) *Ἕρμιππος δέ φησιν ἀδεσπότοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ἐν οἷς ἐγέγραπτο τὸν Δημοσθένην συνεσχολακέναι Πλάτωνι*. About the same time, a similar statement seems to have been made by Mnesistratos of Thasos as quoted by Sabinus and referred to by Diog. Laert. iii 46, who himself adds: *καὶ εἰκός ἐστιν*. The letter above quoted is appealed to by Olympiodoros (Schol. ad Plat. Gorg. p. 515 D) as proof of the same point. The lost letter which Cicero has in view was probably one of the many forgeries manufactured by rhetoricians during the decadence of Greek literature and palmed off by the forgers the titles of names far greater than own. A certain misdirected love of etry seems to have led these writers r off Demosthenes and Plato, as a l to Pericles and Anaxagoras. This rs in a scholium on Phaedr. 261 A ις φιλοσοφήσῃ: οἱ γὰρ ἄριστοι ς καὶ φιλόσοφοι, ὡς Περικλῆς Ἀναξα- ὡς Δημοσθένης Πλάτωνος γεγονότες αι. Quint. xii 2 § 22 in mentioning me two pairs simply echoes the present passage of Cicero. Similarly Tac. dial. de orat. 32 'Demosthenem, quem studiosissimum Platonis auditorem memoriae proditum est.' (v. Arnold Schaefer's *Dem. u. seine Zeit* i p. 280—1, where for further details reference is made to Funkhänel's *Dissert. de Dem. Platonis discipulo*.) See also Blass, *Att. Ber.* iii 397.

§ 16. **nec vero...distinguere.** The whole of this sentence refers to the dialectic branch of philosophy, just as the next refers to Physics and Ethics. All three branches are declared essential to oratory. Cf. 118 f. and de Or. i 68.

speciem, 116, 'quae sint eius generis sive formae sive partes ut in eas tribuatur omnis oratio,' and 117; Top. 7 § 31 'in divisione (as contrasted with ***partitione***) formae sunt, quas Graeci *εἴδη* vocant; nostri si qui haec forte tractant, non pessime id quidem sed inutiliter ad mutandos casus in dicendo. nolim enim, ne si Latine quidem dici possit, *specierum* et *speciebus* dicere; et saepe his casibus utendum est; et *formis* et *formarum* velim.' **cernere** is here not merely to 'perceive,' as below, but to 'distinguish,' like *discernere*; cf. de Fin. iv 8. *definiendo*, cf. *ὁρισμός*.

tribuere = *distribuere*, as in § 116, already quoted. So in Brut. 152 dialectic is described as 'eam...artem, quae doceret rem universam *tribuere in partis*, latentem explicare definiendo, obscuram explanare interpretando; ambigua primum videre, deinde distinguere; postremo habere regulam, qua vera et falsa iudicarentur et quae quibus propositis essent,

possumus, nec iudicare quae vera quae falsa sint, neque cernere consequentia, repugnantia videre, ambigua distinguere. quid dicam de natura rerum, cuius cognitio magnam oratori suppeditat copiam? *quid* de vita, de officiis, de virtute, de moribus, *de quibus nihil* sine multa earum ipsarum rerum disciplina aut dici 5 aut intellegi potest? ad has tot tantasque res adhibenda sunt V

2 *videre*: *vitare* coniecit Sauppe (Tulliana p. 12). 3 *orationi* satis probabiliter coniecerunt J. S. Reid et W. Friedrich: *oratori* Ernesti, Klein in miscell. crit. i 504, P[2]. *orationis* FPO, '*orois* inducta postrema littera' Eins. 2—6 locus nondum persanatus. *quid*: *ecquid* Sauppe (Tulliana p. 11). 4 *quid* inserui; flagitat enim ipsa sententiae concinnitas, neque quidquam facilius inter *copia* et *de vita* excidere poterat. *sine multa...aut dici* illa *aut intellegi posse?* Vollbehr. 'nam *de vita* ..*de moribus sine multa...disciplina* nihil *aut dici aut intellegi potest*' P[1] (Eos i 403 ff.). *de quibus nihil* C. Schenkl (Zeitschrift f. d. oest. Gymn. 1870 p. 625), P[3]; *quidquamne* Bake; *non* K; *satisne* Reid; lacunam indicat H. 6 *potest* Lambinus, Ernesti, Bake, Schenkl, P, et Stangl, qui *dicam* in v. 3 fortasse recte secludit: *posse* OM, Beier, Peter-Weller, KJH cum codd.

quaeque non essent, consequentia.' De Fin. ii 6 § 17 'omnem vim loquendi...in duas tributam esse partis', De Or. i 68 'philosophia in tres partis esse tributa', Cf. ib. 109 'verbis designata, generibus illustrata, partibus distributa sunt,' where *partibus tributa* would have been ambiguous and less symmetrical. With *tribuere in partis*, cf. διαίρεσις.

iudicare quae—Acad. i 19. **cernere... videre.** Here we have hardly any distinction between the two words, only change for the sake of change. Cf. Acad. ii 80 'video...cerno,' where Reid in his new ed. quotes de Or. iii 161, Mil. 79, Scaur. 13, Tusc. i 46. Quint. ix 2 § 41 (from Cic.?) and inf. 18.

quid dicam de, a common rhetorical formula of transition, like *quid commemorem de?* 'what am I to say of?' (cf. de Or. i 18, N. D. ii 99), not 'why should I speak of?' *quid loquar de?* which is a formula of *praeteritio*. (Both formulae are well discussed and illustrated in Seyffert's *Scholae Latinae* i § 28, quoted by Piderit).

oratori is preferable to the manuscript reading *orationis*. *orationis copiam* is very nearly the same as *verborum copiam*, and at present Cic. is dealing with the subject-matter and not the form of oratory,—the *ornamenta* of the next section. Again, if *orationis* were the right word, we should expect the order of the sentence to be *magnam suppeditat orationis copiam*. The conjecture *oratori* gets rid of these objections, supplies a dative to *suppeditat* and is supported by the order of the words. *Orationi* has also been independently suggested by more than one scholar.

de vita. *At this point begins the reference to the ethical branch of philosophy*; and a break in the sentence appears to be required. This is supplied by the conjunction *nam*, proposed in Piderit's first edition,—with a ref. to Seyffert's *Scholae Latinae* i 22, where this form of transition is fully illustrated. With the same object, it may be worth while to suggest *quid*, which might easily have dropped out after *copiā* and before *de*. Cf. Phil. xi 13 Nam quid ego de Trebellio dicam? quem...Quid de T. Planco? quem...; pro Plancio 29 Quid dicam...? Quid de me dicam, qui ... Quid de his ... Leg. Agr. ii 13 Quid de illis...dicemus? Quid de tribunis? Mr Nixon, who considers *nam* to be out of place, proposes *iam*; which is still more likely than *quid* to have dropped out after copi*am*.

sine multa—potest. The retention of *posse* and the insertion of *non* before *sine multa* (so Kayser) do not appear to give a satisfactory text; they involve too great a separation between *posse* at one end of the sentence and *quid dicam de natura rerum* at the other. The punctuation given by Jahn seems better, marking a question after *moribus?* and beginning afresh with *sine multa...posse?* For the infin. he quotes de Leg. i 50, 'quid vero de modestia, quid de temperantia, quid de continentia, quid de verecundia, pudore pudicitiaque dicemus? infamiae (al. *infamiaene*) metu non esse petulantes, an legum et iudiciorum?'

multa is specially emphatic, as pointed out by Piderit, who quotes de Or. i 69 'hic locus de vita et moribus totus est oratori perdiscendus.'

dici...intellegi, referring to two of the three main divisions of rhetoric, *elocutio* and *inventio* respectively.

ornamenta innumerabilia; quae sola tum quidem tradebantur ab eis, qui dicendi numerabantur magistri; quo fit ut veram illam et absolutam eloquentiam nemo consequatur, quod alia intellegendi, alia dicendi disciplina est, et ab aliis rerum, ab aliis ver-
5 borum doctrina quaeritur. itaque M. Antonius, cui vel primas eloquentiae patrum nostrorum tribuebat aetas, vir natura peracutus et prudens, in eo libro, quem unum reliquit, disertos ait se

1 *quae sola—magistri* secl. K. *tum quidem: iam pridem* Vollbehr. 6 *vir—prudens* post Bakium secl. K.

§ 17. **tum quidem**: a reference to the time when there was a feud between philosophers and the ordinary teachers of rhetoric who confined themselves to the stylistic branch to the neglect of dialectic and psychology. Cicero is probably still thinking of the Phaedrus. In p. 271 C, immediately after the passage quoted on § 15, the technographers of the day are described as craftily suppressing their psychological lore, while shortly before this (from 266 D, to 267 E) their technical terms for the divisions of the speech (τὰ κομψὰ τῆς τέχνης) are ridiculed, and in the latter part of the dialogue, p. 274 B, the question of beauty of style, εὐπρέπεια γραφῆς, is mentioned, only to be dismissed in a myth on the superiority of conversational over written instruction.

To this feud between philosophy and rhetoric Cic. attributes the fact that a perfect ideal of oratory cannot be attained. To prove that it has never yet been reached, he appeals to the testimony of the orator Antonius, and then reverts to his special task—that of portraying the ideal orator (Piderit).

veram et absolutam, de Or. iii 84 (de oratore summo), 'semper enim, quacunque de arte aut facultate quaeritur, de absoluta et perfecta quaeri solet.'

§ 18. **M. Antonius**, the grandfather of the triumvir and the father of Cicero's colleague in the consulship. He was born B.C. 143, was consul in 97 and was put to death by the orders of Marius in 85. He is one of the two principal interlocutors in the dialogue De Oratore. In Tusc. Disp. v 19 § 55, Cicero describes him as 'M. Antonii, omnium eloquentissimi, quos ego audierim'; his style of oratory is sketched in the *Brutus* (§§ 139—142), where we are also told that some held him to be fully equal to Crassus (§ 143) while others even preferred him to his rival (§ 186). (For further details see the interesting and comprehensive sketch in W[illegible]s' Introd. to the De Oratore p. 13[illegible].)

p[illegible]as, sc. partes, with *tribuere* § 56, *fer[illegible]* [illegible]3, *deferre* 29 and Brut. 84; *tenere* ib. 14[illegible]; *concedere* de Or. ii 147.

in eo libro, Brut. 163 'vellem aliquid Anto[illegible]o praeter illum *de ratione dicendi* sane [illegible]ilem libellum, plura Crasso libuisset sc[illegible]bere,' cf. de Or. i 206, 208 and esp. 94 (Antonius) 'scripsi etiam illud quodam in libello, qui me imprudente et invito excidit et pervenit in manus hominum, *disertos* cognosse me nonnullos, *eloquentem* adhuc neminem, quod ego eum statuebam disertum, qui posset satis acute atque dilucide apud mediocres homines ex communi quadam opinione hominum dicere, eloquentem vero, qui mirabilius et magnificentius augere posset atque ornare quae vellet, omnesque omnium rerum, quae ad dicendum pertinerent, fontes animo ac memoria contineret.' Quintilian, who writes of this work (iii 1, 19), 'hoc solum opus eius atque id ipsum imperfectum manet,' quotes this saying of Antonius in viii pro. § 13, adding '*diserto* satis putat dicere quae oporteat, ornate autem dicere proprium esse *eloquentissimi*'; cf. Plin. Ep. v 20 § 5 '*eloquentia* vix uni aut alteri, immo, si M. Antonio credimus, nemini, haec vero quam Candidus *loquentiam* appellat multis atque etiam impudentissimo cuique contingit'.

The dictionaries, quoting de Div. i 47, 105 where *disertus* and *disserere* are both used in the same context, and Paul. ex Fest. p. 72, 15 'disertus a disserendo dictus,' make *dĭsertus* a direct derivative of *disserere*. The quantity is against this view, though the first syllable of both may contain the same inseparable preposition. The second element will then be *art-* as in *ars;* and the primary meaning will be 'accomplished in various directions' (Wilkins, de Or. i 94 note). Accordingly, in the present passage *disertus* is an appropriate epithet for a speaker of varied

vidisse multos, eloquentem omnino neminem: insidebat vid
in eius mente species eloquentiae, quam cernebat animo, re
non videbat. vir autem acerrimo ingenio—sic enim fuit—
et in se et in aliis desiderans neminem plane, qui recte app
19 eloquens posset, videbat: quodsi ille nec se nec L. Cra
eloquentem putabat, habuit profecto comprehensam a
quandam formam eloquentiae, cui quoniam nihil deerat,
quibus aliquid aut plura deerant, in eam formam non pc
includere. investigemus hunc igitur, Brute, si possumus,
numquam vidit Antonius, aut qui omnino nullus umquam
quem si imitari atque exprimere non possumus, quod ille
vix deo concessum esse dicebat, at qualis esse debeat, pote
fortasse dicere.

20 Tria sunt omnino genera dicendi, quibus in singulis qu

1 *insidebat—videbat* secl. K. 2 *rem ipsam* Bake. 10 *nunquam...unqu*
14 *in singulis singuli quidam* coni. Stangl coll. § 22.

accomplishments, or, in brief, 'an accomplished speaker,' as contrasted with an eloquent orator.

insidebat etc. So in 2 § 9 of Phidias 'in mente insidebat species pulchritudinis.'

cernebat animo, 3 § 9.

autem resumes the direct reference to Antonius after the explanatory comment that has intervened. 'vir acerrimo ingenio' is an echo of the previous description 'vir natura peracutus et prudens.'

§ 19. *L. Licinius Crassus* was born B.C. 140 and died in 91. His oratorical style is discussed at length in the Brutus § 143—165. It was particularly distinguished for beauty of expression (ib. § 215 and de Or. ii 121, iii 33, 171). He may be regarded as, on the whole, the most famous Roman orator before Cicero's time. Cicero, who was himself trained by him as a boy, assigns him a leading part in the de Oratore where he appears as in the main the exponent of Cicero's own opinions. (See further in Wilkins' Introd. de Or. p. 7—13).

formam, cf. 9. **cui...in eam.** The pronoun expressed as a relative in the subordinate clause immediately after the antecedent, reappears as a demonstrative in the principal sentence; as in Rosc. Am. 33 'cives...*quos quia* servare...volebat, ipse *ab iis* interemptus est.' 'And since that type was perfect, he could not identify therewith those who were deficient in some one *point or in several.*' *includere in eam* 'to make them correspond with, fit exactly into, it,' like a cast into its

mould, §§ 133, 211, cf. the use of
modare ad in § 23.

imitari atque exprimere. De C
'illum quem delegerit, imitando e
atque exprimat', i 155 'exprimeren
dam verba imitando', ii 98 (con
with *imitari*) 'suam quandam e
quasi formam figuramque dicendi'

§§ 20—23. *The perfect orator
master not of one style only, bu
The three styles* (genus grande,
tenue) *are accordingly briefly
nated. All alike are exemplified
sthenes, the truest model of Attic*

§ 20. **tria genera dicendi.**
177 'tum graves sumus, tum sul
medium quiddam tenemus' (il
opt. gen. or. 2 'oratorum autem
numerat plura genera, ut alios
graves aut copiosos, alios tenu
tiles aut breves, alios eis in
tamquam medios putet, de
dicit aliquid, de re parum.'

This threefold division
been ascribed to Theophrastu
work περὶ λέξεως (mentione
Hal. περὶ συνθέσεως p. 101,
14) appears to have been o
thorities followed by Cicer
tise (§ 39 ad fin., 79, 172,
It is not to be found in the
Alexandrum or in Aristotle'
its ascription to Theophra
(by Westermann and oth
sage in Dionys. Hal. de
that critic remarks that
decide whether the pur

floruerunt, peraeque autem, id quod volumus, perpauci i nibus. nam et grandiloqui, ut ita dicam, fuerunt cum am sententiarum gravitate et maiestate verborum, vehementes copiosi graves, ad permovendos et convertendos animos in 5 et parati;—quod ipsum alii aspera, tristi, horrida oratione,

5 *quo in ipso sunt alii?* Reid.

dicendi medium) was first used by Thrasymachus of Calchedon, ὡς οἴεται Θεόφραστος (cf. Westermann, *Gr. Beredsamkeit* p. 170. Blass *Gr. Ber.* p. 81 f, Francken, *Commentationes Lysiacae* p. 9).

In the Rhetorica ad Herennium (written by an unknown author, possibly Cornificius, 34 years before the *Orator*), the three styles are discriminated as follows: iv 8 § 11 'sunt igitur tria genera, quae genera nos figuras appellamus...unam *gravem*, alteram *mediocrem*, tertiam *extenuatam* vocamus. gravis est quae constat ex verborum gravium levi et ornata constructione; mediocris est, quae constat ex humiliore neque tamen ex infima et pervolgatissima verborum dignitate; attenuata est, quae demissa est usque ad usitatissimam puri consuetudinem sermonis.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who came to Rome 15 years after the date of the *Orator*, is our earliest Greek authority for this division. He distinguishes as the τρία πλάσματα τῆς λέξεως, or γενικώτατοι χαρακτῆρες (de Dem. 34, 33), the χαρακτὴρ ὑψηλός, ἰσχνός and μέσος. He calls the grand style ἐξηλλαγμένη, περιττή, ἐγκατάσκευος, τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις κόσμοις ἅπασι συμπεπληρωμένη (ib. 1), or ὑψηλὴ λέξις (ib. 34): the plain, λιτή, ἀφελής (ib. 2), or ἰσχνή, ἀπέριττος (ib. 34): and the middle, μέση (ib. 3 fin. 34), μεταξὺ τῶν ἄκρων (ib. 14), or μικτὴ καὶ σύνθετος ἐκ τούτων τῶν δυεῖν (ib. 3), ὁ μεμιγμένος ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χαρακτήρων (ib. 15 ad fin.); Jebb's *Attic Orators* I p. 161 note 5. As representatives of the three several styles, he names [Gorgias and] Thucydides for the grand style, Lysias for the plain and Isocrates and Plato for the intermediate (Volkmann, *Rhetorik* § 52, Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, i p. 379 f, and Jebb l.c.).

Quintilian has the same division, xii 10, 58 '...discerni posse etiam recte dicendi genera inter se videntur. namque unum *subtile*, quod ἰσχνὸν vocant, alterum *grande* atque *robustum*, quod ἁδρὸν dicunt, constituunt; tertium alii *medium* ex duobus, alii *floridum* (namque id ἀνθηρὸν appellant) addiderunt'.

grandiloqui. A rare word, found as an epithet of *stilus* in Servius' Life of Virgil; and used in a bad sense i Disp. v 31 § 89, isti grandiloqui (It is a somewhat poetic compou sembling the *multiloquus* of Plau the *suaviloquens* of Ennius, an either for this reason, or, to indic the word is applied in no depr sense, that it is combined wi apologetic phrase, *ut ita dicam.* larly *magniloquus* is a poetic wor rally used in a bad sense, and rar Augustan age, though we have *m quentia* below, in § 191.

sententiarum gravitate et ma verborum. Auct. ad Herenn. iv 8 the *gravis figura orationis*) 'orn verba...graves sententiae...exor sententiarum aut verborum qu vitatem habebunt.'

vehementes...ad permovendos vertendos, de Or. ii 211 'haec (p tionis) quae suscipitur ab orat *commutandos* animos atque omni *flectendos*, intenta ac *vehemens* esse

quod ipsum, sc. the *grande ge cendi*, or *grande dicere*, which is in the details immediately pre We should have expected (as Pid others remark) some verb like *bantur* (de Or. iii 172) or *consequ* (Brut. 284). The second Aldine terpolates *sunt consecuti* after *ter* and Lambinus suggests *quorum* for *quod ipsum*.

The representatives of the gra fall into two subdivisions; the di (1) is 'rough, dull, rude, neither n constructed nor neatly finished'; 'smooth, compact and well round

aspera, τραχύς. De Or. i 227 ' Cato...aspere apud populum et menter esset locutus' (this refers, h to the substance of the 'harsh and language, rather than to the ch of the composition). *Asper* is oft trasted with *lenis*. Quint. vi 3 § quod dicitur (*sc.* ridiculum) aut a ...aut lene'. It is also applied (to the structure of the sentence, ib 62 'fit frequentissime aspera et dissoluta et hians oratio, si ad tatem ordinis sui verba redig Seneca Ep. 114 'quidam praefra

**rfecta neque conclusa *consecuti sunt*, alii levi et structa et ter-
minata:—et contra tenues, acuti, omnia docentes et dilucidiora,**

1 *neque conclusa* post Aldinam O³KPJ; idem habet cod. Eins. (secundum H in Museo Rhenano 1883 p. 123): *atque conclusa* O², et H cum *FO* Vit.: *consecuti sunt* addidit K(H); *consequebantur* coni. Piderit (st); *sunt consecuti* post *terminata* Ald² et vulg.; om. OJP. *structa* post Ernestium OKJPH: *instructa* cum codd. retinuerunt Meyer et Peter-Weller. 2 *contra alii?* Reid.

asperam compositionem probant; disturbant de industria si quid placidius effluxit; nolunt sine salebra esse iuncturam; virilem putant et fortem, quae aures inaequalitate percutiat.' When applied (as here) to composition, its opposite is *lēvis*. Dionys. Hal. de comp. verb. 22 says of the *αὐστηρὰ ἁρμονία* of Thuc. and others: *τραχείαις τε χρῆσθαι πολλαχῇ καὶ ἀντιτύποις ταῖς συμβολαῖς, οὐδὲν αὐτῇ διαφέρει.*

tristi. As an epithet of style, *tristis* is contrasted by Quintilian with *hilaris* in viii 3 § 49 'quaedam hebes, sordida, ieiuna, *tristis*, ingrata, vilis oratio est... primum acuto, secundum nitido, tertium copioso, deinceps *hilari*, iucundo, accurato diversum est'. The virtue of style most closely akin to it is *severum*, ib. xii 10 § 80 'sic erunt magna, non nimia; sublimia, non abrupta; fortia, non temeraria; *severa*, non *tristia*; gravia, non tarda; laeta, non luxuriosa; iucunda, non dissoluta; grandia, non tumida.' Cf. Brut. 113 'Rutilius in quodam *tristi* et *severo* genere dicendi versatus est'. In Tac. dial. de orat. 20 'laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis' is contrasted with 'tristem et impexam antiquitatem.' Cf. infra § 53, 'orationis quasi maestitiam.'

horrida. The opposite is *nitida*, 36, 126 nitor, de Or. iii 51 (Antonius to Crassus) 'ita de *horridis* rebus *nitida*, de ieiunis plena, de pervolgatis nova quaedam est oratio tua,' de Legg. i 2, 6 (of Caelius Antipater) 'habuitque vires agrestes ille quidem atque horridas, sine nitore et palaestra'; Brut. 68 'antiquior (Catonis) sermo et quaedam horridiora verba', 83 'multo vetustior et horridior (Laelius) quam Scipio', 117 (Q. Aelius Tubero) 'ut vita sic oratione durus, incultus, horridus', 238 (of C. Macer) 'non valde nitens, non plane horrida oratio' inf. 28, 86, 152.

neque perfecta, in a technical sense, 'without regular construction,' de Or. iii 175 'eam coniunctionem sicuti versum numerose cadere et quadrare et *perfici* volumus,' inf. 168, 178, 182. **neque conclusa,** i.e. 'without a periodic termination.' *concludere* is used of 'rounding off' either a period in rhetoric or a verse in poetry, inf. 170, 171, 177 *concluse* apteque, 200, 220, 230, 231; (conclusio) 169, 178, 212; de Or. ii 34 'sine artificiosa verborum conclusione', Hor. Sat. i. 4, 40 'concludere versum'.

levi, opp. to *aspera*, and in part also to *tristi* and *horrida*. De Or. iii 171 'collocationis est componere et struere verba sic, ut neve *asper* eorum concursus neve hiulcus sit, sed quodam modo coagmentatus et *levis*,' ib. 172, 201 'coniunctionis levitatem...levis orator'. The corresponding term in Gk. rhetoric is *λεῖος*, e.g. Demetrius Eloc. 176 and 48, *τὸ λεῖον καὶ ὁμαλὲς τῆς συνθέσεως*. Dionysius, de compos. 22, p. 165, ascribes *λείας* and *συνεξεσμένας ἁρμονίας* to *λέξις εὐεπὴς καὶ λεληθότως ὀλισθάνουσα τῆς ἀκοῆς*, and contrasts them with *τὸ ἀντίτυπον, καὶ τραχὺ καὶ στρυφνόν* (J.C.T. Ernesti, *Lex. technologicae Gr.*).

structa. J. A. Ernesti's correction for *instructa*. Opp. to *neque perfecta*, applied to the skilful structure and artistic arrangement of the clauses of a sentence; inf. 140, 219, 232, Brut. 274; de Or. iii 171 (componere et struere verba), ib. 33 and inf. 149 (structura).

terminata, opp. to *neque conclusa*, 198 'clausa et terminata', 199 'cadere numerose terminarique sententiam'.

tenues, 'plain,' the representatives of the *tenue dicendi genus*, the *attenuatae figurae genus* of the Auctor ad Herennium (iv 8 §§ 11, 14), inf. 81 tenuis orator, Quint. xii 10 § 21 'mihi falli multum videntur, qui solos esse Atticos credunt tenues et lucidos...' The Gk. equivalents are *ἰσχνός* (Dionys. ad Pomp. 2, Demetr. eloc. 190), *λιτός* (Ar. Rhet. iii 16, 2 and Dionys. de Thuc. 23), and *ἀφελής*. The primary meaning of *tenuis* is 'thin' its metaphorical use as an epithet of style is derived not from the notion of slimness and slenderness of form (like *ἰσχνός* and *gracilis*), but from thinness and fineness of texture (§ 124 'tenuis causa,' 'tenue argumentandi filum'; Quint. ix 4 § 'illud in Lysia dicendi textum tenue atque rasum, *al.* rarum'). Cf. *subtilis* and *simplex*.

acuti, inf. 84, 99; acumen 111. The *tenue genus* addresses itself mainly to intellect, cf. *omnia docentes*, and Q. xii 10 § 59 'quorum (dicendi generum'

non ampliora facientes, subtili quadam et pressa oratione li
VI in eodemque genere alii callidi, sed impoliti et consulto ru
similes et imperitorum, alii in eadem ieiunitate concinnio
est, faceti, florentes etiam et leviter ornati. est autem qu

1 *elimati* conicit Reid ad Acad. ii 66. 3 *id est* MOKJP, cum *O*; *ide*
idem ii cum P^1 (cf. Reid in Acad. ii §§ 5, 8). 4 *laeviter* Meyer; *leniter* c
omisso *et*.

fere ratio est, ut primum (*subtile* genus) *docendi*, secundum (grande) movendi, tertium illud...delectandi sive conciliandi praestare videatur officium; in docendo autem *acumen*, in conciliando lenitas, in movendo vis exigi videatur.'

dilucidiora, 89 'dilucide planeque dicetur', de Or. i 144 'plane et dilucide (loquamur)'.

subtili quadam et pressa oratione limati, de Or. i 39 § 180 (Q. Scaevola, 'oratione limatus atque subtilis', iii 8 § 31 (Cotta) limatus et subtilis, ii 23 § 98 (id.) 'acutissimum et subtilissimum dicendi genus est consecutus'; inf. 78. Its original meaning 'finely woven' (as an epithet of *filum*, *mitra*, &c) is not found in Cicero, who however uses it in all the successive metaphorical senses of (i) 'delicate, graceful, refined,' (ii) 'precise, accurate,' (iii) 'plain, unadorned,' which are well traced by Wilkins in his note on de Or. i 57. **pressa**, 'concise' and 'close,' de Or. ii 96 'multo (Sulpici) oratio esset pressior' ('concise,' opp. to *luxuries quaedam*), Brut. 201 'attenuate presseque... sublate ampleque', 202 'cavenda presso illi oratori inopia et ieiunitas', Quint. x 1 § 44 'alii *pressa* demum et tenuia et quae minimum ab usu cotidiano recedant, sana et vere Attica putant', xii 10 § 16 (Attici) 'pressi et integri...(Asiani) inflati et inanes', ib. § 38 'tenuiora ac *pressiora*', viii 3, 40 'abundanter an *presse*,...magnifice an subtiliter', ii 8 § 4 '*presso limatoque* genere dicendi' (quoted by Mayor on Quint. p. 101, where he well defines *pressum* as 'pruned of all rankness, concise, quiet, moderate, self-controlled; opposed to extravagance, heat, turgidity, redundance'). Plin. Ep. i 16 § 4 'pressior et circumscriptior et adductior', iii 18 § 10 with Mayor's n. In de Or. ii 56 (Thuc.) 'verbis aptus et pressus' it probably means 'precise'; in iii 45 it is applied to precision of pronunciation.

limati, polished, finished, refined; de Or. i §§ 115, 180, and iii 31 (quoted above), ib. 36, Brut. 35 'nihil subtiliter dici (potuit), nihil presse, nihil enucleate, quo fieri aliquid possit limatius' (of Lysias), de opt. gen. or. 9 (Lysias) 'videtur esse ieiunior, cum se ipse consulto ad minutarum causarum genera limaverit.'

alii...alii. The representatives *tenue genus*, like those of the *gra* divided into two groups, exemplify lower and higher varieties of th style.

callidi, 'shrewd,' 23, 98, de C callide et perite, 93 aut callide piose.

impoliti, 'unpolished' (*artis sp rentes non ipsa arte* Goeller). *pi* resembling inexpert and unskilful ers; Brut. 294 (of Cato's speeches) ficant quandam formam ingenii modum impolitam et plane ruden de Or. ii 133 (the ref. in Piderit i rect), 'hebes atque impolitum' is p an interpolation.

concinniores, 'others, while th the same dryness of style, are *concinnus* is an epithet of style in iii 100 'concinnam, distinctam, or festivam'. Like *concinnitas* in 38 it is applied to artistic and symn expression, inf. 65 'concinnae sent opp. to 'probabiles'; Brut. 271 cinnae acutaeque sententiae'; de 203 'reditus ad rem aptus et conc but the context in the present p points rather to 'elegantia, argut nustas orationis' (Goeller).

id est, faceti. At first sight this is open to question. *id est* may b an interpolation, and *concinniores* adequately explained by *faceti* if th is to retain its ordinary sense of ' In Brut. 325 'sententiis concinnis nustis' is applied to one division Asiatic style; 'ex ornato et faceto verborum' to the other. The wor be supposed to be introduced fro where *sales et facetiae* are ascribed *orator tenuis*. The *codex Einsi* (middle of 15th cent.) has *conci est florentes et leviter ornati*; o *faceti*. The objections to the o reading are fairly stated by Goell are in part entertained by Schüt proposes to omit *id est*). The f however, points out in reply that *niores* is not used in a sense corresp to the frequent use of *concinnitas* *Orator*, as applied to formal and structure of sentences; and that, b

interiectus inter hos medius et quasi temperatus nec acumine posteriorum nec flumine utens superiorum, vicinus amborum, in neutro excellens, utriusque particeps, vel utriusque, si verum quaerimus, potius expers; isque uno tenore, ut aiunt, in dicendo

1 *hos* Nonius, om. codd. Post *hos* et *temperatus* interpunxit H. 2 *flumine* Nonius s.v. *cinnus* (Ernesti, o[23] et JF) (Vollbehr, symbolae criticae p. 16): *fulmine* o[1], Meyer, Peter-Weller, Goeller, KH cum codd. *vicinus* cum codd. editores fere omnes: *ut cinnus* Nonius (Ernesti, Meyer).

ambiguous word, it may well be explained. The word used to define it more closely is itself a word of varied import, but its present use may be well illustrated from Quint. vi 3 § 19—20 'facetum (after defining *urbanitas*, *venustum*, and *salsum*) quoque non tantum circa ridicula opinor consistere. neque enim diceret Horatius (Sat. i 10, 44), facetum carminis genus natura concessum esse Vergilio. decoris hanc magis et excultae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem puto. ideoque in epistolis Cicero haec Bruti refert verba: *ne illi sunt pedes faceti ac deliciis ingredienti mollius* [*delicatius ingredienti molles* Badius.] Quod convenit cum illo Horatiano, *molle atque facetum Vergilio*'.

Here, the word stands in contrast with *rudium similes*,—one of the epithets of the inferior group of *oratores tenues*; cf. de Or. i 32 'sermo facetus ac nulla in re rudis,' where it is rendered 'brilliant' by Wilkins, who in his note on i 5 § 17 refers to the etymological connexion between *facetiae* and *fax* (Curtius, *Gk. Et.*, no. 407).

id est, 'or I had better say', 'or rather'. This use is peculiarly Ciceronian. There is hardly a single clause introduced by *id est* in Cic. which has not been ejected by eminent scholars. For *id est* introducing a slight correction in the expression, cf. Fin. iii 18 'membrorum, id est partium corporis'; Brut. 172 'sed domum redeamus, id est ad nostros revertamur' (Reid).

florentes. Brut. 66 'Origines (Catonis) quem florem aut quod lumen eloquentiae non habent?' 233 (of M. Crassus) 'verba non abiecta, res compositae diligenter, nullus *flos* tamen neque lumen ullum'. De Or. iii 96 (oratio) 'conspersa sit quasi verborum sententiarumque *floribus*', 98 'quanto colorum pulchritudine et varietate *floridiora* sunt in picturis novis pleraque quam in veteribus', 166 'modus nullus est *florentior* in singulis verbis nec qui plus luminis adferat orationis', cf. Paradox. prooem. § 2 (Cato) 'in ea est haeresi quae nullum sequitur *florem* orationis'. Quint. viii 3 § 87 'alia (oratio) copia locuples, alia *floribus* laeta'; inf. 65 flores, 96 'florens orationis pictum et expolitum genus'.

In English we talk of a 'flowery style' and 'flowers of rhetoric', but neither of these phrases nor the word 'flourishing' will really help us here: *florentes* may be rendered 'bright.' The English, like the German, metaphors from flowers are not exactly co-extensive with the Latin (Nägelsbach. *Stil.* § 128, 3).

leviter ornati, i.e. with only a slight sprinkling of oratorical embellishment. *leviter* is supported (as against *laeviter* and *leniter*) by §§ 79 ff and 81 where the general sense of this passage recurs in an expanded form: the *orator tenuis*, we are there told, must be sparing in his use of the ornaments of style.

§ 21. **medius**, the *mediocris figura* of the Auctor ad Herennium, and the *μέση* or *μικτὴ λέξις* of Dionysius. De opt. gen. or. 2 'eis interiectos et tamquam medios' (quoted on § 20).

temperatus. The apologetic *quasi*, here prefixed on the first occasion on which the word is used, is naturally dropped when it is used again §§ 23, 53, 95, 98, 100—1. So of the *μέση ἁρμονία* Dion. Hal. says: *κεκέρασται δέ πως ἐξ ἐκείνων μετρίως καὶ ἔστιν ἐκλογή τις τῶν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ κρατίστων* (de comp. verb. 24), and similarly of the *μικτὴ λέξις*, de Dem. 3.

acumine. The *oratores tenues* are above described as *acuti*; cf. *callidus* and *subtilis*.

flumine. The *oratores graves* have already been called *copiosi*. Cf. 53 and de Or. ii 188 (of Crassus) 'tantum est flumen gravissimorum optimorumque verborum', Brut. 325 (of one of the two types of Asiatic oratory) 'nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam ex ornato et faceto genere verborum'. The phrase *flumen orationis* is also found in de Or. ii 62, de Nat. Deor. ii 20. One of the objections to the manuscript reading, *fulmine*, is that in the metaphorical sense of the term, the plural would be required as in § 234.

utriusque...expers. Dion. Hal. de comp. verb. 21 (of the *κοινὴ* or *μέση ἁρμονία*) *εἴτε κατὰ στέρησιν τῶν ἄκρων, εἴτε κατὰ μίξιν*.

fluit nihil adferens praeter facilitatem et aequabilitatem
addit aliquos ut in corona toros omnemque orationem
mentis modicis verborum sententiarumque distinguit.

1 *fluit in dicendo* K. *adferens* KP: *aff.* ceteri. *facilitatem et aequa*
Manutius: *facultatem et aequalitatem* codd. cf. § 198.

uno tenore, ut aiunt, he keeps what we may call the 'even tenor' of his course. *ut aiunt* (de Or. ii 186) is a somewhat apologetic way of referring to what is probably a proverbial or colloquial phrase. This is the only passage where it ('an uninterrupted course') is used in Cicero. *Uno tenore* is remarkably frequent in Livy, xxxv 36 § 8 'uno et perpetuo tenore iuris, semper usurpato numquam intermisso'; v 8 § 7, xxii 37 § 10, 47 § 6, and (with *velut*) xxxi 49 § 3, and ii 42 § 8. Pope in his 'Essay on Criticism', in which he repeatedly borrows from the rhetorical treatises of Cicero and Quintilian, writes of 'Such lays as neither ebb nor flow, Correctly cold, and regularly low, That shunning faults, *one quiet tenour keep*' (l. 241).

nihil adferens, bringing with him (bearing on his stream) nothing besides an easy and smoothly-flowing style.

toros. The primary meaning of *torus* appears to be anything *swelling* or *bulging*; hence applied properly to the knots or thicker portions of a rope, or to the protuberance of the muscles. It is here applied to style by a metaphor taken from 'raised ornaments or knots' on a garland. 'Hi *tori* sunt, ex sententia Paschalii de Coronis II 12 partes quaedam in circulo coronae collectiores et eminentiores cuiusmodi sunt in tauro tori, aut in homine, quod et Lambino placet ad Plaut. Amphitr. prol. 144 [tum meo patri autem *torulus* inerit aureus sub petaso]. ex ratione loquendi Ciceroniana colligi posse videtur, toros extrinsecus addi coronae, ornamenti loco, iisque coronam distingui...' J. A. Ernesti, *clavis Ciceroniana*. In the latter part of his article, he erroneously confounds them with the *lemnisci*, the pendent ribbons fastened to a crown. In Paschalius *l. c.* the *tori* are defined as 'partes in ambitu coronae collectiores ac rigidiusculae' and in Boettiger's *Sabina* (notes on p. 195—6) as 'the knots tied in a garland for decorative effect' (*die zur Zierlichkeit darein geknüpften Knoten*). They may be observed on a bust of Hercules figured in Visconti's *Museo Pio-Clementino* vi plate 13. See also Rich, *Dict. Antiq. s.v.* where the term is de[fined as] 'a swelling protuberance in the [...] a festoon (*sertum*) or of a chaplet [...] produced by ribands tied roun[d at] intervals, which break up the e[ven] line into a number of separate ar[ticu]lating parts. An example is gi[ven] a marble bas-relief upon an altar. [...] 96 'insigne et florens orationis [...] et expolitum genus in quo om[nes ver]borum omnes sententiarum *il*[ligantur] lepores.'

Another view, however, is t[aken by] Otto Jahn, an authority of the [first] order on points of classical arch[aeology]. Starting from the notion that [*tori* are] primarily the separate strands [twisted] together to form a rope, he here i[dentifies] the term with the strands of wool [used to] tie together a garland of leaves a[nd] woven with its foliage in such a [manner] as to come into view only at clear[ly mark]ed intervals.

Piderit's paraphrase is as [follows]: 'at the most he brings in here a[nd there] one or two variegated favours [...] *Schleifen*, bright bows of ribbon [which] break at various intervals the [...] green of his chaplet.'

ornamentis modicis, a mode[rate use] of the ornamental figures of spe[ech ...] *figurae verborum* and *sententiarum* [...] is appropriate to the *modicum*, or [...] *genus*.

distinguit, 'sets off,' 'div[ersifies],' 'brightens'. De Or. ii 36 'aut [...] quam dicitur nisi orator formare [oratio]nem eamque variare et *distingue*[re ...] quibusdam verborum sententiaru[mque in]signibus' (inf. 135), i 218 'dicendi [...] ... non ieiuna atque nuda, sed [...] atque *distincta*...iucunda quada[m ...]tate', iii 201 'quasi luminibus *disti*[nguenda] et frequentanda omnis oratio sent[entiarum] atque verborum', *ib.* 96 'ut po[...] spersa sit quasi verborum sente[ntiarum]que floribus, id non debet ess[e fusum] aequabiliter per omnem oration[em, sed] ita *distinctum* ut sint quasi in orn[atu dis]posita quaedam insignia et lum[ina]', inv. ii 49 '*distinguitur* oratio atq[ue illus]tratur'.

22 Horum singulorum generum quicumque vim in singulis consecuti sunt, magnum in oratoribus nomen habuerunt; sed quaerendum est satisne id quod volumus effecerint. videmus enim VII fuisse quosdam, qui idem ornate et graviter, idem versute et subtiliter dicerent. atque utinam in Latinis talis oratoris simu- 5 lacrum reperire possemus! esset egregium non quaerere externa, 23 domesticis esse contentos: sed ego idem, qui in illo sermone nostro, qui est expositus in Bruto, multum tribuerim Latinis, vel ut hortarer alios vel quod amarem meos, recordor longe omnibus

1 *singulorum* post Bakium secl. K. *in singulis* Poggius in cod. Laur. 50, 31 (MUKJP); secl. Ernesti probante Halmio in P[2]: *singulis FPO*, idem probaverat Lambinus; 'videtur excidisse *orationibus*' H. *singuli* Cod. Borrom. et Manutius. *singuli sunt consecuti* Stangl. 3—6 *videmus enim—dicerent. sed quaerendum est—effecerint* Bake. 4 *et graviter* Lambinus et M cum Vit.: *ac gr.* ceteri, sed cf. Reid ad Acad. ii 34. *ac subtiliter* K.

§ 22. **singulorum...in singulis**; repeated for sake of emphasis as in de Or. i 128 'quae enim *singularum* rerum artifices *singula* si mediocriter adepti sunt, probantur, ea nisi omnia sunt in oratore summa probari non potest'. Piderit's explanation of *in singulis* (*in einer Beziehung* 'in any single respect') is disapproved by the reviser of his second ed. (Halm), who prefers omitting the words. But *in singulis* in itself is defended by the opening sentence of § 20, and need not be regarded as anything else than an equivalent to *in singulis generibus* and as an emphatic repetition of *horum singulorum generum* (sc. *dicendi*).

vim...consecuti, de Or. iii 177 'ut arbitremur nos hanc *vim* numerose dicendi *consequi* posse'.

magnum, sc. *quidem* or *illi quidem*, i.e. have, indeed, a great name among orators, but have not attained the highest point, that of being equally perfect in *all* the three *genera dicendi* (20).

qui idem, i.e. there are instances of orators speaking not only with due adornment and dignity of style—(the characteristics of the *genus grande*), but also with the acumen, and delicacy of expression, that mark the *genus tenue*. For the idiomatic use of the double *idem*, where only one is wanted in English, cf. Phil. ii 40 'idem maestitiam meam reprehendit, idem iocum'. **et** and **et** have nothing to do with the preceding *idem* (as is implied in Lewis and Short's dict. s. v. *idem* II B 2); they simply couple the two adverbs in each pair, just as we have *ornate graviterque* in de Or. ii 34, and *subtili et acuto...callide arguteque*, inf. 98. **ornate** and **subtiliter** relate to the form; **graviter** and **versute** to the matter, the arrangement being in cross order, *chiasmus* (Piderit).

simulacrum, a perfect copy of the ideal orator, like *effigies* in 9.

domesticis, cf. 132, 186, de Or. ii 38. For the general sense, cf. de Div. II 5.

§ 23. **expositus**, de Or. i 227, Brut. 81.

multum tribuerim Latinis. In the dialogue entitled *Brutus de claris oratoribus* written in the same year as the *Orator* and very shortly before it, Cicero not only reviews the style of many Roman orators whose special characteristics are otherwise unknown to us, but uses highly complimentary language of the older orators of Rome, comparing Cato, for example, with Lysias (68), and saying of Gaius Gracchus (125) 'noli putare quenquam, Brute, pleniorem aut uberiorem ad dicendum fuisse'; of Antonius and Crassus (138) 'in his primum cum Graecorum gloria Latine dicendi copiam aequatam'; and, of the latter (143), 'Crasso nihil statuo fieri potuisse perfectius.' In §§ 292 ff. Atticus is allowed to protest in favour of the Greek orators against Cicero's generous partiality towards his own countrymen. (These quotations are due to Jahn.)

vel...vel, implying that each of the reasons is true and each sufficient, cf. de Or. i 3.

recordor—a reference to the *de Oratore*, written nine years before, esp. to III 71 'sin... Demosthenem sequi vultis et si illam praeclaram et eximiam speciem oratoris perfecti et pulchritudinem adamastis'. Even in the Brutus (33) he says: 'plane quidem perfectum et cui nihil admodum desit Demosthenem facile dixeris.'

unum anteferre Demosthenem eumque unum adcommo
eam, quam sentiam, eloquentiam, non ad eam, quam in
ipse cognoverim. hoc nec gravior exstitit quisquam nec
nec temperatior. itaque nobis monendi sunt ei, quorun
5 imperitus increbruit, qui aut dici se desiderant Atticos
Attice volunt dicere, ut mirentur hunc maxime, quo ne

1 *unum* me *anteferre* Schenkl (Stangl, qui in eodem versu *eiusque vi* *cumque unum* post Sauppium KJP; *unumque* Peter-Weller cum *que vim FO*, *quem vim P*; *huiusque vim* H; *qui vim accommodarit* O *quem unum accommodari* Hoffmann. *adcommodare* K, *acc.* ceteri. mavult H (st). 4 *ei* KP; [illegible] *hi* J. 5 *increbruit* (cod. et e silentio *FPO*) JP²H; *increbr*[illegible] it.) MOKP¹. *aut dici—aut ipsi aut odiose* (vel *invidiose*) *desid*[illegible] *or* Madvig (adv. crit. iii 95). *Attice nolunt dicere* Bake. [illegible] an *r ipsa* vel *reapse?* 6 *ne* *FPO* add. emendatores cod. [illegible] 9 et cod. Laurentiani 50, 18 (Hee

anteferre. For the pres[illegible] h *recordor*, cf. the same constr. [illegible] *mini* 'of a past transaction of w[illegible] has been oneself a witness and w[illegible] one calls to memory', Madv. § 408 b, *obs.* 2; Roby § 1372. The rule is, however, more precisely stated by Reid on Lael. 2.

adcommodare. 'I identified him exactly with, found him correspond with, made him fit exactly into, my ideal pattern of eloquence'. Cf. *includere* in § 19, de nat. deor. ii 45 'ad hanc praesensionem notionemque nostram nihil video quod potius accommodem'. *me* is understood before this infinitive as before *anteferre*: it is not expressed, as *ego idem* has gone before.

eam quam sentiam eloquentiam, the *cogitata species* of § 9. The contrast is the same as that in Juvenal vii 56 'hunc (poetam) qualem nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum'.

gravior ... callidior ... temperatior, epithets corresponding to the three *genera dicendi*, the *grande*, *tenue* and *medium*. Demosthenes is unsurpassed, says Cicero, in all three and is therefore the perfect pattern of an Attic orator, and the model which ought to be imitated by all who either wish to get the credit of having an Attic style, or are honestly wanting to attain that style.—The greater part of the treatise of Dion. Hal. de Dem. is devoted to proving that Demosthenes excells all others in each of the three χαρακτῆρες which are there described as ὑψηλός, ἰσχνός and μεταξὺ τούτων respectively (c. 13 and 33); Quint. xi 3 § 58.

sermo increbruit, de opt. gen. orat. 11 'quare quoniam nonnullorum sermo iam increbruit, partim se ipsos Attice dicere, partim neminem nostrum dicere'.

The literary feud between Cicero and some of his contemporaries who professed to be adherents of the Attic st[illegible] tory and taunted him as a follo[illegible] Asiatic school is thus describe[illegible] tilian: xii 10 § 12 (M. Tullium) suorum homines temporum in[illegible] debant ut tumidiorem et Asian[illegible] dundantem et in repetitionibus in salibus aliquando frigidum e[illegible] positione fractum, exultantem quod procul absit, viro mollior[illegible] praecipue vero presserunt eum Atticorum imitatores concupier[illegible] manus quasi quibusdam sacris alienigenam et parum studiosu[illegible] tumque illis legibus insequeb[illegible] Tac. de or. 18. One of Cicero's [illegible]ences to them is as follows: T[illegible] II 1 § 3...'reperiebantur nonnull[illegible] laudarent, nisi quod se imitari [illegible] fiderent, quemque sperandi sibi bene dicendi finem proponeren[illegible] obruerentur copia sententiar[illegible] verborum, ieiunitatem et famem quam ubertatem et copiam dicer[illegible] erat exortum genus Atticorum, qui id sequi se profitebantur, qui iam conticuere, paene ab irrisi'.

The chief representative of t[illegible] was Gaius Licinius Calvus (B.C[illegible] the friend of Catullus; his styl[illegible] cised by Cicero in the Brutu[illegible] whereupon Brutus is represent[illegible] marking: 'Atticum se' inquit noster dici oratorem volebat; ista exilitas, quam ille ex indust[illegible] quebatur': then follows an ex[illegible] the Atticists §§ 284—292. On [illegible] cists of Cicero's time, see B[illegible] *Beredsamkeit*, pp. 130—144 an[illegible] sen H. R. Book V, chap. xii ([illegible] duction, p. xliv).

quidem ipsas magis credo fuisse Atticas; quid enim sit Atticum discant, eloquentiamque illius viribus, non imbecillitate sua metiantur. nunc enim tantum quisque laudat, quantum se posse sperat imitari. sed tamen eos studio optimo, iudicio minus firmo praeditos docere quae sit propria laus Atticorum non alienum puto.

VIII Semper oratorum eloquentiae moderatrix fuit auditorum prudentia. omnes enim, qui probari volunt, voluntatem eorum qui audiunt intuentur ad eamque et ad eorum arbitrium et nutum totos se fingunt et adcommodant. itaque Caria et Phrygia et Mysia, quod minime politae minimeque elegantes sunt, asciverunt aptum suis auribus opimum quoddam et tamquam adipatae dic-

1 *quid—discant* secl. K. 2 *discant* cum codd. MOP[2]H : *ab hoc discant* Bake; *discant ab eo* P[1](J). *eloquentiamque illius* (cod. Eins.) *viribus* Bake KP[2]; *el. ipsius viribus* codd. *FPO* (MOJ): *eloquentiaeque vim illius viribus* P[1] (Eos i 405 f.) ... *ad eamque* secl. K. 10 *adc.* K: *acc.* ceteri. 12 *tanquam* H. *adipatae* ...onius, *adipatum* Lambinus; *adipale FPO*.

discant *ab eo* was proposed by Piderit, on the ground that otherwise the point of the clause is lost, namely the directing of the Atticists to the orator whom they ought to accept as their highest example. (We should have expected *ab illo* and not *eo*.) But the addition is unnecessary and is therefore withdrawn by Halm in his revision; the text as it stands contains a still severer stricture on those against whom the passage is directed, implying as it does that these Atticists were even ignorant of the essentials of the Attic style. He accordingly proceeds to instruct them on this point, inf. 'docere quae sit propria laus Atticorum'.

eloquentiamque illius viribus, de opt. gen. orat. 10 'vim eloquentiae sua facultate, non rei natura metiuntur'.

§§ 24—32. *On the true Attic style, with criticisms on the various models followed by the Atticists of the day.*

§ 24. **imitari** = *imitando consequi*. Tusc. Disp. II 3 quoted above.

moderatrix. 'The eloquence of orators has always found its *standard* in the judgment (taste) of their audience.'

probari. 'to find acceptance' as in 95 and 162. Tusc. Disp. II 3 'orationes quas nos multitudinis iudicio probari volebamus.' The juxtaposition of **volunt** and **voluntatem** is intentional, but nothing is gained by attempting to preserve the effect of this trick of language in an English translation.

ad...arbitrium...fingunt, de Or. iii 175 'verba nos, sicut mollissimam ceram, *ad arbitrium* nostrum formamus et *fingimus*'. Cic. is specially fond of the pleonastic use of pairs of nearly synonymous words. We here have a double verb and a double noun in the same sentence.

§ 25. **Caria**. Probably a reference to the Carian town of Alabanda, the birthplace of Hierocles and Menecles, orators of the Asiatic school (note on 231). North of this, and reckoned sometimes in Caria, sometimes in Lydia, lay the town of Tralles, where two other orators of the same school were born, namely Dionysokles and Damasos (234).

Phrygia. The rhetorician Caecilius, the friend of Dionysius Halic., wrote a polemical pamphlet κατὰ τῶν Φρυγῶν as an introduction to his lexicon of Attic phrases. He also wrote on the question τίνι διαφέρει ὁ Ἀττικὸς ζῆλος τοῦ Ἀσιανοῦ (Blass, *Gr. Ber.* p. 176, and Jebb, *Att. Or.* II p. 438).

opimum, 'rich,' 'plump,' opp. to *gracilis*; inf. 157 opimius, Brut. 271 'doctus Hermagorae praeceptis, quibus...ornamenta non satis opima dicendi', 64 (Lysias) 'habet certos sui studiosos, qui non tam habitus corporis *opimos* quam *gracilitates* consectentur, quos valetudo modo bona sit, tenuitas ipsa delectat'. In Aul. Gell. xvii 10 the style of Pindar is characterised as *opima* and *pinguis*. Similarly elsewhere varieties of style are discriminated with the help of metaphors borrowed from the human body, its blood, bones, sinews, muscles, &c., see in Quint. x 1 §§ 33 and 60 (with Mayor's notes)

tionis genus, quod eorum vicini non ita lato interiecto mari F numquam probaverunt, [Graeci autem multo minus,] Ath ses vero funditus repudiaverunt; quorum semper fuit pr sincerumque iudicium, nihil ut possent nisi incorruptum 5 et elegans. eorum religioni cum serviret orator, nullum ve

2 *nunquam* 11. *Graeci—minus* post Sauppium (coniect. Tull. p. 7) secl.

and esp. the elaborate comparison in **Tac. dial.** de orat. 21 'oratio autem, *sicut corpus hominis*, ea demum pulchra **est in qua** non eminent venae n **numerantur,** sed temperatus ac **sanguis impl**et membra et exsur **ipsosque n**ervos rubor tegit e **commendat.'**

adipatae, 'fatty': lit. of greasy fo **cooked with** overmuch fat: *adipa* **found in J**uv. vi 630 in the se **'pastry prep**ared with fat.' Cf. th **phorical use**s of *pinguis* and *cras* **latter is not** found in this sense i Quint. ii 10 § 6 tenuandas adipes.

Rhodii. An undue prominence is here assigned to the Rhodians: Cicero's partiality for them is mainly due to the fact that his own rhetorical education was in part carried on at Rhodes (146). He even describes the orators of Rhodes as a separate school, side by side with the Attic and Asiatic types. Brut. 51 'Asiatici oratores non contemnendi quidem nec celeritate nec copia, sed parum pressi et nimis redundantes; Rhodii saniores et Atticorum similiores'.

This tripartite division appears to be *assumed* by Cicero and may possibly have been due to some Rhodian rhetorician, unless indeed we are to ascribe its origin either directly or indirectly to Cicero himself. The same division finds its echo in Quintil. xii 10 § 16 'antiqua quidem illa divisio inter *Atticos* atque *Asianos* fuit, cum hi pressi et integri, contra inflati illi et inanes haberentur; in his nihil superflueret, illis iudicium maxime ac modus deesset'... § 17 'mihi orationis differentiam fecisse et dicentium et audientium naturae videntur, quod *Attici* limati quidam et emuncti nihil inane aut redundans ferebant, *Asiana* gens tumidior alioqui atque iactantior vaniore etiam dicendi gloria inflata est'. § 18 'tertium mox qui haec dividebant, adiecerunt *genus Rhodium*, quod velut medium esse atque ex utroque mixtum volunt; neque enim Attice pressi neque Asiane sunt abundantes, ut aliquid habere videantur gentis, aliquid auctoris. Aeschines enim, *qui hunc exilio delegerat* locum intulit eo studia Athenarum, quae, vel quaedam caelo terraque degener porem illum Atticum peregrino runt. lenti ergo quidam ac remi sine pondere tamen neque fontib neque torrentibus turbidis sed stagnis similes habentur'.

Dionysius, however, writing b the times of Cicero and Quintilian, the orators of Rhodes among t successful imitators of the earlier of the art, de Dinarcho c. 8 οἱ Τ μιμούμενοι, διαμαρτόντες τῆς χάριτ νης, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως, α τινες ἐγένοντο, οἷοι γεγόνασι Ῥο ῥήτορες οἱ περὶ Ἀρταμένην καὶ κλέα καὶ Φιλάγριον καὶ Μόλωνα. Rhodian orators have thus no real c being regarded as belonging to an pendent school; they are, at th eclectics only. (See further in Bla *Berals.* pp. 3—4, 89—95, or th sketch in Wilkins' Introd. to de p. 45; also *supra* in *Introduction* ch

Graeci (or *Graecia*) *autem multo* This clause is rightly rejected by cent editors. The inhabitants of Phrygia and Mysia have been as supplying the standard in th of the orators of the Asiatic those of Rhodes for the Rhodian of Athens for the Attic. A refer Greece in general, in contrast to and Athens in particular, is theref of place.

Athenienses. The *Athenian* au is selected as setting the true stan taste by rejecting the Asiatic, as o to the Attic style of oratory.

prudens sincerumque, 'sensib sound'. **incorruptum et elegans,** and tasteful in style'. *sincerum* sponds closely to *incorruptum*. tilian writes of the 'sinceram illa monis Attici gratiam' (x 1 § 65 Cicero speaks in Brut. 36, of the et sanguis incorruptus' of the Att tors, and ib. 132, of 'incorrupta qu Latini sermonis integritas'; in d gen. orat. 8, he calls *incorrupta* a characteristic of the true Attic st

religioni, 'scrupulous taste'. 28

25 insolens, nullum odiosum ponere audebat. itaque hic, quem praestitisse diximus ceteris, in illa pro Ctesiphonte oratione longe optima summissius a primo, deinde, dum de legibus disputat, pressius, post sensim incendens iudices, ut vidit ardentis, in reliquis exsultavit audacius; ac tamen in hoc ipso diligenter 5 examinante verborum omnium pondera reprehendit Aeschines

4 *sensim incedens, iudices* Ernesti et M; idem defendit Bake. *ardentes* F^1, corr. F^2; *ardentis* KH.

...religiosas' and Brut. 284 'si quis eos qui nec inepte dicunt nec odiose nec putide, Attice putat dicere, is recte nisi Atticum probat neminem. insulsitatem enim et insolentiam tamquam insaniam quandam orationis odit; sanitatem autem et integritatem quasi *religionem* et verecundiam oratoris probat'.

insolens, contrary to ordinary or correct usage. 29 'insolens aut ineptum', Quint. iv 1 § 58 'ex praeceptis veteribus manet, ne quod *insolens* verbum, ne audacius translatum, ne aut obsoleta vetustate aut poetica licentia sumptum in principio deprehendatur'. Aul. Gellius i 10 'quod a Gaio Caesare in primo de analogia libro scriptum est, habe semper in memoria atque in pectore ut tamquam scopulum sic fugias inauditum atque *insolens* verbum' (de analogia ad M. Tullium Ciceronem, see note on § 155). Cf. *Guesses at Truth*, p. 216 ed. 1866.

odiosum, 'in bad taste', 'offensive'. Cf. *oderis* in 295, de Or. iii 51 'haec...molesta et putida, ad reliqua aliquanto *odiosiora* pergamus', Brut. 284 (quoted above), Quint. 1 6 § 19 'Augustus quoque in epistulis ad Caesarem scriptis emendat. quod is *calidum* dicere quam *caldum* malit, non quia id non sit Latinum, sed quia sit *odiosum* et ut ipse Graeco verbo significavit, περίεργον', xi 3 § 33 (of pronunciation) 'omnes imputare et velut annumerare litteris molestum et odiosum'.

§ 26. **praestitisse**, § 15. **diximus**, § 23.

pro Ctesiphonte, the speech ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου, one of the greatest masterpieces of Greek oratory. It was translated into Latin by Cicero, together with the speech of Aeschines in prosecution of Ctesiphon. The transl. itself is lost, but we still possess the preface, 'de optimo genere oratorum praefatio': in § 9 of that preface he thus refers to his rendering: 'converti ex Atticis duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes inter seque contrarias, Aeschini et Demostheni'.

summissius a primo in the *exordium* (de Cor. §§ 1—8) where the object of the orator is *conciliare*, 124 'principia verecunda,' de Or. ii 315 'continuo eum qui audit permulcere atque adlicere debet'. *summissus* is coupled with *humilis* inf. 76 and with *placidus* and *lenis* in de Or. ii 183.

a primo, Brut. 158 'a principio'. We have to understand some general verb, such as *dixit*, from the subsequent special verb *exultavit*.

deinde, de Cor. §§ 9—25, in the *argumentatio*, where the object is *docere* and *probare*. **pressius** 20.

sensim incendens iudices. Pro Caelio 25 'verebar ne illa subtiliter ad criminandum inducta oratio (of L. Herennius) animos vestros *sensim* ac leniter *accenderet*', de Or. ii 188 'non solum tu incendere iudicem, sed ipse ardere', and 190 fin. In the lexicon of Nizolius and in Lewis and Short s. v. *sensim*, the old vulgate reading *incedens* is wrongly retained. **in reliquis** (de Cor. §§ 252—324) in apposition to the previous clause 'post—ardentis'. In the third and only remaining part of his speech, his object is *permovere* or *inflammare iudices* by means of the *faces dicendi* (de Or. ii 205, 209).

exsultavit audacius. Acad. ii 35 § 112 'ac mihi videor nimis etiam nunc agere ieiune. cum sit enim campus in quo *exsultare* possit *oratio*, cur eam tantas in angustias, et in Stoicorum dumeta compellimus?' de Fin. i 54 'virtutum laus, in qua maxime ceterorum philosophorum *exultat* oratio', de Or. iii 36 (Theopompum) '*exultantem* verborum *audacia* reprimebat' (Isocrates).

diligenter examinante...pondera, 'careful as he was in weighing and balancing all his words'; de Or. ii 159 'ad ea probanda, quae non aurificis statera, sed quadam populari trutina examinantur', pro Planc. 79 'hoc meis ponderibus examinabo', cf. *examen*, Persius i 6, v 100, Plin. Ep. ix 26.

Aeschines contra Ctes. § 166...οὐ μέμνησθ' αὐτοῦ τὰ μιαρὰ (Cicero's *dura*) καὶ ἀπίθανα (*odiosa*) ῥήματα, ἃ πῶς ποθ'

quaedam et exagitat illudensque dura, odiosa, intoleral
dicit; quin etiam quaerit ab ipso, cum quidem eum
appellat, utrum illa verba an portenta sint; ut Aeschin
mosthenes quidem videatur Attice dicere; facile est enin
5 aliquod ardens, ut ita dicam, notare idque restinctis iar
rum incendiis irridere: itaque se purgans iocatur Dem
negat in eo positas esse fortunas Graeciae, *hocine an*

1 *inludens* K. *dura* cum codd. KH: *dira* edd. Ven.[1] Med. Ern.
Graeco verbo responderet melius *impura* vel *putida*. 3 *appellat M* et
appellet cum *FPO* MO, Peter [illegible] PH. 'nihil in his reprehendam, du
explicet quid huc pertineat [illegible] sequens coniunctivus. interea suad
quem' Bake. 6 *irrid*[illegible] *catur* om. Bake. 7 *in hoc in*
omissis *FPO*, *hoc an illud* [illegible] *m* [illegible] *xerit* Strebaeus; *hoc an illo verbo u*
(MOJ); *hocine an illo*...Sa[illegible] (coniect. Tull. p. 4) ex Ambrosii et Au
infra exscriptis (KPH).

ὑμεῖς, ὦ σιδηροῖ, ἐκαρτερεῖτ' ἀκροώμενοι (*intolerabilia*); ὅτ' ἔφη παρελθὼν "ἀμπελουργοῦσί τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετμήκασί τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέτμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φορμορραφούμεθα, ἐπὶ τὰ στενά τινες πρῶτον ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι." ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστιν, ὦ κίναδος (*belua*); ῥήματ' ἢ θαύματα; (*verba an portenta*). Cicero's renderings of parts of the above passage are in general agreement with the principles followed in his translation of the whole speech, de opt. gen. orat. 14 'non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere sed genus omne verborum vimque servavi'. *dura* is only an approximate translation of μιαρά. *odiosa* is a sufficiently close rendering of ἀπίθανα, but would answer better to ἐπίφθονα. The principles on which Cic. translated Aeschines and Dem. are stated in De opt. gen. or. 14 'nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator' &c.

exagitat, 12.

cum...appellat, 'while actually calling him a brute'; *cum c. indic.* here implies 'at the moment when' (in the passage where) he is calling him a κίναδος. The subj. *appellet* does not appear to have much point in it. In Piderit's second ed. the words are rendered *indem er sogar nennt* and the subjunctive ascribed to the causal connexion with the following *portenta*. The subj., as suggested by Mr Nixon, may be explained, '*though* indeed calling him a brute', in spite of his complaining himself of the *portenta verborum* of Dem.

The choice between subj. and indic. depends on the question whether the clause is to be connected with what precedes or with what follows. The latter seems best (Reid).

κίναδος in the original pass
rally interpreted 'fox'; but Ci
it the sense found in Demo
44 § 18 περὶ κιναδίων καὶ
Schol. on Ar. Nub. 447 οἱ
θηρίον κίναδος ἀξιοῦσι καλεῖσθ
calls Dem. a θηρίον in a sub
sage (§ 182), as well as on a l
at Rhodes (Plin. Ep. ii 3).

§ 27. **facile est enim**, i. e.
be surprised at Aeschines f
with Dem., for it is easy t
glowing expression, which
keeping while the feelings of
were kindled by the orator's
but which seems turgid an
when criticised in cold b
flaming phrase then becom
Greek rhetoricians call ψυχρ
Rhet. iii 7 § 10 where the o
allowed to use poetic langua
ἤδη τοὺς ἀκροατὰς καὶ ποιήσῃ
ἢ ἐπαίνῳ ἢ ψόγῳ. Cf. inf. 99
paratis auribus inflammare re

The tone of Cicero's apolo
suggests that he may be think
lar strictures on himself: T
or. 18 'satis constat ne Cice
obtrectatores defuisse, quibu
tumens nec satis pressus sed s
exultans et superfluens et pa
videretur'.

negat etc. De Cor. § 232 π
τοῦτο (οὐχ ὁρᾷς;) γέγονε τὰ τῶ
εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἀλλὰ μὴ του
ἐγώ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ἀλλ
παρήνεγκα. It was the pres
of Cicero rather than the ori
of Dem., that were in the mind
brose and Augustine when th
follows: Aug. in Cresconium ii

usus sit, huc an illuc manum porrexerit. quonam igitur modo audiretur Mysus aut Phryx Athenis, cum etiam Demosthenes exagitetur ut putidus? cum vero inclinata ululantique voce more Asiatico canere coepisset, quis eum ferret aut potius quis non iuberet auferri? 5

28 Ad Atticorum igitur auris teretes et religiosas qui se adcom- IX

1 *hucine an illuc* e coniectura P. 6 *auris* K: *-es* ceteri. *adc.* K: *acc.* ceteri.

sthenes, clarissimus oratorum, quibus verborum tanta fuit cura, quanta rerum auctoribus nostris, cum tamen ei nonnullam locutionis insolentiam obiecisset Aeschines, negavit ille, *in eo positas esse fortunas Graeciae, illone an illo verbo usus fuerit et huc an illuc manum porrexerit*'. Ambr. in Lucam ii § 42 'orator...negat *in hoc positas esse fortunas Graeciae, hoc an illo verbo usus sit*, sed rem spectandam putat'. These quotations supply us with earlier evidence as to Cicero's text than any that we possess in the MSS of the Orator which in this passage are obviously corrupt.

Cicero's rendering is clear, but not very close. παρὰ τοῦτο is 'in consequence of this': 'For it is entirely on this (don't you see?) that the destinies of Greece are depending,—on whether etc.'

quonam igitur etc., an illustration of *Ath. funditus repudiaverunt* in § 25. The pleader of the case πρὸς Πανταίνετον (Dem. Or. 37 § 52, 55) apologizes for his ἀδάλεκτος, and a similar tribute to the sensitiveness of an Athenian audience is paid by a Mytilenaean in Antiphon, de Caede Herodis, Or. v § 5 (ἐάν τι τῇ γλώσσῃ ἁμάρτω, συγγνώμην ἔχειν).

Mysus...Phryx, referring to *Phrygia* and *Mysia* in § 25. The corresponding word to *Caria*, which is also mentioned there, would have been *Car*, which Cicero uses in quoting a Greek proverb in pro Flacco 65 *in Care*, but which is here omitted, possibly on grounds of euphony. *Mysus* and *Phryx* are at any rate more familiar to the Romans than *Car;* and, for purposes of illustration, the two selected are sufficient.

exagitetur, § 26. **putidus**, 'affected', de Or. iii 41 'nolo exprimi litteras putidius, nolo obscurari neglegentius', and 51 'molesta et putida...odiosiora', Brut. 284 'qui nec inepte dicunt nec odiose nec putide' (quoted already on § 25).

cum vero etc. 'If however he had once begun with low and lamentable tone to descant in the Asiatic strain.'

inclinata. From the lit. sense 'bent down', 'sunken', we have the special application of the word to the voice, 'deep', 'low', 'hollow', inf. 56 'volet...voce...inclinata videri gravis'. Brut. 158 'inclinatio vocis', auct. ad Herenn. iii 25 (utemur) 'in conquestione voce depressa, inclinato sono'. Quint. xi 3 § 170 '(epilogus) si (ad) placandos (iudices est accommodatus), inclinatam quandam lenitatem (desiderat)', ib. 168 'illae inclinationes vocis quas invicem Demosthenes atque Aeschines exprobrant'.

ululanti, applied elsewhere to the dismal howling of the Phrygian priests of Cybele. (The cognate ὀλολύζειν and its derivatives to which it is compared by Piderit, are almost invariably used of the *joyous* cries of women invoking a God.) Cf. Plin. Ep. ii 14 § 12 'pudet referre quae quam fracta pronuntiatione dicantur, quibus quam taetris clamoribus excipiantur. plausus tantum ac potius sola cymbala et tympana illis canticis desunt: *ululatus* quidem (neque enim alio vocabulo potest exprimi theatris quoque indecora laudatio) large supersunt' (Mayor).

more Asiatico, de Or. iii 43 'eruditissimos homines Asiaticos quivis Atheniensis indoctus non verbis, sed sono vocis nec tam bene quam suaviter loquendo facile superabit'.

ferret...auferri, an intentional play of words which can be only feebly rendered by 'put up with' and 'put out'; where we should naturally say 'turned out'. The orator who failed to satisfy an Athenian audience, was liable to be removed from the platform by the police, under orders from the presiding board: Plat. Protag. 319 C καταγελῶσι καὶ θορυβοῦσιν ἕως ἂν ἢ αὐτὸς ἀποστῇ ὁ ἐπιχειρῶν λέγειν καταθορυβηθεὶς ἢ οἱ τοξόται αὐτὸν ἀφελκύσωσιν ἢ ἐξαίρωνται κελευόντων τῶν πρυτάνεων.

ferret, 'would *have* put up with', cf. § 29 and Roby § 1530...2 c. second part.

§ 28. **Ad Atticorum auris**, placed for emphasis at the beginning of the sentence, as far as possible from the other emphatic phrase *Attice dicere*. To make this contrast possible *qui se adcommodant* is placed late. 'Those speakers, then,

quidem amplum atque grandem, subtilem et elegant
et qui in forensibus causis possit praeclare consister
dides autem res gestas et bella narrat et proelia, gr
et probe, sed nihil ab eo transferri potest ad forenser
5 publicum: ipsae illae contiones ita multas habent obsc
asque sententias, vix ut intellegantur; quod est in ora
vitium vel maximum. quae est autem in hominibus

1 *suptilem* H. 2 *et qui* MOKJPU cum codicis Vatic. 1709 manu
FPO Eins. Vit. (Stangl, qui coniecturam *nec qui...non possit* commemo

possit praeclare consistere, 'can hold his ground famously;' *consistere*, often used of athletes and soldiers; for the metaphorical use cf. 98, and (with Mayor) pro Caec. § 59 'defendes homines coactos non fuisse et verbo quidem superabis, me ipso iudice; re autem ne *consistes* quidem ullo iudice'.

Thucydides, Brut. 287 'Thucydidem, inquit, imitamur. Optime, si historiam scribere, non si causas dicere cogitatis. Thucydides enim rerum gestarum pronuntiator sincerus et grandis etiam fuit; hoc forense concertatorium iudiciale non tractavit genus. orationes autem quas interposuit (multae enim sunt) eas ego laudare soleo; imitari neque possim, si velim, nec velim fortasse, si possim...si posterius fuisset, multo maturior fuisset et mitior', ib. 29; de opt. gen. 15 'sed exoritur Thucydides—eius enim quidam eloquentiam admirantur; id quidem recte; sed nihil ad eum oratorem, quem quaerimus. aliud est enim explicare res gestas narrando, aliud argumentando criminari crimenve dissolvere; aliud narratione tenere auditorem, aliud concitare'. De Or. ii 56 'ita creber est rerum frequentia, ut verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequatur, ita porro verbis est aptus et pressus, ut nescias, utrum res oratione an verba sententiis illustrentur: atqui ne hunc quidem, quanquam est in re publica versatus, ex numero accepimus eorum, qui *causas* dictitarunt' (ib. 93). Quint. x i § 73 'densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydides'. Cf. p. xlv.

forensem. De opt. gen. 16 'si quis erit qui se Thucydidio genere causas in foro dicturum esse profiteatur, is abhorrebit etiam a suspitione eius quod versatur in *civili* et *forensi*'. Dionysius Hal. iud. de Thuc. 55 ad fin. (quoted by Goeller &c) οὐδ' ἐκβάλλομεν ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἅπασαν τὴν Θουκυδίδου λέξιν ὡς ἄχρηστον· ἀλλ' ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸ διηγηματικὸν μέρος αὐτῆς πλὴν ὀλίγων πάνυ θαυμαστῶς ἔχειν, καὶ εἰς πά
χρείας εὔθετον· τὸ δὲ δημ
ἅπαν εἰς μίμησιν ἐπιτήδειον
ἐστιν αὐτοῦ μέρος, γνωσθῆν
ἀνθρώποις εὔπορον, κατασκευ
ἅπασι δυνατόν.

illae contiones, Brut. 287 (c
obscuras—sententias ib.
Alcibiades, Critias, Theram
erant verbis, crebri *senten*
sione rerum breves et ob
causam interdum *subobscuri*'
de Thuc. 51 εὐαρίθμητοι γ
οἱ πάντα τὰ Θουκυδίδου συμβα
καὶ οὐδ' οὗτοι χωρὶς ἐξηγήσεω
ἔνια (on the Speeches, see esp
Att. Betels. i pp. 227—23
Essay in *Hellenica*). **vix**
465 b *obs.* cf. *prope ut*, *pa*
ut, *nihil ut* (after negative
tive words). Cf. 59. The
however, always observed b

civili, public, used like π
quotes Suet. de ill. gramm.
vilique et proprio sermone ut
controv. i 8 'rem paulo ela
pressa et civilis oratio
Lucian de hist. 43 λέξι
πολιτική. Cf. Dionys. de c
λέξις, *elocutio oratoria* qualis
civilibus locum obtinet (Ern
vitium, de Or. i 12 'in d
vitium vel maximum...a v
orationis atque a consuetudi
sensus abhorrere,' **vel max.**

§ 31. Cicero implies that
of Thucydides represent
stage in the development o
select them as one's stand
speaking, when they have be
by maturer models of eloq
deserting the generous cerea
state of civilisation for th
acorns of a rude antiquity.

Cicero's illustration remin
Greek proverb ἅλις δρυός (
1) explained as follows in Z
II 40: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ φαυλοτέρ

versitas, ut inventis frugibus glande vescantur? an victus hominum Atheniensium beneficio excoli potuit, oratio non potuit? quis porro umquam Graecorum rhetorum a Thucydide quicquam duxit? 'at laudatus est ab omnibus.' fateor; sed ita ut rerum explicator prudens, severus, gravis; non ut in iudiciis versaret causas, sed ut in historiis bella narraret, itaque numquam est numeratus orator; nec vero, si historiam non scripsisset, nomen eius exstaret, cum praesertim fuisset honoratus et nobilis. huius

3 *unquam* H. 5 *non ut—itaque* secl. K. 6 *nunquam* H. 8 'ante *exstaret* superscr. *non*' cod. Vat. 1709 man. 3, et Laur. 50, 18 man. 2 (apud H). *cum parum* (vel *cum praesertim parum*) *fuisset* nequiquam coniecit H.

...ων ἐπὶ βελτίονα εἴρηται ἡ παροιμία. ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον οἱ ἄνθρωποι βαλάνοις ...οὶς τρεφόμενοι, ὕστερον εὑρεθεῖσι τῆς Δήμητρος καρποῖς ἐχρήσαντο (Eustath. on Odyss. T 166 p. 1859, 49 says ἐπὶ τῶν ...χερῶς φασι καὶ ἀηδῶς ἐσθιόντων, ὕστερον δὲ κάλλιόν τι εὑρόντων). It may, however, be noticed that ἅλις δρυός does not mean 'We have enough acorns,' 'we are content with the hard food we have and do not care for any better,' in which case it would exactly describe the attitude of the imitators of Thucydides; but 'Enough of acorns!',—implying that as soon as better food can be had, a ruder diet palls upon one and is at once laid aside. The latter is what *ought* to happen, but does not, in the case of these representatives of a retrograde movement, and an antiquated taste, in matters of style.

glande, for the sing. cf. Verg. Georg. I 8 'Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista'. Similarly *abstinere faba*, Madv. § 50 *obs* 2. For this collective or generic use of the singular, cf. (with Reid) *iacere in rosa; potare in rosa* (Fin. ii 65); and Liv. V 52 § 2 *tegula*.

an, Madv. § 453, Roby § 2255, inf. 109, 144.

victus, a common topic among the praises of Athens. Plat. Menex. 237 E μόνη γὰρ (ἥδε ἡ γῆ)...καὶ πρώτη τροφὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἤνεγκε τὸν τῶν πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν καρπόν, Isocr. Paneg. §§ 28—31 τοὺς καρποὺς οἳ τοῦ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν αἴτιοι γεγόνασι, Cic. pro Flacco 62 'adsunt Athenienses unde humanitas doctrina religio fruges iura leges ortae atque in omnes terras distributae putantur'.

According to an ancient legend, Triptolemus, the favourite of Demeter, and the inventor of the plough and of agriculture and of the civilisation that arose from it, first sowed barley in the Rharian plain near Eleusis (Paus. i 38 § 6), and thence spread the cultivation of grain all over the earth (Dict. s.v. Triptolemus).

rhetorum, not 'orators,' but 'rhetoricians,' theoretical writers on rhetoric; de Or. I 84 'eos qui rhetores nominarentur et qui dicendi praecepta traderent'. Among *orators* Demosthenes was, according to Dionysius and other later writers, especially indebted to Thucydides, Dion. de Thuc. 52 f. συγγραφέων μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίων...Θουκυδίδου μιμητὴς οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο ......ῥητόρων δὲ Δημοσθένης μόνος. (See, however, A. Schaefer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit*, I 283—4, 288—9). Of *rhetoricians* before Cicero's time, his remark (so far as can now be ascertained) is perfectly true. The historian is never quoted in the Rhetoric of Aristotle or in the *Rhet. ad Alexandrum*. *After* Cicero's time, the rhetoricians supply us with frequent criticisms on the style of Thuc. e.g. Dionys. Hal. ad Cn. Pomp. c. 3, de Thuc. and ad Ammaeum Ep. II; and Hermogenes περὶ ἰδεῶν II p. 422 (Spengel *Rhet. Gr.*). 'The references to Thuc. in Walz rhet. Gr. ind.' (as observed by Mayor on Quint. X I § 33) 'occupy a whole column.' In the criticisms of Dionysius praise and blame are blended together, with an undue proportion of the latter, his object being (like that of Cicero in the present passage) to attack the blind admirers and unintelligent imitators of the historian's manner (Blass, *Att. Bereds.*, i p. 202).

fateor; **sed**, 143. **ita** (laudatus est) **ut**.

§ 32. **cum praesertim**, 'and that although,' 99, de Fin. II 8 § 15 'recte... negat umquam bene cessasse Gallonium; recte, miserum, cum praesertim in eo omne studium poneret' (see Madvig's note), Phil. II 64 'inventus est nemo praeter Antonium, praesertim cum tot essent...qui alia omnia auderent' (with Mayor's note). Roby § 1732.

honoratus, of holding public office, =*honoribus functus*. De Or. II 56 (Thuc.) 'quanquam est in re publica versatus'

tamen nemo neque verborum neque sententiarum
imitatur; sed, cum mutila quaedam et hiantia locuti
vel sine magistro facere potuerunt, germanos se p
Thucydidas. nactus sum etiam, qui Xenophontis sir
5 se cuperet, cuius sermo est ille quidem melle dulc
forensi strepitu remotissimus.

Referamus igitur nos ad eum, quem volumus, in
et ea quidem eloquentia informandum, quam in null

2 *quae*: *quod* mavult H (st). 7 *igitur nos* cum codd. OH:
Ernestium MKJPST. *incohandum* cod. Vit.: *inchoandum* cod. Eins.
8 *ea quidem* post Kayserum JP[2]; *ea demum* Ernesti et Seyffert (Zeitschr
1861 i p. 61 ff) st; *ea* Bake: *eadem* cum codd. MOP[1]; †*eadem* (fortasse

We learn from the historian himself that he was στρατηγὸς τῶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης (iv 104).
nobilis, Brut. 43 'summo loco natus summusque vir'. His father Oloros was a near relative of the Thracian chieftain of that name, whose daughter was the wife of Miltiades.

mutila quaedam et hiantia, 'a few curt and incoherent phrases.' 178, 'mutila quaedam et quasi decurtata'. Quint. X 1 § 25 'dicendi legem putant ut deteriora imitentur (id enim est facilius) ac se abunde similes putent, si vitia magnorum consequantur'. Dr Reid suggests that *hiantia* rather means 'dislocated', with yawning chasms where there ought to be connecting links.

germanos, 90, 'each of them thinks himself a thorough (downright, regular) Thucydides.' De Or. II 160 'hos germanos huius artis magistros', ad Att. iv 5 § 3.

Xenophontis similem. Brut. 112 'at Cyri vitam et disciplinam (ad Quint. fr. I § 23) legunt, praeclaram illam quidem, sed neque tam nostris rebus aptam nec tamen Scauri laudibus (alluding to his speeches and autobiography) anteponendam'. Piderit suggests that in the text Cic. may be making a sly allusion to Brutus himself; but if Brutus is meant, Cicero would surely have said more than he does, and we should have expected some hint of this partiality of his in the above passage from the Dialogue de Claris Oratoribus, where one of the interlocutors is Brutus himself. Apart from this, Xenophon was a model of scarcely sufficient purity in Attic style to win the admiration of so strict an Atticist as Brutus. Cf. p. xliv f.

melle dulcior, inf. 62. Suidas, Ξενοφῶν Ἀττικὴ μέλιττα ἐπωνομάζετο. de Or. II 58 'leniore quodam sono est usus, et qui illum impetum oratoris vehemens fortasse minus, tamen, ut mihi quidem vid (Cf. Mure Gk. Lit. v 26 Wilkins).

a forensi strepitu, de O Graecos autem eloquentis remoti a causis forensibus. scribendam maxime se a (Herod., Thuc., Philistus, Ephorus, Xenophon, &c.).

§ 33. *At this point begi* TATIO (§§ 33—236) *which with the general Introducti and with the subsequent a special introduction of it special introduction begins with renewed reflections on t character of the undertakin been entered upon from rega now absent in Cisalpine Ga other personal references to stances in which the work has*

§ 33. **incohandum**, 'sketc modestly implying that only mate adumbration is pos 126 (of Gaius Gracchus) ' cohata multa, perfecta non Fin. IV 13 § 34 'Phidias p instituere signum idque per ab alio incohatum accipere The spelling of the word MSS, *incohare* is supported Ancyr. IV 15, 6, cf. 'Ribb Verg. p. 122 and Roscher Studien II 148' (referred to on De Or. I 5 'incohata ac also Corssen's Aussprache Wagner's Orth. Verg. p. 44 remarks that the MSS of Cic *inchoare*, giving for the most or *incohare* (see Reid on Aca

ea quidem. The manus *eadem*, defended by Orelli

Antonius: magnum opus omnino et arduum, Brute, conamur; X
sed nihil difficile amanti puto: amo autem et semper amavi
ingenium, studia, mores tuos; incendor porro cotidie magis non
desiderio solum, quo quidem conficior, congressus nostros, con-
suetudinem victus, doctissimos sermones requirens tuos, sed 5
etiam incredibili fama virtutum admirabilium, quae specie dis-
pares prudentia coniunguntur. quid enim tam distans quam
a severitate comitas? quis tamen umquam te aut sanctior est
habitus aut dulcior? quid tam difficile quam in plurimorum
controversiis diiudicandis ab omnibus diligi? consequeris tamen, 10
ut eos ipsos, quos contra statuas, aequos placatosque dimittas;

3 *incendiosior* FPO (*incendimur* H); *incendio* scriptum fuisse suspicatur Stangl. *s' or* pro *scilicet* a correctore supra scripto, coll. §§ 63, 219. *cottidie* J. 6 *incredibili fama virtutum admirabilium* edd. Ven[1], Med. Sch[2], MOKP: *admirabili* ... *incredibilium* cum codd. JHSt. 8 *unquam* H.

...ch the same as *ea ipsa*, is less satis-...y than Kayser's correction.

informandum, 37; **Antonius**, 18—19.

magnum opus...et arduum, 75. Augus-tine who quotes the *Orator* elsewhere (cf. note on § 27) has a reminiscence of this passage in the preface to his *De Civitate Dei*, 'magnum opus et arduum, sed Deus adiutor noster est'. **omnino**, 'doubtless,' followed here by *sed* as in De Sen. 45, by *sed tamen* ib. 28, by *autem* in De Am. 98; the adversative particle is left out, *ib.* 69.

amanti, the English idiom prefers the abstract expression: 'love (or friendship) knows of no difficulties.' We have a reminiscence of this passage in Hieronymus, ep. ad Eustochium xxii 40 (quoted by Heerdegen) 'nihil amantibus durum est, nullus difficilis cupienti labor est'. Pope Pius II writing in 1462, forty years after the discovery of the codex Laudensis, has:—'fascem portabat amor et nihil erat amanti difficile' (*commentarii* p. 198 ed. 1614).

porro, either 'moreover' or (better perhaps) to be taken with *cotidie*, 'on and on,' 'as time goes on,' as in Catull. 45, 3 'ut te perdite amo atque amare porro omnes sum adsidue paratus annos' (quoted by Peter-Weller, &c.).—'As time goes on, my heart grows warmer day by day, &c.' With the sense 'on and on', Dr Reid prefers taking it with the verb, adding that this sense is not uncommon in Terence as Andr. prol. 20. *cotidie* is often combined with *magis* and the like in Cicero's letters (ad Att. v 7 and 9); also in Phil. i 2.

desiderio...requirens. Tusc. Disp. I 36 § 87 'triste...nomen ipsum carendi, quia subicitur haec vis: habuit, non habet; desiderat, requirit, indiget'. **consuetudinem victus**, Caes. B. G. I 31.

incredibili—an incidental touch of satire on the extortion frequently practised by Roman governors on the provincials under their rule. That, even in Brutus, the same instinct was strong, is proved by the exorbitant interest exacted by him six years before from Ariobarzanes, and from the Salaminians of Cyprus (ad Att. vi 1). Cf. p. liv.

quae specie dispares prudentia coniunguntur, 'which, though apparently incompatible, are by sound sense practically reconciled.' De Am. 47 'specie quidem...sed reapse'.

Dr Reid thinks there is a reference to the Stoic theory of the ἀντακολουθία of the virtues; whereby he who has one, has all. Brutus may have learned this piece of Stoicism, like so many others, from Antiochus. *prudentia* will then (as occasionally elsewhere in Cic.) be the equivalent of *philosophia*.

§ 34. **quid tam distans**, *sc.* ab alio; for the incompleteness, cf. Fin. ii 13 with Madvig's n. (Reid). **severitate.** For the general sense, cf. Tacitus Agr. 9 'nec illi quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut severitas amorem deminuit'. **sanctior**, 'more upright'; de Or. I 229 (of Rutilius) 'cum esset ille vir exemplum innocentiae cumque illo nemo neque integrior esset in civitate neque sanctior'. **dulcior**, 'more genial.' **aequos placatosque**, 'on friendly terms of satisfaction.'

itaque efficis, ut, cum gratiae causa nihil facias, omnia t
grata, quae facis. ergo ex omnibus terris una Gallia
non ardet incendio; in qua frueris ipse † te, cum in It

1 *ex* KJP cum correctore codicis Laurentiani 50, 18: *om.* *FPO*; in H c
i 196 '(patria) quae una in omnibus terris.' 3 *frueris ipse te*: cum *j*
in eodem sensu ac *delectaris* dici posuit. scribendum fortasse aut *frueri*
frueris ipse virtute tua collato Brut. § 331 'te tua frui virtute cupimus.'
in Italiae luce Bake; *qua frueris ipse et tamquam &c.* Nixon. *cu*
Schenkl; *cum pariter atque in It.!* Stangl.

gratiae causa grata, 'though you do nothing from motives of favour, all that you do is favourably re[illegible]r (more freely) 'the result is [illegible]t doing anything from motives [illegible]r, you find every one partial to [illegible]u do.' The character of B[illegible]s sketched by Plutarch c. 6[illegible]g Caesar's remark of Bru[illegible]r *valde vult*), 'The [illegible]f Brutus, and his disp[illegible]n unadvisedly not to e[illegible] d a favour, but to a[illegible] d principle, made his [illegible]ec-tive towards accomp[illegible] he turned to. But towards unreasonable prayers he was immovable by flattery; and to be overcome by those who impudently urged their suit, which some call to be shamed out of a thing, he considered to be most disgraceful to a great man' (from Long's trans.). The text is quoted by Ammianus Marc. xxvii 9 § 10 'quod laudando Brutum Tullius refert, ut cum nihil ad gratiam faceret, omnia tamen grata viderentur esse quae factitabat' (Heerdegen).

ergo, while all the Roman world is ablaze with the civil war between Caesar and the remnants of the party of Pompey, Gallia Cisalpina is alone untouched by the flames. Cicero ascribes this result to the excellent administration of Brutus, and thereby (as is well pointed out by Piderit) pays Caesar the compliment of having made an admirable choice in appointing Brutus proconsul. This took place in the year 46 B.C. Plutarch (immediately after the passage already quoted) describes his administration as follows: 'When Caesar was going to cross over to Libya against Cato and Scipio, he intrusted Brutus with Gallia on this side of the Alps, to the great good fortune of the province: for while the other provinces, through the violence and rapacity of those who were intrusted with them, were harassed like conquered countries, Brutus was to the Gauls a relief and consolation for their former misfortunes; and he put all to Caesar's

credit' (Long).

in qua frueris ipse te. [illegible] who finds himself unable to [illegible] as good Latin for 'where you [illegible] self', proposes to strike out *i*[illegible] to follow Bake in altering [illegible] *tamquam*. The sense would [illegible] province which even you en[illegible] as its inhabitants do your g[illegible] and where you find a secon[illegible] am unable to find any parall[illegible] of *fruor* in the text; possibl[illegible] read 'frueris ipse *tua virtute*' [illegible] *tua*'. In the *Brutus*, which [illegible] early in 46, when Brutus w[illegible] the point of leaving Rome for [illegible] Cic. says to his friend: *te tua* [illegible] *cupimus* (§ 31). The provi[illegible] affording him an ampler fiel[illegible] he could enjoy at Rome, for [illegible] of his *virtus*; and in that e[illegible] now reaping his reward.

Italiae. Gallia Cisalpina [illegible] cluded in this designation, *e.g.* [illegible] *B. G.* i 10, ii 35, v 1, vi 44, vi[illegible] before the whole of it had r[illegible] Roman citizenship. The pa[illegible] the Padus received the *civit*[illegible] Caesar in B.C. 49. The Cispa[illegible] communities had already rec[illegible] the *lex Pompeia* of B.C. 89, [illegible] also given the *Latinitas* to [illegible] padane. The province of Galli[illegible] was abolished after Philippi, i[illegible]

Cicero here emphasises the w[illegible] as it was an extremely except[illegible] for a proconsul of a provinc[illegible] Roman citizens under his autho[illegible] Cf. Dio Cass. xli 36, Tac. *A*[illegible] 'Transpadani in civitatem rece[illegible] vale H. R. i 18, ii 234 ed. 18[illegible]

luce, here of the broad [illegible] public life in Italy; ad Quint. [illegible] 'istam virtutem...non latere i[illegible] neque esse abditam, sed in luc[illegible] oculis clarissimae provinciae a[illegible] ribus omnium gentium ac nati[illegible] positam'; ad Fam. ii 12 (to M[illegible] 'urbem, urbem, mi Rufe, cole [illegible] luce vive: omnis peregrinati[illegible] et sordida est eis, quorum indus[illegible]

cognosceris versarisque in optimorum civium vel flore vel robore. iam quantum illud est, quod in maximis occupationibus numquam intermittis studia doctrinae, semper aut ipse scribis aliquid aut me vocas ad scribendum! itaque hoc sum adgressus statim Catone absoluto; quem ipsum numquam attigissem, tempora 5

2 *quanti* Reid coll. de Sen. 49, Parad. 51 et Acad. ii 120. *maxumis* JH. *nunquam* H. 4 *adgressus* K : *agg.* ceteri. 5 *nunquam* H.

potest illustris esse'; Manil. 7 'in Asiae *luce versari*'; de Sen. 12 'in luce atque in oculis civium'.

flore...robore. The flower of youth and the strength of manhood. The words are repeatedly contrasted with one another by Livy, *e.g.* xxvii 44 'omne quod roboris, quod floris fuerit'; xxxvii 12 § 7 'quod floris, quod roboris, in iuventute fuerat, amiserant'; xl 6 'Perseus iam tricesimum annum agens, Demetrius quinquennio minor, medio iuventae robore ille, hic flore.'

studia. In the Brutus (22) Cic. praises his *singularis industria* and (ib. 332) his *perennia studia*. Plut. Brut. 4, 'During the campaign, all the daytime when he was not with Pompeius, he was employed about study and books; and not only at other times, but also before the great battle' (of Pharsalia)...when 'he kept on writing till evening-time, making an epitome of Polybius.' Similarly afterwards, in the campaign that ended at Philippi, ib. 36, 'when he had taken a short repose after eating, he employed the rest of the night on affairs of urgency,' after which 'he would read a book till the third watch' (Long's tr.). Cf. Quint. x 7 § 27 'studendum vero semper et ubique, neque enim fere tam est ullus dies occupatus, ut nihil lucrativae, ut Cicero Brutum facere tradit, operae ad scribendum aut legendum aut dicendum rapi aliquo momento temporis possit.'

me vocas ad scribendum. An allusion, among other things, to the *de Virtute*, dedicated to Cic., who wrote the de Fin. 'provocatus gratissimo mihi libro quem ad me de virtute misisti' (Fin. i 8). Reid.

§ 35. **Catone.** The encomium written by Cicero in praise of Cato who had died by his own hand at Utica a few days after his defeat by Caesar at Thapsus in Feb. B.C. 46 (ad Att. xii 4; Merivale H. R. vol. II xxi p. 432 ed. 1865). Brutus himself wrote a feeble encomium in which Cato was lauded, while the part taken by Cicero in the proceedings in the Senate, during the debate about Catiline's followers, was inaccurately stated (ad Att. xii 21; Merivale *u. s.* p. 449).

At the time when the *Orator* was written Cic. was still uncertain as to the way in which his own eulogy of Cato would be received by Caesar. His object in the present passage is to throw the *onus* of responsibility for that undertaking on Brutus, whom Caesar had generously forgiven for fighting against him at Pharsalia and had appointed (as we have already seen) to the proconsulship of Gallia Cisalpina. That this was Cicero's object is sufficiently confirmed by the contemporary evidence of a letter from A. Caecina, who was himself apprehensive of Caesar's anger, ap. Ad Fam. vi 7 § 4, 'auges etiam tu mihi timorem, qui in *Oratore* tuo caves tibi per Brutum, et ad excusationem socium quaeris.' A reply to Cicero's *Cato* was written by Hirtius (to be followed shortly by a longer reply by Caesar himself), 'qualis futura sit Caesaris vituperatio contra laudationem meam, perspexi ex eo libro quem Hirtius ad me misit in quo (says Cic. ad Att. xii 40) colligit vitia Catonis sed cum maximis laudibus meis. itaque misi librum ad Muscam, ut tuis librariis daret, volo enim eum divolgari'; ib. 44 'illius librum propterea volo divolgari a tuis, ut ex istorum vituperatione sit illius maior laudatio; ib. 41 'Hirtii epistolam si legeris, quae mihi quasi πρόπλασμα videtur eius vituperationis, quam Caesar scripsit de Catone; facies me, si quid tibi visum sit,...certiorem'. 45 'tu vero pervolga Hirtium. id enim ipsum putaram, quod scribis; ut cum ingenium amici nostri probaretur, ὑπόθεσις vituperandi Catonis irrideretur'.

It is assumed in Merivale's note on p. 432 *u.s.*, that it was Caesar's work that Cicero wanted Atticus to publish abroad; an examination of the above passages seems to point to the work of Hirtius, which was the precursor of Caesar's. The latter work is referred to in the following passages: Tac. Ann. iv 34 'Marci Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem caelo aequavit, quid aliud dictator Caesar, quam rescripta oratione, velut apud iudices respondit?', and

timens inimica virtuti, nisi tibi hortanti et illius memoria caram excitanti non parere nefas esse duxissem. sed te me a te rogatum et recusantem haec scribere esse ausum enim mihi tecum commune esse crimen, ut, si sustinere 5 quaestionem non potuero, iniusti oneris impositi tua cu mea recepti; in quo tamen iudici nostri errorem laus t muneris compensabit.

XI Sed in omni re difficillimum est formam, qui χ — Graece dicitur, exponere optimi, quod aliud aliis videt 10 mum. 'Ennio delector [illegible] piam, 'quod non discedit

1 *esse* om. K cum codd. Vit. [illegible] 6 *iudici* J: *-ii* ceteri. 8 *q* post Tulichium (ed. Lips. 1515) [illegible] eiusdem editionis margine J: *qu*

Cic. ad Att. xiii 46 'legi epis[illegible] saris ad Balbum): multa de n[illegible] quo saepissime legendo se di[illegible] rem factum; Bruti Catone lecto visum disertum.' Cf. *Introd.* pp[illegible]

haec, not the *Cato*, but the *Orator*.

iniusti, here applied to a burden that is 'unduly heavy' as in Verg. Georg. iii 347 'Romanus in armis iniusto sub fasce viam cum carpit.'

iudici—compensabit, i.e. any error of judgment on *my* part will be overbalanced by the credit of dedicating these pages to *you*. *inf.* 238.

§ 36. *We must not be deterred by any divergences of opinion on points of taste and criticism, from making an attempt to define and set forth the perfect ideal.*

§ 36. **formam...optimi**; the formal type of what is ideally the best; that on which the 'idea' of good is clearly stamped like the impression of a die on a coin. The usual Latin equivalent for χαρακτήρ in this sense is *nota* (46), but *forma* is here adopted in consequence of its having been already used in connexion with Cicero's application of the Platonic doctrine of ideas (9). The word happens to occur in Pl. Phaedr. 263 B (εἰληφέναι τινὰ χαρακτῆρα ἑκατέρου τοῦ εἴδους) and in Politic. 289 B (ἡ τοῦ νομίσματος ἰδέα καὶ σφραγίδων καὶ παντὸς χαρακτῆρος), but there is no reason for supposing that Cic. had either passage actually in view. The word, as remarked by Dr Reid, was common in the post-Aristotelian philosophy, and Cic. was familiar with it, rendering it repeatedly by *nota* in his philosophical works; as in Acad. ii 84 with which he compares Sext. P. H. i 191.

Ennio...Pacuvio...Accio. The three *great tragic* poets of Rome are here mentioned together as in de [illegible] 'quam sunt inter sese Ennius Acciusque dissimiles,' where the tioned among the examples of [illegible] *in dispari genere laudantur.* [illegible] § 88 '*Ennium* sicut sacros vetu adoremus, in quibus grandia [illegible] robora iam non tantam haben quantam religionem... § 97 [illegible] scriptores veterum *Attius* atque grandissimi gravitate sententia borum pondere, auctoritate pe ceterum nitor et summa in [illegible] operibus manus magis videri p poribus quam ipsis defuisse: [illegible] men Attio plus tribuitur, Pacuv doctiorem, qui esse docti adfecta

From among the tragedies [illegible] (B.C. 239—169) the following a in the *Orator*: the *Alexander Achilles* (155), the *Thyestes* (*Andromacha* (92), and the *Hec* Cicero often speaks of him as a *nius*, and more than once calls *mus poeta.* Horace, again, wri enriching his native tongue ('cum lingua Catonis et Enni s patrium ditaverit et nova reru protulerit'); and he did signal [illegible] fixing a standard of literary Latin the justice of the criticism quo text 'non discedit a communi [illegible] borum'; a characteristic which into sharp contrast with Pacuviu a predilection for monstrous co such as *repandirostrum* and *i vicum* (Quint. i 5 § 67). Donatus c. 18 (quoted by Goeller) says o 'habet poeta ille egregias sent verbis non multum ornatis.' [illegible] lessness ascribed to Ennius by th of Pacuvius recalls the well-kn cism of Ovid, 'Ennius ingenio

muni more verborum'; 'Pacuvio,' inquit alius; 'omnes apud hunc ornati elaboratique sunt versus, multa apud alterum neglegentius'; fac alium Accio; varia enim sunt iudicia, ut in Graecis, nec facilis explicatio, quae forma maxime excellat. in picturis alios horrida, inculta, [abdita et] opaca, contra alios nitida, laeta, 5 collustrata delectant: quid est, quo praescriptum aliquod aut formulam exprimas, cum in suo quidque genere praestet et genera plura sint? hac ego religione non sum ab hoc conatu repulsus existimavique in omnibus rebus esse aliquid optimum, etiamsi lateret, idque ab eo posse, qui eius rei gnarus esset, 10 iudicari.

1 *tornati* quondam coni. Stangl vocabulo usus rarissimo; etenim praeter locum notissimum Hor. A. P. 441, 'male tornatos incudi reddere versus,' et Augustin. de Catechiz. 8 'stilus quasi tornatioris eloquii', vix usquam occurrit. *multo* post Lambinum J; *multi* Schenkl. 4 *in picturis* si *alios delectant, quid est—plura sint?* Bake. 8 *abdita et* exclusit Madv. de Fin. iv § 56 (KJP); retinet H. 6 *conlustrata* KH. *delectant* KJP cum codd. Laur. 50, 31 et Eins.; *delectat* H cum *FPO*. 7 *quodque* codd.: *quaeque* scripsit H; *quidque* Reid. 8 sed *hac ego* Sauppe (Tulliana p. 12). 10 *etiam si* ubique separatim H. *gnarus FPO*: *narus* H. 11 *iudicari* Schenkl.

arte rudis' (Trist. ii 424). (See further in Sellar's *Roman Poets of the Republic*, chap. iv, and Teuffel's *Röm. Lit.* §§ 81, 89—93.)

Pacuvius (B.C. 219—129), nephew of Ennius, quoted in §§ 155 (*Chryses* and *Teucer*) and 164 (*Iliona*). Hor. Ep. ii 1, 58 'aufert Pacuvius docti famam senis, Attius alti' (Teuffel *u. s.* § 94). **Accius** (B.C. 170—about 90), quoted in §§ 156, 163, 164; pro Planc. 59 'gravis et ingeniosus poeta'. Ovid Am. I 15, 19 'animosi Attius oris' (Teuffel § 119). See Sellar *u. s.* chap. v. For a discussion on the spelling of the name, see Ritschl's *Parerga* p. 36, or Wilkins on Hor. Ep. ii 1, 56.

ut in Graecis. de Or. iii 27 'quam apud Graecos Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides (dissimiles) quamquam omnibus par paene laus in dissimili scribendi genere tribuitur'.

in picturis, de Or. iii 98 'quanto colorum pulchritudine et varietate floridiora sunt in picturis novis pleraque quam in veteribus! quae tamen, etiamsi primo aspectu nos ceperunt, diutius non delectant, cum eidem nos in antiquis tabulis illo ipso *horrido* obsoletoque teneamur'. (See C. O. Müller's Ancient Art § 319). These illustrations from painting are characteristic of the writer who says elsewhere: 'si quid generis me istiusmodi delectat, *pictura* delectat' (ad Fam. vii 23). The 'rough, rude and *sombre*' *style of painting is here contrasted with one that is* 'bright, cheerful and brilliantly coloured.' *horridus* is here as often opposed to *nitidus*. *nitidus* and *laetus* are combined as epithets of style in language, de Or. i 81.

quid est quo—'what reason is there for'; cf. est cur, multa sunt quare; a relative use of a causal interrogative. *quo = quod* (37). Roby § 1686.

praescriptum aliquod aut formulam, 'a definite rule or typical form.' The first legal term has here suggested the second (Brut. 275 'in iuris consultorum formulis'). Both are used in their literal sense in de Or. ii 178 'aut *praescripto* ('definite behest') aut iuris norma aliqua aut iudicii *formula* ('issue stated, procedure laid down, for a particular trial') aut legibus'. *Formula* in a metaphorical sense (applied to style) occurs in 75 'nota et formula' and de opt. gen. or. 15 'ad quam eos quasi formulam dicendi revocent, intellegant'. Cf. de Fin. ii 3 'praescribere...in formulis' (with Madvig's note: '*praescriptiones* appellabantur ipsa illa, quae formulae praeponebantur, ut ea petitoris causa, ne formula caderet, ad eam rem, quae ageretur, certius accommodaretur').

in suo quidque—plura sint? For the general sense, cf. de Or. iii 34. **religione,** 'scruple,' 'misgiving.'

§§ 37—42. *Our portraiture of the perfect orator will be restricted to the practical oratory of public life—to the exclusion of the* γένος ἐπιδεικτικόν *which,*

Sed quoniam plura sunt orationum genera eaque
neque in unam formam cadunt omnia; laudationum et
rum et talium suasionum, qualem Isocrates fecit Pane

2 *laudationum* scriptionum *et historiarum et talium* suasionum...*rel*
rerum *formam* cum codd. Peter-Weller: *formas* Bake; *suasionum...scrip*

however, is far from being unimportant to the orator, in relation to form.

§ 37. **orationum genera**, i.e. (1) the *genus deliberativum* (γένος συμβουλευτικόν), corresponding to our parliamentary oratory;

(2) the *genus iudiciale* (δικ[illegible] that of the bar;

(3) the *genus demonstrativum* [illegible]κτικόν), including set speeches i[illegible] the object is 'display' (ἐπίδειξις) l[illegible] or any speech of public compliment. [illegible] Latin epithet is not a happy o[illegible] observed by Quint. iii 4 § 13 [illegible]πιδεικτικόν non tam demonstr[illegible] vim habere quam ostentationis vi[illegible]ur.' He himself prefers the phrase 'ostentatio declamatoria' (iv 3 § 2). This triple division was due in the first instance to Aristotle (Rhet. i 3 § 1 with Cope's notes); cf. de Inv. I 5 § 7 and see Volkmann's *Rhetorik* § 2.

Cicero here proposes to confine himself to the consideration of the *deliberative* and *forensic* branches of oratory, to the exclusion of the *epideictic*.

cadunt, 95, 118, 188, 191.

laudationum. These, like the ἔπαινοι of Greek rhetoric, belong to the epideictic branch. The subjects of these speeches ranged from the highest to the humblest themes (see Volkmann *Rhet.* § 33 p. 264—7, and the commentators on Ar. Rhet. II 24 § 6 and Isocr. Paneg. § 189). In de Or. ii 43 and 65, *laudationes* are mentioned as the *genus tertium* and the 'praecepta de laudationibus' (ib. 333) are enumerated by Antonius in §§ 341—8, with a brief reference, at the close (349), to the 'vituperandi praecepta'. As examples of these *laudationes*, composed by Cic. himself, may be mentioned not only the Eulogy on Cato, above referred to (§ 35), but also the *laudatio Porciae*, on Cato's sister, written in the following year (ad Att. xiii 37 § 3). Among the instances in Gk. literature, we have the Funeral Orations (enumerated in my note on Isocr. Paneg. § 74), and the *Evagoras* and *Helenae encomium* of Isocrates.

historiarum, here regarded as coming under the epideictic branch, or at least closely connected with it (inf. 66, 207), *de Or. ii 36. In this context, where* Cic. is on the point of naming Is[illegible] reference is probably to the rhetorical histories of his pup[illegible] and Theopompus (ib. 57), tho[illegible] are by no means excluded [illegible] sthenes, who 'scripsit historiam paene more' ib. 58).

talium suasionum. *Sua*[illegible] might obviously be used of a [illegible] speech in support of a propos[illegible] proposed course of action (de[illegible] ff, pro Cluent. 140 'in suasion[illegible] viliae summis ornat senatum [illegible] Such a *suasio*, even although [illegible] in the instance just mention[illegible] topics of *laudatio* would really b[illegible] *practical* oratory of the *genus del*[illegible] In contrast to this, we have t[illegible] of the text. Dionys. Hal. ars [illegible] (in the Panegyric, Philippus an[illegible] tatione of Isocr.) πεποίηται [illegible] ἔργον συμβουλῆς τὸ ἐγκώμιον. [illegible] 4 § 14 'an quisquam negaverit [illegible] ἐπιδεικτικοὺς esse? atqui forma[illegible] habent et plerumque de utilita[illegible] ciae loquuntur'. Thus, the [illegible] Isocr. is an appeal to the Greek[illegible] urging them to join in an [illegible] against Persia. From this po[illegible] it might be regarded as a λόγο[illegible]τικός, but a large portion of it [illegible] with the praises of Athens, an[illegible] recital of the benefits she ha[illegible] on the Grecian world (§§ 28— [illegible] this respect, as well as in [illegible] character, as a speech written [illegible] and not for delivery in public, i[illegible] λόγος ἐπιδεικτικός.

Isocrates. See *Introd.* p. [illegible]

Panegyricum. 'The name [illegible] the speech by Isocrates himsel[illegible] § 9, 84, Ep. III 6, de Perm. [illegible] implies that it was written for [illegible] one of the great festal assembli[illegible] γύρεις, such as the Panathenai[illegible] Athens or the Panhellenic [illegible] Olympia. That it was ever pub[illegible] ...is extremely improbable' [illegible] Isocr. Paneg. p. xli).

For the general sense of t[illegible] cf. Quint. ii 10 § 11 'et in ei[illegible] quae in aliqua sine dubio v[illegible] santur sed sunt ad popular[illegible] delectationem quales legimus [illegible]

multique alii, qui sunt nominati sophistae, reliquarumque scriptionum formam, quae absunt a forensi contentione eiusque totius generis, quod Graece ἐπιδεικτικὸν nominatur, quia quasi ad inspiciendum delectationis causa comparatum est, non complectar hoc tempore: non quo neglegenda sit; est enim illa quasi 5 nutrix eius oratoris, quem informare volumus et de quo molimur aliquid exquisitius dicere. ab hac et verborum copia alitur et XII eorum constructio et numerus liberiore quadam fruitur licentia;

Lambinum M; *laudationum* et vituperationum *et historiarum...reliquarumque* earum *formam* J; *scriptionum* Sauppium secuti (coni. Tull. p. 10) secluserunt K et H, pro *rerum* post *reliquarumque* transposuerunt Schenkl et Madvig (adv. crit. ii p. 188), F[2]; *rerum* obelo notat H, idem conicit *scriptionum earum*. 3 *quod quasi* MOKJP cum codicis Laurentiani 50, 18 manu secunda: *qua q. FPO*, *quia q.* edd. Ven[12]. (H et Stangl).

totumque hoc demonstrativum genus, permittitur adhibere plus cultus omnemque artem, quae latere plerumque in iudiciis debet, non confiteri modo sed ostentare'.

sophistae. Brut. 30 'ut intellectum est quantam vim haberet accurata et facta quodam modo oratio, tum etiam magistri dicendi multi subito exstiterunt; tum Leontinus Gorgias, Thrasymachus Calchedonius, Protagoras Abderites, Prodicus Ceus, Hippias Eleus in honore magno fuit'...ib. 32 'exstitit iam senibus illis, quos paulo ante diximus, Isocrates, cuius domus cunctae Graeciae quasi ludus quidam patuit atque officina dicendi'.

Isocr. himself says, in the Paneg. § 3, πολλοὶ τῶν προσποιησαμένων εἶναι σοφιστῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὥρμησαν where he is doubtless alluding principally to the λόγος Ὀλυμπιακός of Gorgias (as is noticed in my commentary, p. 44, where there is also a note on the Sophists. To the later literature of the subject must now be added Dr H. Sidgwick's able Essay in the *Journal of Philology*, iv 288 ff.).

scriptionum, an emendation for *rerum*. The word has apparently slipped out of its proper place here and has been inserted in the MSS after *laudationum*.

forensi contentione, §§ 45, 208. The phrase includes the γένος συμβουλευτικόν as well as the δικανικόν. De Or. i 22 'Graecos...video...seposuisse a ceteris dictionibus eam partem dicendi quae in forensibus disceptationibus iudiciorum aut deliberationum versaretur'.

ad inspiciendum, to be looked at critically, like pictures, for the sake of the pleasure to be derived from them. The ἀκροατής in the γένος ἐπιδεικτικόν is, as Aristotle says, a θεωρός (Rhet. i. 3 § 2). From the composer's *point of view*, the same works might be described as *ad ostentandum comparata*. As accurate Latin equivalents for ἐπίδειξις we have *ostentatio declamatoria* in Quint. iv 3 § 2, and *ostensio* in Aquila Romanus de figuris 42 'iis (figuris) quas diximus ad ostensionem magis quam ad certamen facere'.

non quo = *non quod*. Tusc. Disp. ii 64 'non quo fugiendus sit' (Roby § 1744).

est enim—Before dismissing from consideration the epideictic branch of oratory, Cic. rapidly enumerates some of the points in which the study of that branch may be of service to the orator; and, after a digression on several of its representatives and on Isocrates in particular, he resumes the thread of his discourse with the words 'dulce igitur' in § 42, where he finally dismisses the subject, confining himself thenceforth to the practical oratory of the deliberative and (in its narrower sense) forensic branches.

quasi nutrix oratoris. The metaphor is repeated in summing up the subject in § 43, 'educata huius nutrimentis eloquentia'. *nutrix* (which is never used of a sick-nurse) is strictly speaking a 'wet-nurse', as contrasted with *assa* (or *assa nutrix*) a 'dry-nurse', and always has 'a direct reference to feeding' (Wilkins on de Or. ii 162). This reference is retained even in such a metaphorical expression as 'nutricem plebis Romanae Siciliam' (II Verr. ii § 5). In the text we may paraphrase it 'the nursing mother'. Cf. *alitur* in the next sentence.

ab hac. The use of *ab* is here due to the *personification* implied in the context. Madvig § 254 obs. 1, and Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* § 230.

constructio, the artificial combination of words with one another, 150, 202; *structa* in §§ 20 and 219; de opt. gen. 5

datur etiam venia concinnitati sententiarum et arguti cer
circumscripti verborum ambitus conceduntur, de indus
non ex insidiis, sed aperte ac palam elaboratur, ut verba
quasi dimensa et paria respondeant, ut crebro conferant
5 nantia comparenturque contraria, et ut pariter extrema
nentur eundemque referant in cadendo sonum; quae in
causarum et rarius multo facimus et certe occultius. i
thenaico autem Isocrates ea *se* studiose consectatum

1 *arguti*: 'fortasse *argutiis*' H (st). 3 et *non* Kayser. *ex* Nonius; 4 *dimensa FPO* (JP): *dem*... (MO²KH): *dim. et partita* Stan ...*ferantur...comparenturque* M ... *rant...conparentque FPO.* cum cod. Vit. KJP: *et aut Fl* ... (v. 4)...[*et*] *aut* H (st). 8 *se* om. MO²: *studiose se* ed. Junt.- ... Ald.² Lambinus (HSt), *se ea* Sa

'verborum est structura quaedam quas res efficiens, numerum et levitatem'.

§ 38. **concinnitati sententiarum**, symmetry of sentences, contrasted with the individual *verba* of the previous context.

arguti—ambitus, 'periods clearly cut, well-defined and rounded off'. *argutus* (39, 42) 'sharply defined', sometimes applied to clear outline, as in 'argutum caput' (Verg. G. iii 80), or to clear sound. The primary meaning appears to be 'bright', 'glancing' (cf. ἀργός). **certi**, with the relations of the different parts of the sentence, e.g. *protasis* and *apodosis*, definitely marked. **circumscripti**, terminating with a regular rhythm, 200, 208, 221. **verborum ambitus** one of Cicero's many renderings of περίοδος (204). The general expression 'concinnitas sententiarum' is expanded in detail in the subsequent clauses.

de industria, non ex insidiis, 'of set purpose, not in any insidious manner.' There is no attempt *celare artem*, as in the *insidiae* of rhythm referred to in §§ 170, 208.

dimensa, 'measured off', 147, dimetiendis syllabis. Quint. v 10 § 124 'inspectis dimensisque (al. demensisque) singulis quibus quaeque vox fidibus iungenda sit'.

paria, ἰσόκωλα, one of the varieties of παρίσωσις, 'parallelism of structure.' **conferantur pugnantia**, refers to the juxtaposition of things inconsistent' (Tusc. Disp. i 13 'pugnantia te loqui non vides?' and above § 16 repugnantia); **comparentur contraria**, to 'the comparison of things contrasted'. Both alike are included under ἀντίθετα, or examples of ἀντίθεσις. 65 'paria paribus referunt, adversa contrariis', 164 'paribus paria redduntur sive opponuntur contraria', 175 '*paria paribus* adiuncta, contrariis relata contraria', cf. 84, 135, 220; de 21 'ex contrariis sumpta verb contrariis, paribus paria respon

pariter extrema—sonum, ὁμο among the subdivisions of π 'parallelism in sound.'

On all the above figures, see V *Rhetorik* pp. 409—416; and article in the *Journ. of Cl. and* vol. iii 69—72.

The simplest classification o that represented in the followi which has already appeared on my selections from Isocrates:

(i) ἀντίθεσις = parallelism in
(ii) παρίσωσις = parallelism in
(iii) παρομοίωσις = parallelism i

(iii) is subdivided into three
(1) ὁμοιοκάταρκτον.
(2) ὁμοιοτέλευτον.
(3) παρονομασία.

in veritate causarum, i.e. in suits of real life, the *verae causa* 225. Cic. frequently uses *verit* sense of 'real life', e.g. de C 'causa aliqua posita consimili earum quae in forum deferuntu quam maxime ad *veritatem* accom ib. 157, 220, ii 94, iii 214.

rarius opp. to *crebro*; **occ** *aperte ac palam*.

Panathenaico, §§ 1, 2 νεώτερ ... περὶ ἐκείνους ἐπραγματευόμην τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι συμβο καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἐνθυμημάτων γέμ ὀλίγων δ' ἀντιθέσεων καὶ παρ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδεῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς διαλαμπουσῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας νεσθαι καὶ θορυβεῖν ἀναγκαζουσ *Panathenaicus* was written B.C. the ninety-fourth year of its auth

se studiose consectatum fat is omitted in the MSS; as in

n ad iudiciorum certamen, sed ad voluptatem aurium t. haec tractasse Thrasymachum Calchedonium primum tinum ferunt Gorgiam, Theodorum inde Byzantium

donium OKJPH cum codd.: *Chalcedonium* Ernesti, M; cf. de Or. iii 128, cad. i 17: in numismatis diserte legitur ΚΑΛΧ.

pse nihil audisse de P. Sulla, atum esse diceret;' where Reid, however, follow two reading *is se*.
ral place for *se*, if inserted, is *ose*; Cic. generally separates infinitive with which it goes, ocation *ea se* is more likely in *se ea*. He frequently omits to the infinitive after such *ri* (Reid).
iudiciorum certamen. Isocr. efers in terms of undisguised served contempt to speeches sic type, περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμ- e note on Paneg. § 11, also and De Perm. §§ 2—3 there *tenso*.
tatem aurium. The phrase 159, 162, 198, 203, 208, 237. e to Isocr. may be compared . iii 173 'ut inconditam anti- endi consuetudinem delecta- aurium causa...numeris as-
rasymachus, inf. 175. Born m (afterwards called Chalce- 455, mentioned among the *endi* with Gorgias, Protagoras, d Hippias in Brut. 30; with d Isocrates in de Or. iii 59; odicus and Protagoras ib. 128. Dem. init., selects Thrasyma- ocrates as representatives of style. In c. 3 he adds was Thrasymachus, as Theo- inks, who first harmonized nd reduced it to its present y one else, I cannot say.' He t to adopt a regular periodic sentences 'which concen- ought and expresses it round- Lys. c. 6). He paid special the rhythm of prose (Ar. on the 'paeon'), and from t passage of the Soph. Elench. Tisias, Thrasymachus, and are inferred to have 'made portant contributions towards ment of the study of rhetoric.' Thrasymachus of Plato's Re- e, *Journ. of Cl. and S. Phil.* ; see also C. F. Hermann's *Thras. Chalcedonio* Göttin- gen, 1848; Blass *Att. Ber.* i, pp. 240—251, or Jebb's *Attic Orators*, ii 423).
He is repeatedly referred to in the Phaedrus p. 266 C, 271 A, 267 C (τὸ τοῦ Χαλκηδονίου σθένος),—passages with which Cicero was familiar. In Dionysius Hal. de Isaeo 20, he is described as καθαρὸς μὲν καὶ λεπτὸς καὶ δεινὸς εὑρεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν στρογγύλως καὶ περιττῶς ὃ βούλεται· πᾶς δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τεχνογραφικοῖς καὶ ἐπιδεικτικοῖς. Cf. Introd. p. ix.
Gorgias, inf. 165, 167, 175 ff.; born about 496, visited Athens in 427 as ambassador from Leontini when he at once made his mark as an orator. Among his pupils was Isocrates, Quint. ii 1 § 13 'clarissimus Gorgiae auditorum Isocrates' (de Or. i 103, iii 59 and 129, Brut. 30, 47, 292). Dionysius Hal. speaks of the παρισώσεις and παρονομασίαι and ἀντιθέσεις, ἐν αἷς ἐπλεόνασε (de Thuc. 24, 4). In the Scholia on Hermogenes Rhet. Gr. v. p. 551 Walz, Dionysius (or the Scholiast himself) remarks σεμνὰς γὰρ συμφορήσας λέξεις ὁ Γοργίας ἐννοίας ἐπιπολαιοτέρας ἐξαγγέλλει τοῖς τε παρίσοις καὶ ὁμοιοτελεύτοις καὶ ὁμοιοκατάρκτοις καλλωπίζων διόλου προσκόρως τὸν λόγον. See further in Cope's articles iii 65—80; appendix to Thompson's ed. of Plato's *Gorgias*; Blass *u. s.* pp. 45—72, Jebb *u. s.* I cxxiii—cxxviii, and Wilkins' Introd. to De Or. p. 26; also *supra* p. vii.
Theodorus. His contributions to the art of rhetoric consisted chiefly in some additional technical subdivisions of the speech. These are enumerated in Plat. Phaedrus 266 D: Σ. προοίμιον μὲν οἶμαι πρῶτον ὡς δεῖ τοῦ λόγου λέγεσθαι ἐν ἀρχῇ. ταῦτα λέγεις—ἦ γάρ;—τὰ κομψὰ ('the niceties') τῆς τέχνης; Φ. Ναί. Σ. Δεύτερον δὲ δὴ διήγησίν τινα μαρτυρίας τ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ, τρίτον τεκμήρια, τέταρτον εἰκότα· καὶ πίστωσιν οἶμαι καὶ ἐπιπίστωσιν λέγειν τόν γε βέλτιστον λογοδαίδαλον Βυζάντιον ἄνδρα. Φ. τὸν χρηστὸν λέγεις Θεόδωρον. In the Brutus § 48, Cicero tells us, on the authority of Aristotle, that Theodorus 'though meagre in his oratorical style, as compared even with Lysias, was refined and inventive in his technical writings' (in arte subtilior, in orationibus ieiunior). Plato's epithet λογοδαίδαλος ('tricker-out of speeches',

multosque alios, quos λογοδαιδάλους appellat in P
crates; quorum satis arguta multa, sed ut modo
nascentia minuta et versiculorum similia quaedam
depicta. quo magis sunt Herodotus Thucydidesque
5 quorum aetas cum in eorum tempora, quos nominav
longissime tamen ipsi a talibus deliciis vel potius inept

3 *versicolorum* cum cod. Vit. MO[m], Heindorf ad Pl. Phaedr. p. 31
ceteri.

'cunning speech-wright'), must there re refer 'rather to the number variety id skill of the rules which he drew up fo. .he guidance of others in composition, than to any particular excellence of his own. Dionysius, de Isaeo c. 19, denies him even this merit: he says that he was "antiquated, inexact in his theoretical compositions, and did not bestow sufficient pains upon the speeches which he wrote for practical use"' (Cope's articles III 284 ff.; see also Blass *Att. Ber.* i pp. 251—254, and *supra* p. xi).

multos alios quos. Immediately after the passage in the Phaedrus 266 D already quoted, Plato refers in similar terms of playful irony to Euenus, Tisias, Prodicus, Hippias, Polus, Licymnius and Protagoras; but it is to Theodorus alone that he actually applies the epithet λογοδαίδαλος. Quintilian has forgotten to verify from Plato the description of Theodorus which he borrows from the present passage of Cicero; iii 1 § 11 'Theodorus Byzantius, ex his et ipse quos Plato appellat λογοδαιδάλους.'

arguta, 38; **modo** 'only just,' **primum,** 'for the first time'; 'like things only just springing into their earliest existence,' i.e. imperfect and immature. The use of the present participle *nascentia* to denote a considerable time *after birth*, deserves notice. Cf. Acad. ii 15 'quasi modo nascentes' (of philosophers) where Reid in his new ed. quotes Brut. 27 nascentes Athenae, Quint. x 1 § 16 'nova illa velut nascentia', Sen. Ep. 95, 14 'sapientia tum maxime nascens', and other passages.

minuta, 'over-minute,' 'cramped,' 'undeveloped,' 40, 150, 231. Brut. 287 (of Hegesias) 'quid est tam fractum, tam minutum, tam in ipsa, quam tamen consequitur, concinnitate puerile?'; de Or. ii 159 'genus sermonis concisum, minutum et fractum'.

These passages make it probable that *minutus* here has its literal sense as from *minuo*, 'cut into bits'. The other and

commoner use for *parvus*
inf. 94, de Or. iii 169 (Re

versiculorum similia, 'r
verselets,' short clauses c
regular rhythmical cade
that of verse, cf. 230 ac
corresponds to the ἐπύλλ
Ach. 398, Pax 532, Ran.

nimium depicta, 'over-c
ed out with excessive orn
and 96, de Orat. iii 100 'q
coloribus *picta* vel poesis v
141 'σχήματα quae vocant
me ornant orationem; ea
verbis *pingendis* habent p
illuminandis sententiis', ib
'Lysiae similem? quo ni
pictius,' ib. 298 'intelleges r
nis) lineamentis nisi eorun
quae inventa nondum erat
lorem defuisse'. Aquila
21 'sunt igitur figurae eloc
ornandam tantum, et quas
orationem accommodatae
ceps Gorgias Leontinus u
modo'. The correspondin
ἀνθίζειν, Dionys. de Lysi
μοῦσά τε καὶ ἀνθίζουσα
(Lys.) χάρις, de Isocr. 1
γένος μέμφομαι τῶν σχημά
σεις, παρισώσεις and
Isocr.), πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖ
συγγραφεῖς καὶ ῥήτορες, ἀν
νοι τὴν λέξιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν
ἄνθος [Longinus] 10 § 4,
and ἐπανθίζειν in Philostr.
500 (ap. Ern. lex. s. v. ἀ
λια ἐπηνθισμένη ποιητι
the style of Antiphon, who
Dionysius a representative
ἁρμονία which is ἥκιστα ἀν
c. 22). Also Anon. in Sp
i 323 θεράπευε τὸν λόγο
ταιρίαις (*supra* § 21 ad
ἀνθέων χροίαις καὶ βαφῆς

deliciis, 'niceties.' **ine**
taste', 'tastelessness', 'in

alter enim sine ullis salebris quasi sedatus amnis fluit, alter incitatior fertur et de bellicis rebus canit etiam quodam modo bellicum; primisque ab his, ut ait Theophrastus, historia commota est, ut auderet uberius quam superiores et ornatius dicere. horum aetati successit Isocrates, qui praeter ceteros eiusdem X generis laudatur semper a nobis, non numquam, Brute, leniter et 6 erudite repugnante te; sed concedes mihi fortasse, si, quid in eo

6 *numquam* H. 7 *credas FPO; credes* cod. Vit. (JP): *cedas* Ernesti, O[1] M; *cedes* Sch.[2], O[23] KST; *concedas* (vel *concedes*) H collatis Acad. ii 57 'pugnes licet; non repugnabo; quin etiam concedam,' de Off. iii 22, ad Fam. i 2 § 2, xiii 1 § 4, ubi opponuntur inter se *concedere* et *repugnare;* addo Sull. 84 'non modo mihi nihil adsumo in quo quispiam *repugnet*, sed etiam, si quid ab omnibus *conceditur*, id reddo ac remitto.' idem coniecerat Klotz.

sine ullis salebris...fluit, 'with unruffled smoothness, flows like a tranquil river.' Quint. x 1 § 73 'dulcis et candidus et fusus Herodotus,' ix 4 § 18 'in Herodoto...omnia...leniter fluunt'. *salebra*, originally an epithet of rough and jolting roads, metaphorically used of ruggedness of speech in de Fin. v 28 § 84 'proclivi currit oratio: venit ad extremum: haeret in salebra,' ib. ii 10 § 30 'nunquam in tantas salebras incidisset'. Quint. xi 2 § 46 'interruptus actionis impetus et resistens ac salebrosa oratio.'

canit...bellicum 'sounds the trumpet of war' (quoted by Quint. x 1 § 33), cf. pro Mur. 30, Phil. vii § 3 and Quint. ix 4 § 11 'in certaminibus sacris non eadem ratione concitant animos ac remittunt; non eosdem modos adhibent, cum bellicum est canendum et cum posito genu supplicandum est; nec idem signorum concentus est procedente ad proelium exercitu, idem receptui carmen.'

Theophrastus, in one of his works now no longer extant, either in his treatise περὶ ἱστορίας, or more probably in his περὶ λέξεως, which was one of Cicero's authorities in the *Orator*. Theophrastus, the distinguished pupil of Aristotle, who like his master, wrote on rhetoric, is mentioned in §§ 62, 79, 172, 194, 218, 228; cf. de Div. ii 1 § 4 'Theophrastus itemque Aristoteles cum philosophia dicendi etiam praecepta coniunxerunt,' and Quint. iii 1 § 15 'Theophrastus quoque Aristotelis discipulus de rhetorice diligenter scripsit.' See further on § 62.

commota est. Theophr. probably used some such phrase as οὗτοι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκίνησαν πρῶτοι. Cf. Ar. Rhet. iii 8 § 1 ἤρξαντο μὲν ... κινῆσαι τὸ πρῶτον, Plut. Solon 29 ἀρχομένων τῶν περὶ τὸν Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν τραγῳδίαν κινεῖν, Sext. Empiricus adv. Mathematicos vii 6 Ἐμπεδοκλέα μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ πρῶτον ῥητορικὴν κεκινηκέναι. Quintilian iii 1 § 8, thinking of the same passage of Aristotle's lost work, the τεχνῶν συναγωγή, says 'primus...*movisse* aliqua circa rhetoricen Empedocles dicitur.'

uberius, 46, de Or. ii 93 'paulo uberiore filo' of Greek stylists (including Thuc.) after Pericles and before Isocrates. Herodotus and Thucydides are here contrasted with the earlier historians, such as Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and Acusilas (de Or. ii 53).

§ 40. **praeter ceteros eiusdem generis**, e.g. Thrasymachus, Gorgias. Isocr. is here referred to simply as a stylist who struck out a manner of his own, intermediate between that of the sophistical rhetoricians, Thrasymachus and Gorgias, on the one side, and that of the historians Herodotus and (more particularly) Thucydides on the other. It seems unnecessary to suppose (with Piderit) that in the present sentence Cic. is also thinking o the rhetorical historians who were pupil of Isocr., viz. Ephorus and Theopompu although he refers to them shortly afte wards. *eiusdem generis* means of t same class as himself, not of the sar class as Thucydides and himself, as fancy Piderit must have taken it, if may judge from his specifying Epho and Theopompus as the persons part larly referred to.

repugnante te. Brutus is here re sented as occasionally demurring 'quiet and scholarly way' to Cic constant predilection for Isocrates. will perhaps accept my view, he if I explain the exact point for whi my opinion, Isocr. deserves credit. passage is interesting as one of

laudem, cognoveris. nam cum concisus ei Thrasyma
numeris videretur et Gorgias, qui tamen primi tra
quadam verba vinxisse, Thucydides autem praefract
ut ita dicam, rotundus, primus instituit dilatare verbi
5 ribus numeris explere sententias; in quo cum doc
partim in dicendo, partim in scribendo principes

3 *vinxisse* cum codd. Gu.[1] Gu.[2], Peter-Weller, OKJP; *iunxisse* (
(M et II). *Thucydides: Theodectes* Nonius, *Theodorus* conicit Sta

incidental indications of difference of opinion on points of style between the writer and the reader to whom the work is specially dedicated (Piderit's Introd. § 15). It may be added that of all the Attic orators, it is Isocrates, and not Demosthenes, that corresponds most closely to Cicero himself (see Blass *Att. Ber.* ii p. 194, and Jebb's *Att. Or.* ii 34, 448: also *supra* p. xxii).

concisus minutis numeris. So in § 175 the style of Thrasymachus is described as too rhythmical. The following is a fragment of Thrasymachus, preserved by Dionysius and printed as follows by Blass *u. s.* i p 248, *ἐβουλόμην μὲν ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι μετασχεῖν ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ | ἡνίκα σιωπᾶν ἀπέχρη τ ῖς νεωτέροις | τῶν τε πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀναγκαζόντων ἀγορεύειν | καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὀρθῶς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπευόντων || ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τοιοῦτον ἡμᾶς ἀνέθετο χρόνον ὁ δαίμων | ὥστε (τὰς μὲν εὐπραξίας) τῆς πόλεως ἀκούειν, | τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς (ὁρᾶν) αὐτούς | καὶ τούτων τὰ μέγιστα μὴ θεῶν ἔργα εἶναι μηδὲ τῆς τύχης | ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιμεληθέντων || ἀνάγκη δὴ λέγειν | ἢ γὰρ ἀναίσθητος ἢ καρτερώτατός ἐστιν | ὅστις ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἑαυτὸν ἔτι παρέξει τοῖς βουλομένοις | καὶ τῆς ἑτέρων ἐπιβουλῆς τε καὶ κακίας αὐτὸς ὑποσχήσει τὰς αἰτίας.* See also Blass *u. s.* iii B 331

Part of a fragment of a funeral oration preserved by one of the Scholiasts on Hermogenes (v 550 Walz) may be quoted as a similar specimen of the style of **Gorgias**: *μαρτυρίας δὲ τούτων τρόπαια ἐστήσαντο τῶν πολεμίων, Διὸς μὲν ἀγάλματα, τούτων δὲ ἀναθήματα, οὐκ ἄπειροι οὔτε ἐμφύτου Ἄρεος, οὔτε νομίμων ἐρώτων, οὔτε ἐνοπλίου ἔριδος, οὔτε φιλοκάλου εἰρήνης, σεμνοὶ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ δικαίῳ, ὅσιοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τοκέας τῇ θεραπείᾳ, δίκαιοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀστοὺς τῷ ἴσῳ, εὐσεβεῖς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τῇ πίστει. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος ἐν οὐκ ἀσωμάτοις* (al. *ἀθανάτοις*) *σώμασι ζῇ οὐ ζώντων.*

verba vinxisse. Cf. *vinciebant* and *colli-*

gentur in § 168; de Or. ii
oratio et plane, ut dicit
soluta, non ut fugiat tame
ut sine *vinculis* sibi i
Brut. 140 'in verbis com
vinciendis,' inf. 85 'un
devinciet.'

Thucydides. On his
Att. Ber., i pp. 201—22

praefractior, 'too abru
says of the *αὐστηρὰ ἁρμονία*
is a representative: *καθό*
ζεται τὸ ἐμπερίοδον...ἀπου
ἀφελῶς καὶ τὰ πλείω κ
σκευάσθαι βούλεται (de D
Comp. 22 ad fin. (of th
tences of Thuc.) *πολλὴ*
ἀσυμμετρία πρὸς ἄλληλα κ
ἀνωμαλία. For *praefract*
fragm. 28 'Aristo Chius
reus'. **nec satis.. rotun**
Thuc. orbem desidero.'
rendering of the Greek
στρογγύλος. Dion. Hal.
δοι) στρογγύλαι ὥσπερ ἐ
Fin. iv 7 'apte et rotun
'verborum apta et quas
structio'.

dilatare verbis, opp. t
nutis numeris' part. orat.
verbis dilatetur aut in ve
tur oratio'; Parad. prooem
tat argumentum, (sed) mi
tiunculis, quasi punctis,
efficit.'

mollioribus numeris e
tias, opp. to *praefractio*
Isocr. 13 *ὁ τῶν περιόδων ῥ*
διώκων τὸ γλαφυρόν. *ex*
off,' Acad. ii 22 'explere
ficere versus'; cf. Quint. i
sus non expleto numero c

in quo...doceret, de Or.
in iure civili'.

in dicendo, e.g. the orat
perides, Lycurgus. **in**
historians Theopompus an
the tragic poets Astydam

domus eius officina habita eloquentiae est; itaque ut ego, cum a nostro Catone laudabar, vel reprehendi me a ceteris facile patiebar, sic Isocrates videtur testimonio Platonis aliorum iudicia debere contemnere: est enim, ut scis, quasi in extrema pagina Phaedri his ipsis verbis loquens Socrates: 'adulescens etiam nunc, o Phaedre, Isocrates est; sed quid de illo augurer lubet dicere.' 'quid tandem?' inquit ille. 'maiore mihi ingenio videtur esse, quam ut cum orationibus Lysiae comparetur; praeterea ad virtutem maior indoles; ut minime mirum futurum sit, si, cum aetate processerit, aut in hoc orationum genere, cui nunc studet, tantum quantum pueris, reliquis praestet omnibus, qui umquam orationes attigerunt; aut, si contentus his non fuerit, divino aliquo animi motu maiora concupiscat; inest enim natura philosophia in huius viri mente quaedam.' haec de adulescente

3 *prae testimonio* coni. H (St). 6 *libet* K. 12 *unquam* O³H.

and Asclepiades. **officina.** Brut. 32. 'Isocrates, cuius domus cunctae Graeciae quasi ludus quidam patuit atque officina dicendi,' de Or. ii. 94 'Isocrates,...cuius e ludo tamquam ex equo Troiano meri principes exierunt.'

§ 41. **cum a Catone laudabar.** Ad Fam. xv 4 § 11 (in writing to Cato four years before') 'tu es enim is qui me tuis sententiis saepissime ornasti; qui oratione, qui praedicatione, qui summis laudibus in senatu, in contionibus ad caelum extulisti; cuius ego semper tanta esse verborum pondera putavi, ut uno verbo tuo, cum mea laude coniuncto, omnia assequi me arbitrarer.' Cicero (as is excellently observed by Jahn) is thinking chiefly of the eulogy pronounced by Cato on his suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy. In his own laudation of Cato he had doubtless referred to this, whereas Brutus in a similar work had given an inadequate and erroneous account of the debate. Cicero complains of this as follows: ad Att. xii 21 § 1 'illud turpiter ignorat (Brutus). Catonem primum sententiam putat de animadversione dixisse... me autem laudat quod retulerim, non quod patefecerim...quae omnia quia Cato laudibus extulerat in caelum perscribendaque censuerat, idcirco in eius sententiam est facta discessio.'

quasi = *fere*, as often with numbers.

est...loquens, is introduced, represented, as speaking.

Phaedri, p. 279 A; ΣΩ. *Νέος ἔτι, ὦ Φαῖδρε, Ἰσοκράτης· ὃ μέντοι μαντεύομαι κατ' αὐτοῦ, λέγειν ἐθέλω.* ΦΑΙ. *Τὸ ποῖον δή;* ΣΩ. *Δοκεῖ μοι ἀμείνων ἢ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ Λυσίαν εἶναι λόγους τὰ τῆς φύσεως, ἔτι τε ἤθει γεννικωτέρῳ κεκρᾶσθαι· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο θαυμαστὸν προϊούσης τῆς ἡλικίας εἰ περὶ αὐτούς τε τοὺς λόγους, οἷς νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖ, πλέον ἢ παίδων διενέγκοι τῶν πώποτε ἁψαμένων λόγων, εἴτε* [vulg. *ἔτι τε*] *εἰ αὐτῷ μὴ ἀποχρήσαι ταῦτα, ἐπὶ μείζω* [*δέ*] *τις αὐτὸν ἄγοι ὁρμὴ θειοτέρα. φύσει γάρ, ὦ φίλε, ἔνεστί τις φιλοσοφία τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίᾳ.*

Cicero's rendering supports *εἴτε* (the reading of the Bodleian and first Vatican MSS) as against *ἔτι τε*, and suggests the omission of *δέ*, as is pointed out in Thompson's note. 'Two courses were before Isocrates: that of persevering in his present employment, in which case Socrates augurs that he will throw all other logographers into the shade; secondly that of abandoning the rhetorical and adopting the philosophic profession. Isocrates, as we know, chose the former alternative.'

quam ut sc. eius orationes **cum orationibus Lysiae** compararentur. For the *comparatio compendiaria*, cf. 66, 68 and de Or. i 6, 23, 197, ii 4: Madvig § 280, *obs* 2. Its use here enables Cicero in his translation to match the brevity of the original.

§ 42. **de adulescente.** Isocr. was born in 436; Plato in 429 or 427. On Plato's first acquaintance with Socrates in 409 or 407, Plato was 20 and Isocrates about 26. The dramatic date of the Phaedrus is uncertain, but the obvious

Socrates auguratur. at ea de seniore scribit Plato et scribit aequalis et quidem exagitator omnium rhetorum hunc miratur unum: me autem, qui Isocratem non diligunt, una cum Socrate et cum Platone errare patiantur. dulce igitur orationis genus et 5 solutum et adfluens, sententiis argutum, verbis sonans est in illo epidictico genere, quod diximus proprium sophistarum, pompae quam pugnae aptius, gymnasiis et palaestrae dicatum, spretum

1 *auguratus POM; auguratust* Stangl. 3 *Isocraten* II cum *F.* 5 *effluens* cum codd. plerisque M; *affluens* cum cod. Gu² J, (*adfluens* V): *fluens* coni. Orelli, 'quod aliquanto confidentius commendare oportebat Orellium' (Bake), Peter-Weller, KH et st.

limits between which it falls are 409 and the death of Socr. in 399. **de seniore scribit**, as remarked by Thompson, compels us 'to infer that Cicero conceived the Phaedrus to have been written when Isocrates had reached at least his full maturity, in other words, long after the time at which the conversation between Socrates and Phaedrus is feigned to have taken place. Plato himself was but six years the junior of Isocrates and therefore could not have been a young man at the time when Isocrates would be justly described as *senior*, a term which a Roman would not have applied to any one much under fifty years of age' (Introd. p. xxiv). This consideration, so far as it goes, is in favour of the assigning of a late date to the Phaedrus (cf. 151). **exagitator** 12.

cum Platone errare. Tusc. Disp. i 39 'errare me malo cum Platone...quam cum istis vera sentire'; Balb. 64 'videte ne utilius vobis et honestius sit, illis ducibus errare quam hoc magistro erudiri'.

dulce igitur resumes the general argument from the end of § 39 or perhaps the latter part of § 37. As opposites to **dulce et solutum** we have (in inverse order of epithets) 'contorta et acris oratio' 66. For **dulce** cf. 'ad voluptatem aurium' in § 37 fin.; for **solutum** 64, 67, de Or. iii 173, 184; its opposite is *vinctum*. The epideictic style, although to a certain extent *vinctum numeris*, yet owing to its preference for the *molliores numeri* is comparatively speaking *solutum*, Brut. 32 (Isocr.) 'primus intellexit etiam in *soluta* oratione, dum versum effugeres, modum tamen et numerum quendam oportere servari'.

adfluens, 79, 'suave et adfluens;' 'rich, full, redundant,' nearly = *abundans*, which however is a less elevated term. Tennyson in the Princess p. 105, ed. 1870, has 'an affluent orator.'

argutum, 'clearly cut', 'sharply defined', 38. *sententiis* is contrasted with ... the epideictic style is 'full of ... sharp, conceits (of thought), and ... sound)'. **sophistarum** 37.

...**ae.** The unpractical oratory of ...deictic class as compared with that ...ic life is often likened to a festal ... or preliminary procession, as ...ed with the actual ἀγών, or to ...d parade as opposed to the lines of ...tle (*acies*). de Or. ii 94 (of the pupils of Isocrates) 'eorum partim in *pompa*, partim in *acie* illustres esse voluerunt;' ib. 294 'adhibere quandam in dicendo speciem atque pompam et pugnae similem fugam', iii 177 'ad scaenam pompamque' opp. to 'usum cotidianum', Tusc. Disp. iv 48 'illa quidem ex rhetorum pompa'. The primary meaning of *pompa* is a 'procession' (de Off. i 36 § 131); hence (as it is well put by Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s.v.) 'quia illae *pompae* magnifice erant apparatae, propterea transfertur ad orationem generis demonstrativi, in qua omnibus ornamentis locus est, et quae inprimis ad ostentationem ingenii et eloquentiae pertinet, et orationi forensi opponitur.' Cf. Dion. Hal. Vet. Scr. Cens. v 2 (of Isocr.) πομπικός ἐστι...οὐ μὴν ἀγωνιστικός, de Dem. 32 (the *de Corona* differs from the *Menexenus*) ὅσῳ διαλλάττει πολεμιστήρια μὲν ὅπλα πομπευτηρίων...

gymnasiis et palaestrae. de Or. i 81 (of Greek philosophers) 'nitidum quoddam genus est verborum et laetum, et *palaestrae* magis et olei, quam huius civilis turbae ac fori;' Brut. 37 (Demetrius Phalereus) 'non tam armis instructus quam palaestrà.'

Strictly speaking, the γυμνάσιον is a school of athletic exercises in general, while the παλαίστρα is mainly reserved for training in wrestling; they are distinguished in [Plutarch's] Lives of the Ten Orat. p. 841 C, καὶ τὸ ἐν Λυκείῳ γυμνάσιον ἐποίησε καὶ ἐφύτευσε καὶ τὴν παλαίστραν ᾠκοδόμησε. 'Palaestra' may therefore be regarded as a narrower term than

et pulsum foro: sed quod educata huius nutrimentis eloquentia ipsa se postea colorat et roborat, non alienum fuit de oratoris quasi incunabulis dicere. verum haec ludorum atque pompae; nos autem iam in aciem dimicationemque veniamus.

Quoniam tria videnda sunt oratori, quid dicat et quo quidque loco et quo modo, dicendum omnino est quid sit optimum in singulis, sed aliquanto secus atque in tradenda arte dici solet.

1 *eloquentia est FPO*, *est* expunxit Poggius in cod. Laur. 50, 31. 4 *autem iam F* (edd.): *autem MPO*. *iam* Stangl qui in cod. Laudensi *autem* supra *iam* scriptum fuisse contendit. '*descendamus*' (ed Ven.[1], Ern., M) 'elegantius quam *veniamus* nescio cui visum est', O[2].

'gymnasium,' though Cicero does not apparently intend any contrast between them here, any more than in de Or. i 98 'magnam habebo, Crasse, huic *palaestrae* et Tusculano tuo gratiam et longe Academiae illi ac Lycio tuum hoc suburbanum *gymnasium* antepono.'—The combination of the pl. *gymnasiis* with the sing. *palaestrae* may be either ascribed to a love of variety, or it may be due to the plural of the former word lending itself more readily to the metaphorical use (cf. Parad. proem. 1 'quae vix in gymnasiis et otio Stoici probant'), whereas *palaestra* in its metaphorical applications is always used in the singular.

educata. De Or. ii 356 'haec ars tota dicendi...habet hanc vim non ut...ea quae sunt orta iam in nobis et procreata, *educet* atque confirmet'. 'educat nutrix,' says Varro, quoted by Nonius 447, 33. The distinction between *educere* (of bodily rearing) and *educare* (of mental training) is not always kept. In the text there would be obvious objections to *educta*, firstly, because it would = *educta ex*; and secondly, because it is often used as a military term and as such would be particularly inappropriate in the present context. For **nutrimentis** cf. *nutrix* in § 37.

colorat, 'until she herself gathers strength and colour,' the healthy sunburnt appearance acquired by exercise in the open air, de Or. ii 60 'cum in sole ambulem,...fieri natura tamen ut colorer.' Quint. viii pro § 19 'corpora sana et integri sanguinis et excitatione firmata ex iisdem his speciem accipiunt, ex quibus vires, namque et *colorata* (opp. to *fucata*) et astricta et lacertis expressa sunt.'

quasi incunabulis 'what we may call the *cradle* of the orator.' De Or. i 23 'repetam non ab incunabulis (the 'elements') nostrae veteris puerilisque doctrinae quendam ordinem praeceptorum.' Quint. i pro. § 6 'ab ipsis discendi velut

ludorum. de Or i 147 'qui ea quae agenda sunt in foro tamquam in acie, possunt etiam nunc exercitatione quasi ludicra praediscere ac meditari.' For the omission of the verb in short clauses, where there is an emphatic demonstrative, Reid compares N. D. i 25 and iii 80; de Div. ii 78.

aciem dimicationemque, 'the lines of battle and the thick of the fray'; de Or. i. 157 'educenda dictio est ex hac domestica exercitatione et umbratili medium in agmen, in pulverem, in clamorem, in castra atque in *aciem* forensem'; de Leg. III 6 § 14 (Demetrius Phal.) 'doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque non modo in solem atque pulverem sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque produxit.' According to Photius 'Kleochares or Philip compared the speeches of Demosthenes to *soldiers*, διὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν δύναμιν, those of Isokrates to *athletes*. τέρψιν γὰρ παρέχειν αὐτοὺς θεατρικήν' (Mayor on Quint. x 1 § 33).

§ 43. *At this point begins the portra[iture] of the perfect orator in the three rel[a]tions of* (i) inventio (§§ 44—49); (ii) co[l]locatio (§ 50); *and* (iii) actio (§§ 54—[60]) *and* elocutio (§§ 61—236).

quid dicat comes under the headin[g] *inventio* (εὕρεσις), **quo quidque loco** u[nder] *collocatio* or *dispositio* (τάξις), and **quo m[odo]** under *actio* or *pronuntiatio* (ὑπόκρ[ισις]) and *elocutio* (λέξις). Ar. Rhet. iii οὐ γὰρ ἀπόχρη τὸ ἔχειν ἃ δεῖ λέγειν ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα ὡς δεῖ εἰπεῖν. F[or] details on these and similar subdi[visions] of the subject may be found in [Volk]mann's *Rhet*. pp. 15—17.

in tradenda arte, i. e. in the sys[tematic] teaching of the art of rhetori[c] 'praecepta' of the de Inventione de Oratore and of the rhetorical c[atechism] called the partitiones oratoriae, laid aside in the *Orator*, where t[he] is criticism and not direct i[nstruction] *arte* is here equivalent to τ[έχνη]

nulla praecepta ponemus,—neque enim id suscepimus—sed excellentis eloquentiae speciem et formam adumbrabimus; nec quibus rebus ea paretur, exponemus, sed qualis nobis esse videatur. ac duo breviter prima; sunt enim non tam insignia 5 ad maximam laudem quam necessaria et tamen cum multis paene communia: nam et invenire et iudicare quid dicas, magna illa quidem sunt et tamquam animi instar in corpore, sed propria magis prudentiae quam eloquentiae. qua tamen in causa est vacua prudentia? noverit igitur hic quidem orator, quem sum- 10 mum esse volumus, argument[illegible] et rationum locos: nam

5 *et* †*tamen* H: *et eadem* P[2] et st e[illegible] coniectura. 7 *tanquam* H. 8 *qua—prudentia?* post Lambinum s[illegible] 'si quis legendum coniiciat, *quae tamen cassa est vacua prudentiā* lubens [illegible] Bake. *quae tamen incauta st, si vacua prudentiā* Madvig, adv. crit. iii 96 [illegible]tiam prudentia vacuam Cicero dicit incautam esse nec ea vitare posse qua[illegible]bsint'. quod mihi quidem propter tautologiam displicet; scribendum fort[illegible] *autem causa est vacua prudentiā?* idem conicit Stangl, nisi quod *tamen* [illegible]m nuper edidit *quae qua tamen in causa est vacua prudentia?* 9 *su*[illegible] ecl. Bake (K).

sense of a set of rules or technical for[illegible] lated system; cf. de Fin. iii 4 'i[illegible] rhetorum artes.' The words may a[illegible], however, be taken indefinitely: 'in teaching a system technically', 'in imparting technical instruction'.

esse videatur. Quint. x 2 § 18 'noveram quosdam, qui se pulchre expressisse genus illud caelestis in dicendo viri (*sc.* Cicero) sibi viderentur, si in clausula posuissent *esse videatur*.'

§ 44. **insignia ad—laudem**, 'specially marked out for the highest praise'. Ad Fam. iii 11 'nihil de *insignibus ad laudem* viris obscure nuntiari solet', de Fin. iii 28 'cui contingit ut iure laudetur, habet *insigne* quiddam ad decus et ad gloriam', de Leg. iii 19, de Am. 43: Liv. xxiv 49 § 8, i 47 § 12; Curtius iv 20 (4) § 19, ix 19 (5) 1.

et tamen, *inventio* and *collocatio*, though essential and indispensable in oratory, are nevertheless not confined to it, as they may almost be described as common to many people besides orators, e.g. philosophers, poets, mathematicians. *Elocutio* and *actio* on the other hand belong in a peculiar manner to the province of the orator; though even this is a statement that is open to some slight modification (Ar. Rhet. iii 1 § 6 τὸ τῆς λέξεως ἔχει τι μικρὸν ἀναγκαῖον ἐν πάσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ). On *et tamen*, 'apart from all that,' see Reid on De Sen. 16.

illa quidem, 13.

animi instar in corpore. Schol. on Hermogenes, *Rhet. Gr.* iv 33 Walz, οἱ παλαιοὶ ὥσπερ τι ζῷον τὸν λόγον ὑπέθεντο

[illegible]ματός τε συνεστηκότα καὶ ψυχῆς, [illegible] μὲν καλοῦντες τὰ ἐνθυμήματα καὶ [illegible]ναμιν τὴν διὰ τῶν κεφαλαίων συνισταμένην, σῶμα δὲ τὴν φράσιν καὶ τὸ ἔξωθεν κάλλος ὃ ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν αἱ ἰδέαι.

prudentiae, de Or. ii 120 'cum haec duo nobis quaerenda sint in causis, primum quid, deinde quomodo dicamus, alterum... prudentiae est paene mediocris quid dicendum sit videre; alterum est, in quo oratoris vis illa divina virtusque cernitur, ea quae dicenda sunt, ornate copiose varieque dicere'. Quint. viii pro § 14 'M. Tullius inventionem quidem ac dispositionem prudentis hominis putat, eloquentiam oratoris'.

vacua, 'idle,' 'unoccupied.' 'Is there any cause in which good sense stands idle,—does not come into play?' *vacuus* often of a person at leisure, *aures vacuae* of 'ears ready to listen,' *animus vacuus* of a mind unpreoccupied: as applied to *prudentia* it is perhaps unexampled. Jahn compares the use of *pecunia vacua* by the jurists for 'money lying idle.' Schenkl, rendering it 'useless', 'superfluous', quotes Gellius xi 15 § 6 'vacuane et inanis sit ista productio'; and Petronius 102 'sine causa spiritum tamquam rem vacuam impendere'.

argumentorum et rationum locos. Inf. 46, 118, 122. These *loci* (or τόποι) are the points wherein the proof lies. Topica § 7 (after translating τοπική by *inveniendi ars*), 'ut igitur earum rerum, quae absconditae sunt, demonstrato et notato loco, facilis inventio est; sic cum pervestigare argumentum aliquod volumus,

Quoniam quicquid est, quod in controversia aut in contentione versetur, in eo aut sitne aut quid sit aut quale sit quaeritur; sitne, signis; quid sit, definitionibus; quale sit, recti pravique partibus; quibus ut uti possit orator, non ille volgaris, sed hic excellens, a propriis personis et temporibus semper, si potest, 5 avocet controversiam; latius enim de genere quam de parte disceptare licet; ut, quod in universo sit probatum, id in parte sit probari necesse. haec igitur quaestio a propriis personis et tem-

1 *quoniam* om. edd. Ven.[1] Gryph.[2], secl. K. 4 *volgaris* OK: *vulg.* ceteri. 5 *si potest* secl. K. *si poterit avocabit* Bake coll. § 47; *si opus est av.* coni. Stangl.

[loc]os nosse debemus; sic enim appellatae ab Aristotele sunt eae quasi sedes, e quibus argumenta promuntur. itaque licet definire locum esse *argumenti sedem*; argumentum autem orationem quae rei dubiae faciat fidem. sed ex eis locis in quibus argumenta inclusa sunt, alii in eo ipso de quo agitur haerent, alii assumuntur extrinsecus' (cf. de Or. ii 163). In de Or. ii 147 the *loci* are compared to the 'haunts of game' and in 174 to 'veins or mines where metals may be looked for,' and in de Fin. iv 10 to stores or *thesauri* (cf. Quint. v 10 §§ 20—22). 'Aristotle himself, Rhet. II 26 § 1, describes τόπος as a head or genus under which many enthymemes or rhetorical arguments fall or are collected; τόπος, εἰς ὃ πολλὰ ἐνθυμήματα ἐμπίπτει'. See Cope's Introd. to Ar. Rhet. pp. 124—6.

§ 45. **controversia** refers mainly to forensic conflict, **contentione** to political debates; both however are comprehensive terms: in de Off. i 132 *contentio* embraces the *disceptationes* of *iudicia*, as well as the *contiones senatus*, &c.

sitne...quid sit...quale sit. De Or. i 139 'quicquid in controversiam veniat, in eo quaeri solere aut factumne sit aut, si est factum, quale sit aut etiam quo nomine vocetur aut quod nonnulli addunt, rectene factum esse videatur,' ii 104 'nihil est quod inter homines ambigatur, ...in quo non aut quid factum sit aut fiat futurumve sit quaeratur aut quale sit aut quid vocetur.'

These questions determine the point at issue, the *causa ambigendi*; the determination of this point is called the *constitutio causae*, 'prima conflictio causarum ex depulsione intentionis profecta' (de Inv. i 8 § 10). On the *constitutio causae*, or στάσις, see Volkmann, *Rhet.* § 4.

sitne, signis. The question of fact (*sitne*) comes under what is somewhat awkwardly called the *constitutio coniecturalis* 'quoniam coniecturis causa firmatur' (de Inv. i 8 § 10). *Signa* here includes 'indications' of every kind, on which rests the proof of a question of *fact*. Cicero here uses the term in a wider sense than the author of the rhet. ad Herennium (II 4 § 6), who has the following definition: 'signum est per quod ostenditur idonea perficiendi facultas esse quaesita; id dividitur in partes sex, locum tempus spatium occasionem, spem perficiendi, spem celandi.' He distinguishes from this, five other means of proof, among which may be mentioned what he calls *argumentum* 'positive evidence,' and *consecutio* 'evidence of subsequent conduct.' All these must be included in Cicero's *signa*. (On the *status coniecturalis* see Volkmann, § 5.) Similarly in the Rhetoric of Aristotle (i 2 and ii 25) σημεῖον is a generic term for 'proof', subdivided into two species τεκμήριον, 'incontrovertible proof', corresponding to *argumentum*, and σημεῖον in its narrower meaning, corresponding to the specific sense of *signum*.

quid sit, definitionibus. It was these definitions that gave the epithet *definitiva* to this particular kind of *constitutio*: de Inv. i. 8 § 10 'cum nominis (controversia est) quoniam vis vocabuli definienda verbis est, constitutio definitiva nominatur.' See Volkmann, § 6.

quale sit. De Inv. i 8 § 10 'cum vero qualis res sit quaeritur, quia et de vi et de genere negotii controversia est, constitutio generalis vocatur.' The plea in this case is *iure factum esse*. **recti pravique partibus**, are the different *subdivisions* (or degrees) of right and wrong, *partes* = 'species', de Or. i 189 'partes sunt quae generibus eis, ex quibus manant, subiciuntur.' On the *status qualitatis* see Volkmann § 7.

quibus (sc. *causarum constitutionibus*); we here have a slight *anakoluthia*; instead of having a proper apodosis beginning with *his* or some other demonstrative

poribus ad universi generis orationem traducta appellatur θέσις in hac Aristoteles adulescentis, non ad philosophorum morem tenuiter disserendi, sed ad copiam rhetorum in utramque partem ut ornatius et uberius dici posset, exercuit; idemque locos— 5 sic enim appellat—quasi argumentorum notas tradidit, unde

1 *rationem* Purgold obs. crit. p. 349 (K et st cum Nizolio). 2 *adulescentis* KH -es ceteri. 3 *in utramque partem* secl. Eussner (st). 4 *ut ornatius—dic possit* secl. K: *possit* cum codd. Peter-Weller, JP[1]; *posset* edd. Gryph.[3], Lambinus Ernesti, OMP[2]H (cf. C. F. W. Mueller in Philolog. xix 626); 'ut Aristotelis certum consilium, non huius effectus significetur' Orelli.

pronoun, we have a relative. The relative would have been correct, if *quoniam* had been omitted in the protasis.

§ 46. **quaestio...ad universi generis orationem traducta**, opp. to the *quaestio finita*. The rhetoricians distinguished between questions of the universal k… abstract questions, having no actu… specified relation to individual person… circumstances, and those of a spe… kind, concrete instances, involving ac… persons and circumstances. In the rh… torical system of Hermagoras, as stated in de Inv. I 6 § 8, an example of the former is termed *quaestio*, the latter *causa*. In the Topica Cic. calls the former *propositum*, § 79 'quaestionum duo sunt genera, alterum infinitum, alterum definitum. definitum est quod ὑπόθεσιν Graeci. nos causam; infinitum quod θέσιν illi appellant, nos propositum possumus nominare'; in the de Or. iii 109 he calls it (the θέσις) a 'quaestio infinita et quasi proposita consultatio', opp. to 'definita controversia', de Or. i. 138 (among the current precepts of rhetoric) 'omnem orationem aut de infinitae rei quaestione sine designatione personarum et temporum aut de re certis in personis ac temporibus locata.' In ib. ii §§ 132—3, Antonius insists that the rhetoricians are wrong in distinguishing thus between general propositions and particular instances, and points out that the true orator will rise from the special instance to the higher ground of the general principle. Cf. iii 120. This was one of Cicero's strong points: Brut. 322 'nemo (among the rest of the orators of Rome) qui dilatare posset atque a propria ac definita disputatione hominis ac temporis ad communem quaestionem universi generis orationem traducere.'

Aristoteles. 127, Quint. xii 2 § 25 'Peripatetici studio quoque se quodam oratorio iactant. nam *theses* dicere exercitationis gratia fere est ab iis institutum'. Diog. Laert. v 3, Ἀριστοτέλης πρὸς θέσιν συνεγύμναζε τοὺς μαθητάς, ἅμα καὶ ῥητο-

…ἐπασκῶν. Theon progymnasmata …l's Rhet. Gr. II p. 69, παραδείγ… …τῆς τῶν θέσεων γυμνασίας λαβεῖν …ρά τε Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου …γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῶν βιβλία θέσεων ἐπι…ενα.

…**iter disserendi**, contrasted with … and with *ornatius et uberius*. **co-** … Tusc. Disp. i 7 (after referring to … hanc enim perfectam philosophiam … iudicare, quae de maximis quaes… …s *copiose* posset ornateque dicere'.

… utramque partem. Tusc. Disp. ii 3 § 9 'mihi semper Peripateticorum Academiaeque consuetudo de omnibus rebus *in contrarias partes* disserendi non ob eam causam solum placuit quod aliter non posset, quid in una quaque re verisimile esset, inveniri: sed etiam, quod esset ea maxima *dicendi* exercitatio; qua princeps usus est Aristoteles'. De Or. iii 107 'ancipites disputationes, in quibus de universo genere in utramque partem disseri copiose licet, quae exercitatio nunc propria duarum philosophiarum (Academics and Peripatetics) putatur'.

'Diog. L. iv 28 says of Arcesilaus πρῶτος εἰς ἑκάτερον ἐπεχείρησε, but in ix 51 makes a similar statement about Protagoras; cf. Acad. i 46, ii 7; de Fato 1; N. D. ii 168; Fin. v 10; Numenius apud Euseb. Pr. Ev. xiv 7, 15 εἰς ἑκάτερα ἐπιχείρησις; Galen. Plac. iv § 365 ed. Müller' (Reid).

The manuscript reading *possit* is defended on the ground that the present tense gives a general and therefore permanently present definition of the *copia rhetorum*. The imperfect is grammatically, however, more regular after *exercuit*.

locos, τόπους, see passages quoted on § 44. **argumentorum notas**, de Or. ii 174 'ut si aurum cui, quod esset multifariam defossum, commonstrare vellem, satis esse deberet, si signa et notas ostenderem locorum, quibus cognitis ipse sibi foderet et id, quod vellet, parvo labore, nullo errore, inveniret: sic has ego argumentorum...notas...'.

omnis in utramque partem traheretur oratio. faciet igitur hic XV noster—non enim declamatorem aliquem de ludo aut rabulam de foro, sed doctissimum et perfectissimum quaerimus—ut, quoniam loci certi traduntur, percurrat omnis, utatur aptis, generatim dicat; ex quo emanant etiam, qui communes appellantur loci. 5

1 *faciet* Gulielmius apud Gruterum, Sauppe (KP²HST): *facile...quoniam...percurret...utetur...dicet* cum codd. Ern., MOJP¹. *ut, quoniam...percurrat...utatur...dicat* cum codd. KP²HST: (om. *ut*) *quoniam...percurret...utetur..dicet* OJP¹. 5 *ex quo—loci* secl. K. *emanant* vulgo: *emanent* H cum *FPO*.

§ 47. **faciet...ut.** 'Will take pains to'. § 131 'est faciendum ut'. The correction *faciet* (for *facile*) accounts for the subsequent *ut...percurrat*, the reading of the MSS.

declamatorem i.e. a mere declaimer ('spouter') from the rhetorician's school; de Or. iii 138 'hunc (Periclem) non declamator aliqui ad clepsydram latrare docuerat', pro Planc. 83 'non vobis videtur cum aliquo declamatore, non cum laboris et fori discipulo disputare?' For **de ludo** cf. de Or. ii 28 'hominem audietis de schola'.

rabulam 'brawler': de Or. i 202 'non enim causidicum nescio quem neque clamatorem aut rabulam hoc sermone nostro conquirimus'; Brut. 180 'omnium oratorum sive rabularum qui et plane indocti et inurbani aut rustici etiam fuerunt', ib. 226 'rabula sane probabilis'. Quint. xii 9 § 12 'a viro bono in rabulam latratoremque convertitur'. Festus s. v. *rava vox* 'ravam vocem significat raucam et parum liquidam, proxime canum latratum (cf. de Or. iii 138 quoted above): unde etiam causidicus pugnaciter loquens rabula appellabatur, ut apud Lucilium'.

loci certi. 'definite categories'. Since the categories enumerated in the current systems of rhetoric are clear and well defined, an orator will make a point of running rapidly over them and selecting those that are appropriate for his case. For these categories, see the sketch of the doctrine of 'Topics' (derived either from the case itself or from without) and the illustrations of that doctrine, given in de Or. ii 162—173.

percurrat. De Or. ii 140 'ita modicae et paucae sunt (generum universae quaestiones), ut eas omnes diligentes et memores et sobrii oratores *percursas* animo et prope dicam decantatas habere debeant'.

ex quo sc. *generatim dicendo.*

emanant, de Or. i 189 'partes sunt quae generibus eis ex quibus *manant* subiciuntur', and iii 166 'illud quod ex hoc genere profluit, non est in uno verbo translato' (Nägelsbach *Stil.* § 130. 1).

communes loci, 72, 95 and esp. 126: 'general arguments', topics for general argument; a sense in which the term 'common-places' was long used in the College exercises of our older English Universities.

De Inv. ii 48 f '..argumenta, quae *transferri in multas causas possunt*, locos communes nominamus...distinguitur autem oratio atque illustratur maxime raro inducendis locis communibus et aliquo loco iam certioribus illis argumentis confirmato...omnia autem ornamenta elocutionis, in quibus et suavitatis et gravitatis plurimum consistit, in communes locos conferuntur'. de Or. iii 106 'consequentur etiam illi loci, qui quamquam proprii causarum et inhaerentes in earum nervis esse debent, tamen quia *de universa re* tractari solent, communes a veteribus nominati sunt, quorum partim habent vitiorum et peccatorum acrem quandam cum amplificatione incusationem aut querelam...quibus uti confirmatis criminibus oportet ..; alii autem habent deprecationem aut miserationem; alii vero ancipites disputationes, in quibus de universo genere in utramque partem disseri copiose licet'.

The κοινοὶ τόποι of Aristotle Rhet. ii 18 §§ 3—5 and c. 19 are four in number, (i) topics of arguments from the possible or impossible, (ii) from the past or the future, (iii) from the greater or the less, (iv) from amplification or depreciation. The *communes loci* of the Latin rhetoricians are more comprehensive, and are capable of a more extensive application. They are illustrated by examples not only in the contexts of the passages already quoted but also in Auct. ad Herenn. ii §§ 5, 13, 14, 22, 24, 26, 48, 49. 'From these examples it seems that any subject or topic of a general character that is capable of being variously applied and constantly introduced on any appropriate occasion is a *locus communis*; any common current maxim or alternative

nec vero utetur imprudenter hac copia, sed omnia expendet e seliget, non enim semper nec in omnibus causis ex eisdem *loci eadem* argumentorum momenta sunt: iudicium igitur adhibebi nec inveniet solum quid dicat, sed etiam expendet; nihil enin 5 est feracius ingeniis, eis praesertim, quae disciplinis exculti sunt; sed ut segetes fecundae et uberes non solum fruges verum herbas etiam effundunt inimicissimas frugibus, sic inter dum ex illis locis aut levia quaedam aut causis aliena aut non utilia gignuntur; quorum ab oratoris iudicio delectus *nisi* adhi-

1 *sed omnia—seliget* secl. K. 2 ... *eadem* coni. r[1]; *ex iisdem eadem* Lambinus, Ernesti; *ex eisdem locis eadem* ... v. crit. iii 97 'argumenta, quae ex eisdem locis ducantur, non semper iden... habere dicit, sed modo gravioris modo levioris ponderis esse. oculus lib... *lem* et *eadem* aberravit.' 3 *momenta sumenda* Eussner (st). ... *is FPO*. 7 *etiam herbas* u... cum *O*: *herbas etiam FP*. 9 *quorum* ... *modo* secl. K. *quorum ab oratoris iudicio delectus magnus* nisi *adhibebitu*... apud Jahnium; *quorum* nisi *ab oratoris iudicio delectus magnus adhibe*... *n*); *delectus* nisi *adhibebitur* (om. *magnus*) r J. *oratoris F*: *actoris POM* (S... 209, de Or. iii 114).

proposition, such as *suspitionibus credi oportere non oportere, et contra suspitionibus credi oportere* [de Inv. ii 48], *testibus credi oportere et non oportere* [ib. 50]. Again *invidia, avaritia, testes inimici, potentes amici* (Quint. v 12 §§ 15, 16) may furnish *loci communes*; or they may be constructed *de virtute, de officio, de aequo et bono, de dignitate, utilitate, honore, ignominia*, and on other moral topics' (Cope's *Intr. to Ar. Rhet.* p. 130).

imprudenter, unintelligently, uncritically. **expendet.** For the whole passage, compare de Or. ii 308 'ut vero statuamus ea, quae probandi et docendi causa docendi sunt, quem ad modum componamus, id est vel maxime proprium oratoris *prudentiae*. multa enim occurrunt argumenta; multa, quae in dicendo profutura videantur; sed eorum partim ita *levia* sunt, ut contemnenda sint...equidem cum colligo argumenta causarum, non tam ea numerare soleo quam *expendere*'.

seliget *ex omnibus*.

momenta, emphatic; 'the stress of evidence', 'the weight of proof'. Piderit quotes de Rep. iii 12 'ut omnia *verborum momentis*, non *rerum ponderibus* examinet'; Acad. ii 124 'contrariarum rationum paria momenta' (ib. i 46), Mur. 3 'diligentissime perpendenti momenta officiorum omnium'. Nägelsbach *Stil.* § 117, 3 renders *argumentorum momenta* by *entscheidende Beweisgründe*, remarking that the participial epithet in his rendering is equivalent to the subst. followed by the gen.

The insertion, however, of *eadem* makes *it unnecessary* to throw such a strong em... n *momenta*.

4. **iudicium adhibebit.** Part. orat. 8 'omnibusne igitur ex istis locis argumenta sumemus? immo vero scrutabimur et quaeremus ex omnibus; sed *adhibebimus iudicium* ut *levia* semper eiciamus'.

ingeniis, equivalent, as often, to an abstract: 'ability'. Cf. Leg. i 46.

herbas, 'weeds'; Tac. dial. de or. 40 'indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas laetiores'. **effundunt**, 'bring forth in profusion' Brut. 36 'haec aetas effudit hanc (oratorum) copiam'. The *ingenium* is similarly compared to an *ager* in de Or. ii 131 'subacto mihi ingenio opus est, ut agro non semel arato, sed novato et iterato, quo meliores fetus possit et grandiores edere', and in Tac. dial. de or. § 6 'in ingenio quoque sicut in agro...gratiora quae sua sponte nascuntur'.

§ 49. **quorum** is constructed with the nearer subst. *delectus*, instead of being turned into *quibus* dependent on the remoter verb *adhibebitur*. **delectus...adhibebitur** de Or. iii 150 'in hoc verborum genere propriorum *delectus est habendus quidam* atque in aurium quodam iudicio ponderandus est'; de Fin. v 30 § 90 'quid enim interest, expetas an eligas? mihi quidem etiam lautius videtur quod eligitur, et ad quod *delectus adhibetur*;' de Off. i 15 § 49 'acceptorum autem beneficiorum sunt *delectus habendi*', ib. 41 § 149 '*habere delectum* civis et peregrini'. All the above passages as well as the general run of the context are in favour of the omission of the epithet *magnus* which the MSS insert after *delectus*. Piderit, accepting

bebitur, quonam modo ille in bonis haerebit et habitabit su aut molliet dura aut occultabit quae dilui non poterunt atq omnino opprimet, si licebit, aut abducet animos aut aliud adfe quod oppositum probabilius sit quam illud quod obstabit.

Iam vero ea, quae invenerit, qua diligentia collocabit, q niam id secundum erat de tribus: vestibula nimirum hone

1 ut *suis* coni. P[1], in *suis* H cum cod. Vat. 1709 manu 3. 3 *adferet* KP: ceteri. 5 *qua diligentia* secl. K. *conlocabit* KH.

Mommsen's *nisi* and omitting *magnus*, accounts for the insertion of the latter by suggesting that NIS or NVS was written by mistake for NISI, and was afterwards mistaken for the termination of an adjective; a later copyist would supply such an adj. by writing *magnus*. In favour of the retention of *magnus*, Heerdegen quotes de Rep. i 53 'est in ipsis *magnus* delectus hominum et dignitatum'.

Many of the older edd. put a full stop after *adhibebitur*, and begin a fresh sentence with *Alioqui quonam modo;* but *alioqui* is not in the MSS. and is never used by Cicero, except perhaps in de Leg. ii 62 'minima olim istius fuit cupiditas; *alioqui* multa extarent exempla maiorum'.

in bonis haerebit et habitabit suis § 37. de Or. ii 292 (Antonius). 'mea autem ratio haec esse in dicendo solet, ut *boni* quod habeat (causa), id amplectar, exornem, exaggerem, ibi commorer, ibi *habitem*, ibi *haeream*;' ib. 160 'illi qui hoc solum colendum ducebant, *habitarunt* in hac una ratione tractanda', iii 31 (Cotta) '*haeret* in causa semper', and ib. 32 (Ant.) 'in una quaque re commorans'.

in bonis suis, 'in his strong points'. The position of *suis*, however, seems to make it specially emphatic. As Mr Nixon remarks, the sense runs thus: 'a fertile brain produces weeds, as well as grain,—unimportant or irrelevant or inexpedient matter. Now if *choice* is not exercised, how will our orator keep a firm footing on the *ground* that strictly belongs to him (and is not *aliena*).' *Bonis*, he suggests, here means 'property', as in Fam. xiii 30 'est hodie in bonis', and in the Jurists.

atque, 'and even', 'and indeed', couples *opprimet* with *occultabit*. For this common use of *atque* introducing a climax cf. § 52 'difficilem...atque omnium difficillimam.'

quod oppositum, i.e. 'which, if taken up and met, may be more easily made good than the point which he foresees will *stand in his way*'. *oppositum* might also mean 'started in opposition', which case the method here commen would correspond to what is proverbi known as 'setting up a man of stra But, as suggested by Dr Reid, it se hardly likely that Cic. here intends orator to set up a quasi-hostile sup sition in order to demolish it; the nat thing to do is for him to pit against hostile supposition another that will fav his case and explain the facts. The indic. *obstabit* is unnecessarily suspe by Ernesti, who prefers *obstet* or *obsta* but it is equivalent to *obstare reperi* and the future is used (as in §§ 122 *sun tur*, 192 *audient*, 200 *dicent*), to indi that the prescribed line of action re to conditions that are still in prospect

§ 50. *The orator in relation to arrangement of the several parts of speech*, the 'collocatio' or 'distrib (= τάξις).

collocabit, de Or. ii 307 'rede ordinem collocationemque rerum corum', and §§ 307—314.

vestibula, de Or. ii 320 'sed o ut aedibus ac templis vestibula et sic causis principia pro portione praeponere.' The words just quo cited from memory by the rhe Julius Victor c. xv p. 82 Mai (= p Halm's *Rhetores Latini Minores*) the form in which he gives th transcribed in Meyer's *apparatu* and thence copied by Goeller, any mention of the fact that t from Cicero himself. *vestibul* nected with the same Sanskri 'to dwell' which appears in primarily an entrance-court, a space between the entrance and the street, pro Caec. 35 modo limine tectoque aedium primo aditu vestibuloque pr A different view of the etym word is given by Curtius See further in Marquardt *Da der Römer* i pp. 219—223.

honesta, 'handsome'.

aditusque ad causam faciet illustris; cumque animos
adgressione occupaverit, *confirmabit sua*, infirmabit excl
contraria; de firmissimis alia prima ponet, alia postrema
bitque leviora.

1 *inlustris* K: *illustres*, cet. 2 *infirmabit*: rem narrabit (*vel* exp
confirmabit, tum *infirmabit* coni. K; et perspicue breviterque narraverit,
firmabit, *inf.* Sauppe (coni. Tull. p. 5); sua confirmabit, *inf.* r[1]; confirmabi
Halmius in r[2]; aliquid deesse indicat H. *excludet*: *eludet* Bake. 3
fortasse 'alia postrema inculcabit, locabitque in medio leviora'. 4 P
nonnihil de peroratione excidisse putat Sauppe l.c. (K).

of the *exordium* of a speech to the
of a building, reminds us of
of the elaborate *prooemium*
sixth Olympic ode: χρυσέας
εὐτειχεῖ θαλάμου κίονας, ὡς
μέγαρον πάξομεν· ἀρχομένου
πρόσωπον χρὴ θέμεν τηλαυγές.

cumque...occupaverit. De Or
(of the *exordium*) 'prima est qu
nitio et commendatio orationis in pr
quaeque continuo eum qui audi... per-
mulcere atque allicere debet.' ib. 200 (on
Antonius' speech in defence of Norbanus)
'ubi sensi me in possessionem iudicii ac
defensionis meae constitisse', etc. For
the topics of the προοίμιον, see Ar. Rhet.
iii 14, Rhet. ad Alex. 29, ad Herenn. i 4
§ 6, Quint. iv 1; Volkmann's *Rhet.* § 12.

After the *exordium* come the *narratio*
and *confirmatio*, and the absence of any
reference to these has led to the suspicion
that several clauses have fallen out of the
text. Cicero's present treatment of *collocatio*
(as well as of *inventio*) is obviously
very brief, and of this he is himself
thoroughly conscious; he says that he
has treated the first two portions of the
subject *summatim breviterque*; and, although
such a treatment is consistent
with a certain degree of completeness, we
need not be surprised at finding the
narratio omitted as well as the *peroratio*.
It is no part of his present purpose to
enter fully on any *praecepta dicendi*. It is
extremely probable however that he *did*
refer very briefly to the *confirmatio* in
some such terms as *confirmabit sua*.
These words may easily have dropped out
before *infirmabit*, to which they supply the
proper antithesis; cf. 122 'sua confirmare,
adversaria evertere'; de Or. ii 331 'tum
suggerenda sunt firmamenta causae coniuncte
et infirmandis contrariis et tuis
confirmandis'; part. orat. 122 'in confirmandis...nostris
argumentationibus infirmandisque
contrariis'.

'However short and concise Cicero is,
he seldom fails to try and cram in all his
technicalities, however much
and so I take the *occupatio* a
the *narratio* or as correspond
insinuatio. It seems to be ex
de Inv. i 25 ff. There, in § 2
he has discussed *exordium* and
separately, and will now con
common features. After doin
discusses two kinds of *narra*
§ 27, which clearly covers ou
animorum; (2) in § 28, *narra*
or *expositio*. Nevertheless, *na*
have been omitted here, as
always necessary; cf. Volkma
109' (Nixon).

de firmissimis, de Or. ii 314 '
firmissimum quodque sit prim
...ea quae excellent serventu
orandum; si qua erunt me
mediam turbam atque in
coniciantur.' For the sense,
nus fragm. 4 in Spengel's *Rh.*
δεῖ μήτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσθενῶν ἀρχ
τελευτᾶν εἰς ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μιμεῖ
τοῖς πολέμοις τακτικὴν εἰς μέσ
πους λοχίζουσαν.

inculcabit, 'plant,' 'thrust
a strange way of expressing
conicict. The word strikes one
too strong for the sense require
be better suited to express 'l
arguments in,' 'driving them
'stamping in' with the heel
i 127. It would be more ap
applied to some of the 'arg
missima'; and it is actually
Quint. vi 4 § 5 'firmissim
memoriae iudicis inculcanda su
it may be suggested that Cicer
really written: 'alia postrem
locabitque in medio leviora'.

On the other hand, Dr F
out that 'the weaker argume
those which would need to be
smuggled in, so as not to hav
attention drawn to them. Th
culcare need mean no more th
§§ 189, 230, and the curious

Atque in primis duabus dicendi partibus qualis esset summatim breviterque descripsimus: sed, ut ante dictum est, in his **XVI** partibus, etsi graves atque magnae sunt, minus et artis est et laboris; cum autem et quid et quo loco dicat invenerit, illud est longe maximum, videre quonam modo; scitum est enim, quod 5 Carneades noster dicere solebat, Clitomachum eadem dicere, Charmadam autem eodem etiam modo dicere. quodsi in philo-

4 *et quid* codd. meliores (MOJH): *quid* KP. 6 *Carneades: Antiochus* nequiquam Bake coll. Fin. v §§ 16, 81. 7 *dicere* secl. Schuetz.

xvi 3 § 1, where '*σύνταγμα*...inculcatum' merely indicates a writing in which inter[illegible]cations have been made.'

esset...descripsimus, 'we have sketched what our orator *is*'; a good instance of the difference between our quasi-perfect sequence of tense; and the Latin quasi-aoristic (Nixon). Cf. §§ 1, 5.

§§ 51—236. *The investigation of the relations of the perfect orator to* actio (54—60) *and especially to* elocutio (62—236). *Owing to the variety of the elements entering into consideration, this is an extremely difficult task* (51—53).

§ 51. **ante**, § 44.

scitum est. a shrewd, clever saying. De Am. 90 'scitum est illud Catonis, ut multa', de Or. iii 228 'scitum est causam conferre in tempus'; pro Planc. 35 'si quid (dictum) est, quod mihi scitum esse videatur et homini ingenuo dignum atque docto, non aspernor.' *scitus* is never applied to *persons* in Cicero, though common in Plautus and Terence.

Carneades of Cyrene (born about 210, died 129) succeeded Hegesinus as leader of the Academic School of Philosophy and was founder of the Third or New Academy (Acad. i 46). He became known in Rome on the famous occasion of the embassy from Athens in 155, in which he was associated with the Stoic Diogenes, and the Peripatetic Critolaus (Tusc. Disp. iv 5, de Or. ii 155; Mommsen iii 429, Ihne book v, ch. 4, and M. C. Martha's essay in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* Sept. 1, 1878 quoted by Wilkins de Or. l. c.). De Or. i 45 'omnium in dicendo...acerrimum et copiosissimum'; ii 161 'vis illa incredibilis dicendi et varietas'; iii 68 'haec recentior Academia in qua exstitit divina quadam celeritate ingenii dicendique copia Carneades'; Diog. Laert. iv 9 § 62 *τοσοῦτον δὲ ἴσχυσεν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἀπολύσαντας ἐκ τῶν σχολῶν παρ' αὐτὸν ἰέναι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν. ἦν δὲ καὶ μεγαλοφωνότατος...καὶ ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεσι δύσμαχος*. See Zeller's *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics* p. 507 Engl. trans.

noster. Brutus, as well as Cicero, was an adherent of the Academic school. Brut. 120, 149 (vestra, Brute, vetus Academia), 332. 'Quum ad Brutum scribat, exspectabas eius Academici nomen, quem uterque audivisset et fuit is *Antiochus*: comp. Fin. v § 16 et 81' Bake; but the point of the saying would be spoilt by introducing the name of one who was not the master of Clitomachus and Charmadas.

Clitomachus, a native of Carthage whose original name was Asdrubas (= Hasdrubal). In the fortieth year of his age, he went to Athens and became the disciple of Carneades and his immediate successor in the chair of the New Academy. Acad. ii 16 'industriae plurimum in Clitomacho fuit; declarat multitudo librorum'. Zeller *u. s.* p. 532 f.

Charmadam, fl. about 110. He was conspicuous among the followers of Carneades for his eloquence and his powerful memory, de Or. i 84 'Charmadas vero multo uberius eisdem de rebus (in a discussion on the office of an orator) loquebatur, non quo aperiret sententiam suam', ii 360 (Charm. and Metrodorus) 'summos homines et divina prope memoria'.

The saying of Carneades implies that of his two pupils, Clitomachus and Charmadas, the former reproduced the matter and substance of his master's teaching, the latter the manner and form as well; and this difference corresponds to what we learn of the two elsewhere. Clitomachus, the foreigner who waited till he was forty before entering the school of Carneades, was naturally less likely to be faithful to the form and expression of his master, than Charmadas, who was remarkable for his eloquence and his powers of memory.

sophia tantum interest quem ad modum dicas, ubi res spectatur non verba penduntur, quid tandem in causis existimandum est quibus totis moderatur oratio? quod quidem ego, Brute, ex tuis litteris sentiebam, non te id sciscitari, qualem ego *in* inveniendo
5 et in collocando summum esse oratorem vellem, sed id mihi quaerere videbare, quod genus ipsius orationis optimum iudicarem: rem difficilem, di immortales, atque omnium difficillimam. nam cum est oratio mollis et tenera et ita flexibilis, ut sequatur quocumque torqueas, tum et naturae variae et voluntates multum
10 inter se distantia effecerunt genera dicendi: flumen aliis verborum volubilitasque cordi est, qui p[…]unt in orationis celeritate eloquentiam; distincta alios et interpuncta intervalla, morae respirationesque delectant. quid potest esse tam diversum? tamen est in utroque aliquid excellens. elaborant alii *in* lenitate
15 et aequabilitate et puro quasi quodam et candido genere dicendi;

4 *in* Poggius in cod. Laur. 50, 31: om. *FPO*. 5 *conlocando* KH. 7 *dii* H. 14 *in lenitate* vulg: *in* om. *FPO*.

tantum interest quem ad modum dicas. Ar. Rhet. iii 1 § 6 *τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς λέξεως ὅμως ἔχει τι μικρὸν ἀναγκαῖον ἐν πάσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ· διαφέρει γάρ τι πρὸς τὸ δηλῶσαι ὡδὶ ἢ ὡδὶ εἰπεῖν.*

quibus totis—'which are wholly swayed by oratorical expression.'

§ 52. **quod** refers to the general sense of the preceding context, and the special point of reference is more exactly defined by the subsequent clause: *non te id sciscitari*. De Fin. II 4 § 12 'quod nostri quidem vel optime disputant, nihil opus esse eum qui futurus sit philosophus scire litteras' (Jahn).

difficilem atque omnium difficillimam. De Leg. iii 32 'pauci atque admodum pauci' (cf. Reid on Acad. ii 127 exigua et minima).

tenera...flexibilis. De Or. iii 176 'nihil est enim tam *tenerum* neque tam *flexibile* neque quod tam facile *sequatur quocunque* ducas quam oratio', Brut. 274 (of M. Calidius) 'nihil tam *tenerum* quam illius comprehensio verborum, nihil tam *flexibile*...'

et naturae variae et voluntates, 'varieties of disposition and of taste', de Or. iii 25—36, Brut. 83 'cum sint in dicendo variae voluntates.'

§ 53. **flumen verborum**, 'volume'. De Or. ii 62 flumine orationis, 188 (of Crassus) 'flumen gravissimorum optimorumque *verborum*'; de Nat. D. ii 1 'flumine in*anium verborum*' inf. 228. Plin. Ep. i 16, 2 'impetu quodam et flumine pervehuntur'.

volubilitas, pro Planc 62 linguae volubilitas; pro Flacc. 48 'homo volubilis praecipiti quadam celeritate dicendi'; inf. 210 volubiliter. **celeritate**, de Or. i 127 'mobilitas linguae; celeritas verborum', ib. 90 eloquendi celeritatem.

distincta et interpuncta intervalla, 'clearly marked and pointed pauses', breaking the continuity of the *flumen verborum* into separate *κόμματα* and *κῶλα* (223). For *intervalla* (187, 222), cf. Quint. ix 4 § 108 where the terms *intervalla* and *interpuncta quaedam* are applied even to a momentary suspension of the voice between two successive words in the same clause. For *interpuncta* used as a participle, cf. de Or. iii 173 'interspirationis non defatigationis nostrae neque librariorum notis, sed verborum et sententiarum modo interpunctas clausulas in orationibus esse voluerunt' (sc. Isocr. Arist. &c.). It occurs as a subst. ib. 181 'clausulas atque interpuncta verborum animae conclusio atque angustiae spiritus attulerunt'.

puro...candido, 'what may be called a *pure* and *bright* kind of diction,' a metaphor from clean and white clothing; *pura* is an epithet of *vestis* in Verg. Aen. xii 169 (cf. *toga pura*); and of style in de Or. iii 29 'oratio Catuli sic pura est ut Latine loqui paene solus videatur,' Brut. 262 'pura et illustris brevitas,' ib. 261 'pura et incorrupta consuetudo dicendi,' Quint. xi 1 § 53

ecce aliqui duritatem et severitatem quandam *in* verbis et orationis quasi maestitiam secuntur; quodque paulo ante divisimus, ut alii graves, alii tenues, alii temperati vellent videri, quot orationum genera esse diximus, totidem oratorum reperiuntur. XV

54 Et quoniam coepi iam cumulatius hoc munus augere, quam 5 a te postulatum est,—tibi enim tantum de orationis genere quaerenti respondi etiam breviter de inveniendo et collocando—ne nunc quidem solum de orationis modo dicam, sed etiam de actionis: ita praetermissa pars nulla erit; quandoquidem de 10 memoria nihil est hoc loco dicendum, quae communis est multarum artium.

1 *in* Poggius u. s.: om. *FPO* (OK). 2 *maiestatem* conicit J. S. Reid coll. § 20 gravitate ac maiestate. *sequuntur* ceteri. 7 *coni.* KH.

'sermone puro atque dilucido.' (Elsewhere the metaphor is from the purity of a clear stream, as Brut. 274 'ita pura esset, ut nihil liquidius'.) Similarly *candida* is an epithet of *toga* and *vestis*, and is applied to style in Quint. x 1 § 121 'candidum et lene et speciosum dicendi genus', and to the author himself ib. § 113 'Messala nitidus et candidus', and § 73 'dulcis et candidus et fusus Herodotus'. The metaphor appears more clearly in Brut. 274 'recondita exquisitasque sententias mollis et pellucens vestiebat oratio'.

ecce, 30. maestitiam, 'a gloomy style'. Dr Reid suggests, with great probability, that *maestitiam* is a corruption of *maiestatem*, which suits *graves* very much better; cf. Lael. 96 'quanta *gravitas*...quanta in oratione *maiestas!*' The ordinary text makes gloom the sole aim of the grand style, whereas Dr Reid's proposal makes gloom the means to grandeur, as the orators who pursued that style deemed it to be.

quodque, 'and, according to the division we have recently given, to the effect that some aimed at being regarded as grand, others as plain, others as intermediate, the different kinds of orators are found to be just as many as the different kinds of oratorical style'.

quod divisimus = 'secundum illam quam proposuimus divisionem', or, more briefly, 'quod in divisione posuimus' (Curtius 4, 45 = 12, 3 'duo cornua diviserat peditum' = 'divisis peditibus duo cornua effecerat' Nägelsbach *Stil.* § 102): and in explanation of this is added the clause 'ut alii—videri'. The general sense of the first part of the sentence is then caught up again in the brief form 'quot orationum genera diximus', 'just as many as the kinds of oratory which we stated'; and then comes the apodosis—'totidem oratorum reperiuntur'.

In referring to the three styles of §§ 20, 21, Cicero here as before lapses into the concrete form of expression which is characteristic in Latin: he begins by writing of varieties of style, he goes on to refer to these varieties as exemplified by different types of orators; but to show that in the latter he is conscious all the while of the former, he sums up these three varieties of orators as three varieties of oratory, 'quot *orationum* genera'. If this explanation is considered inadequate, it may be observed that the sense is improved by transposing *orationum* and *oratorum*, and reading 'quot *oratorum* genera esse diximus, totidem *orationum* reperiuntur'. Cic. has said above (52) that Brutus wants to know *quod genus ipsius orationis optimum iudicarem*, and one of the reasons why the answer to this enquiry is so difficult is that there are so many various kinds of *oratio*. The transposition above suggested is, however, unnecessary.

§§ 54—60. *On Delivery.*

§ 54. **de orationis modo** = quo modo dicatur (55).

pars nulla. The art of rhetoric was commonly divided into five parts, *inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, pronuntiatio,* ad Herenn. i 2 § 3, de Inv. i 7 § 9. As the fifth part Quint. iii 3 § 1 mentions *pronuntiatio* sive *actio*, 'utroque enim modo dicitur.' The corresponding Gk. terms are εὕρεσις, τάξις, λέξις, μνήμη and ὑπόκρισις.

de memoria nihil. In de Or. ii 86 §§ 350—360 Antonius gives an outline of

...ndi tempus esset aut ...onum
gestu, cum quo iunctus ...
10 potest quantum intersit qu...

3 *quae constet* Ernesti. ... MOJH. 9 *vultus* MOJPH. 5 *A*...

the art of memory (cf. 1 5 § 18 'quid dic... de thesauro rerum omnium memoria', ... 142 memoria saepire). The same subj... had been treated with some elaborati... by the Auct. ad Herenn. iii 16 §§ 28—4... and it was afterwards similarly dealt wit... by Quint. xi 2 § 1—51. In all the above passages a good deal is said, and several sensible remarks are made, respecting various forms of *memoria technica*, especially those depending on local association. Philostratus goes to the opposite extreme of denying the existence of any 'art' of memory; vit. Soph. p. 523 τέχναι μνήμης οὔτε εἰσὶν οὔτ' ἂν γένοιντο, μνήμη μὲν γὰρ δίδωσι τέχνας, αὐτὴ δὲ ἀδίδακτος καὶ οὐδεμιᾷ τέχνῃ ἁλωτόν, ἔστι γὰρ πλεονέκτημα φύσεως ἢ τῆς ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς μοῖρα (quoted by Volkmann, *Rhet.* § 55 q.v.)

§ 55. **actio**, 'delivery' in its widest sense. The subject is only slightly referred to in Aristotle's Rhet. iii. 1 §§ 3—7, τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, of which he says οὔπω ἐπικεχείρηται. It was specially treated by his pupil Theophrastus. Cicero devotes to it the close of the de Oratore iii 56 §§ 213—228. Cf. Qui... 184; and see V...

:s actionis dignitate eloquentiae saepe fructum tulerunt et deformitate agendi multi infantes putati sunt, ut iam non ıusa Demosthenes tribuerit et primas et secundas et tertias i: si enim eloquentia nulla sine hac, haec autem sine ntia tanta est, certe plurimum in dicendo potest. volet 5 **ille, qui eloquentiae principatum petet, et contenta voce**

2 *iam*: *sane* coniecit Jahn.

infantes. 'Those who are no ', opp. to *diserti*. ıfter all; **primas,** 18. d. De Or. iii 56 § 213 'actio... lo una dominatur. sine hac summtor esse in numero nullo potest, s hac instructus summos saepe . huic primas dedisse Demodicitur, cum rogaretur quid in esset primum, huic secundas, huic Brut. 142 'Demosthenem ferunt quaesivisset, quid primum esset ıdo, actionem, quid secundum, idem tertium respondisse. nulla is penetrat in animos eosque ormat, flectit, talesque oratores cit, quales ipsi se videri volunt.' 3 § 6 (Demosthenes) 'interrogatus ationi palmam dedit' etc. Philocf. 16, 3 (Volkmann, p. 487); Vit. um. Dem.; Plutarch's Dem. viii; Schaefer Dem. 1 p. 298. The : is quoted in Bacon's Essay *Of e* with the following comment: ıge thing, that that Part of an , which is but superficiall, and ıe vertue of a Player; should be o high, above those other Noble f *Invention*, *Elocution*, and the ay almost alone, as if it were All But the Reason is plain. There umane Nature, generally, more Foole, then of the Wise; and those faculties, by which the part of Mens Mindes is taken, are ıtent.' It is, however, remarked ıdeacon Hare, who has several ı this topic in *Guesses at Truth* –400, ed. 1866, that Bacon's obare founded mainly on the misınding of what Demosthenes had . 400). 'Commonly indeed the egm has been understood ...as to Action, whereby it becomes a paradox. Even Landor has this version of it...Still this intion seems to have no better ıan the passages in which Cicero, lucing *to the anecdote of Demoıses the word Actio*...But I believe, the Latin *Actio*, in its rhetorical application, was never restricted within our narrow bounds: indeed we ourselves reject this restriction in the dramatic use of *acting* and *actor*. The vivid senses of the Romans felt that the more spiritual members of the body can act, as well as the grosser and more massive; and they who have lived in southern climes know that this attribute of savage life has not been extinguisht there by civilization. Indeed the context in the three passages of Cicero ought to have prevented the blunder: his principal agents are the voice and eyes...Even after the mistake had been made, it ought to have been corrected by the observation that Quintilian has substituted *Pronunciatio* for *Actio*' (p. 398).

eloquentia nulla sine hac. Dionys. Hal. de Dem. 53 ὑποκρίσεως...ἧς παρούσης μὲν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς γίνεται χώρα καὶ τότε (τόπος Sauppe), ἀπούσης δ' οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ὄφελος οὐδ' ἐκείνων οὐδεμιᾶς.

contenta voce, an elevated, vehement, intense tone of voice, inf. 85, de Or. iii 219 'aliud (vocis genus sibi sumat) vis, *contentum*, vehemens, imminens quadam incitatione gravitatis' ib. 212 (not of the voice, but of the use of the various *ornamenta dicendi*) *contentius* is contrasted (as here) with *summissius*; Tusc. Disp. ii 24 § 56 'qui volunt exclamare maius, num satis habent latera, fauces, linguam intendere, e quibus eici vocem et fundi videmus? toto corpore atque omnibus ungulis ut dicitur, *contentioni vocis* asserviunt. genu mehercule M. Antonium vidi, cum *contente* pro se ipse lege Varia diceret, terram tangere. ut enim ballistae lapidum et reliqua tormenta telorum eo graviores emissiones habent, quo sunt *contenta* atque adducta vehementius; sic vox, sic cursus, sic plaga hoc gravior, quo est missa *contentius*. cuius *contentionis* cum tanta vis sit, si gemitus in dolore ad confirmandum animum valebit, utemur. Auct. ad Herenn. iii § 23 'contentio est oratio acris et ad confirmandum et ad confutandum accommodata', where it is

atrociter dicere et summissa leniter et inclinata videri gravis
inflexa miserabilis; mira est enim quaedam natura vocis, cu
quidem e tribus omnino sonis, inflexo, acuto, gravi, tanta sit
II tam suavis varietas perfecta in cantibus. est autem etiam
s dicendo quidam cantus obscurior, non hic e Phrygia et Ca

2 *flexa* Schuetz. 3 *e* secl. K. 4 *in cantibus* secl. K.

contrasted with *sermo* on the one part (as in de Or. iii 177) and with *amplificatio* on the other. Seneca Controv. praef. i § 61 'nihil vocis causa facere; non illam per gradus paulatim ab imo ad summum perducere, non rursus a summa *contentione* paribus intervallis descendere.'

For the metaphor, cf. *intendens* and *remittens* in § 59, also the use of ἐντείνεσθαι and ἀνίεσθαι in Pl. Phaedo 98 Ar. Rhet. i 4 § 12 (with Cope's not and elsewhere.

atrociter, 'violently,' 'fiercely'; d Or. ii 200 'admiscere huic generi orationis vehementi atque *atroci* genus illud alterum ...lenitatis et mansuetudinis coepi'.

summissa leniter, 'gently, in a quiet, subdued tone'; 26 summissius, 72 summisse; de Or. iii 219 'aliud (vocis genus sibi sumat) voluptas, effusum, *lene*, tenerum, hilaratum ac *remissum*', Plin. Ep. III 13 'non affectanda sunt semper elata et excelsa. nam ut in pictura lumen non alia res magis quam umbra commendat, ita orationem tam *summittere*, quam attollere decet'; Quint. viii 3 § 21 'non augenda semper oratio sed *summittenda* nonnunquam est. vim rebus aliquando verborum ipsa humilitas affert.' In the last two passages, however, the reference is rather to *style* of speech than to tone of voice.

inclinata. He will make a point of shewing (giving the impression of) dignity by a *deep* voice; 27, Brut. 158 (of Crassus) 'non multa iactatio corporis, non inclinatio vocis'. **inflexa**, 'pathos by plaintive *modulation*,' de Or. ii 193 (histrio) 'inflexa ad miserabilem sonum voce...flens ac lugens dicere videbatur'; Seneca brev. vit. i 12, 4 'vocem cuius rectum cursum natura et optimum et simplicissimum fecit, *inflexu modulationis* inertissimae torquent. Quint. xi 3 § 64 'in...miseratione (vox) *flexa* et flebilis et consulto quasi obscurior.'

§ 57. **inflexo, acuto, gravi**, 'modulated, high, low,' or changing the order for convenience of rendering, 'high, low, and intermediate,' corresponding roughly to our 'treble, bass and tenor.' *inflexus sonus* here corresponds to *voce inflexa* above; *acutus* to *contenta*; and *gravis* to *summissa*
a.
r. i 251 (Graeci tragoedi voce
utissimo sono usque ad *gravi*
onum recipiunt', iii 216 'vo
dae sunt intentae, quae ad que
tum respondeant, *acuta grav*
la, magna parva; quas tam
nnes est suo quoque in gene
s.' The last word correspon
to *inflexus* in the present passag
dulated tone being that by whic
e passes from high to low an
a.
a difficult question to decide ho
'the charming varieties of musical soun
are all developed out of three *soni* th
form the natural characteristics of a *voic*
We must take the *soni*, Mr Nixon think
as meaning not 'quantity,' or 'quality' (*timbre*), nor as notes: but of *pitch*, an *mode of producing sound*. These may b classified, he remarks, as follows: (1) the head-note of men (= *tenor*), corresponding to the treble of boys; (2) the chest-note (= *bass* or *baritone*); (3) the *falsetto*, which we get in the whine of a child, and in a *contratenor*. The last would then correspond to *inflexus sonus*. This view seems preferable to the alternative offered by him, according to which Cic. means the treble (*acutus*), contratenor (*inflexus*), and bass *gravis*) of the different *voices*, not of the different 'modes' which the same voice (whether singer's or orator's) may use.

in cantibus, placed for emphasis at the end, in contrast to *etiam in dicendo* in the next sentence.

obscurior, 'a kind of tune half-audible,' less clearly and strongly marked than a tune in music. **non hic**, etc., i.e. 'not our modern epilogue of the Asiatic rhetoricians, which is nearly the same as the *canticum* in our plays.' Quint. xi 3 § 58 'nam Cicero illos ex Lycia (*sic*) et Caria rhetoras paene cantare in epilogis dixit. nos etiam cantandi severiorem paulo modum excessimus', and ib. 60, where Cicero's *cantus obscurior* is quoted, also ib. § 167 (quoted below). Ritschl compares this

rhetorum epilogus paene canticum, sed ille, quem significat Demosthenes et Aeschines, cum alter alteri obicit vocis flexiones; dicit plura etiam Demosthenes illumque saepe dicit voce dulci 58 et clara fuisse. in quo illud etiam notandum mihi videtur ad studium persequendae suavitatis in vocibus: ipsa enim natura, 5

1 post *rhetorum* addendum esse *quorum* suspicatus est Ernesti. *in epilogis* Jahn (P²St). 3 *dicit plura—fuisse* secl. Meyer ('vehementer suspicor omnia haec interpolata esse a sciolo quodam et semidocto. quis verbi causa *claram vocem* cuiquam obiiciat?' Bake), KJP²: pro genuinis habuerunt Orelli, Weller, P¹, nisi quod prius illud *dicit* auctore Ernestio seclusit Orelli (H). (Pro *dicit plura*) *Aeschini plorare* Madvig adv. crit. iii 97 coll. de Cor. 287 τῃ φωνῃ δακρύειν,—'priorem syllabam nominis *Aeschini* hausit terminatio vocis praecedentis *es*. deinde vix credo Ciceronem contra veritatem scripsisse, *saepe* a Demosthene Aeschinis vocem dulcem et claram commemoratam esse, sed sic potius: illumque *ipse* dicit.' *dicit plorare etiam D. istum quem semper ait voce—fuisse* Schenkl. prius illud *dicit* in *adicit* mutat L Polster.

kind of oratorical delivery to the modern *recitative* (*Opusc. Phil.* iii 24). Cf. inf. 184. **Phrygia**, 25, 27.

canticum, the lyrical portion of the Roman drama; in which the music was sung by the *cantor* to the accompaniment of the flute while the actor indicated by his gestures the purport of the words. Quint. i 8 §§ 1—2, (on the reading aloud of poetry), 'puer sciat...quid quoque *flexu*.. dicendum...sit autem in primis lectio virilis et cum suavitate quadam gravis, et non quidem prosae similis, quia et carmen est et se poetae canere testantur; non tamen in *canticum* dissoluta...de quo genere optime C. Caesarem praetextatum adhuc accepimus dixisse: *Si cantas, male cantas, si legis cantas*'; xi 3 § 13 'latus fatigatum deformi *cantico* reficere'.

Demosthenes. De Cor. § 259 ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικοῦτ' ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος. 280 καί μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, λόγων ἐπίδειξίν τινα καὶ φωνασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα...ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς. 291 ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων.

Aeschines. c. Ctesiph. § 209 περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρύων καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ, ποῖ καταφύγω; § 210 ὅλως δὲ τί τὰ δάκρυα; τίς ἡ κραυγή; τίς ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς;

flexiones. Quint. xi 3 § 167—8, 'iam cantici quiddam habent sensimque resupinantur: *saxa et solitudines voci respondent* (p. Arch. 19). tales sunt illae *inclinationes vocis* (Brut. 158) quas invicem Demosthenes atque Aeschines exprobrant, non ideo improbandae; cum enim uterque alteri obiciat, palam est utrumque fecisse; nam neque ille per *Marathonis* et *Plataearum et Salaminis* propugnatores *recto sono* (=*non inclinato*) iuravit (Dem. de Cor. § 208), nec ille Thebas *sermone* deflevit' (Aesch. in Ctes. § 133).

dicit plura—fuisse. This sentence is put into brackets by several editors as an interpolation due to some copyist whose marginal note has accidentally found its way into the text. Although not inappropriate to the general subject of this part of the treatise, namely the management of the voice in oratory, it is not directly connected with its immediate context. The repetition of *dicit* is perhaps inelegant but *locuntur* is repeated in § 63, and we have *dicentur...dicentur... dicantur* in § 127. It would be difficult to prove that the sentence could not possibly have been written *as a note* by Cicero himself. He was engaged about this time on his translation of the two speeches to which he has just referred; and he may well have jotted down a fresh illustration of his general subject without taking any special pains to work it into the context. **voce dulci et clara**; de Cor. § 313 λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτὴς ἄριστος, ib. § 259, de fals. leg. §§ 126, 199, 337. A. Schaefer, *Dem u. s. Zeit.* I 215, and Blass, *Att. Ber.* III B 222.

§ 58. **in quo** does not refer to any particular point in the last sentence or to the *vocis flexiones* of the last but one, but to the general sense of the preceding context as in §§ 3, 73, 104, 112, 151. It may be observed that if we retain the immediately preceding sentence, we obtain in *voci dulci* a phrase which serves as a point of transition from *vocis flexiones* in the previous, to *suavitatis* in the subsequent, sentence.

illud...enim. *enim* here introduces the clause which in English would be treated simply as in apposition to the preceding sentence. Cf. the usage of γὰρ inch

quasi modularetur hominum orationem, in omni verbo posu
acutam vocem nec una plus nec a postrema syllaba citra tertian
quo magis naturam ducem ad aurium voluptatem sequatur i
dustria. ac vocis bonitas quidem optanda est; non est enim i
5 nobis; sed tractatio atque usus in nobis. ergo ille princep
variabit et mutabit: omnis sonorum tum intendens tum remit
tens persequetur gradus; idemque motu sic utetur, nihil u

1 *hominum auribus* coni. r[1]. 3 *sequatur?* Stangl. 4 *quidem bonitas* Em (Stangl). 5 *princeps* secl. K. 6 *omnes* MOJP. 7 *nihil ut superit in gest* cum codd. MO, Goeller, Weller, r[2] (*supersit. in gestu* r[1]H): *nihil ut desit aut superi in gestu* Schuetz[2]; *nihil ut nec desit nec supersit* [*in gestu*] K; *in gestu* inclusera Bake ('quippe continetur iam motu'); [illegible] nec desit J: erit (*vel* sit) *statu* coniecit K.

tivum (Isocr. Paneg. § 87 note). See Madv. L. G. § 435 *obs* 4, De Fin. i 18 and iii 26, Opuscula ii 286, quoted by Bake who also refers to de Or. II 133 and remarks that in such cases something less than a full stop is required before the sentence containing *enim*.

modularetur hominum orationem. De Or. iii 185 'hominum auribus vocem natura modulatur ipsa', inf. 173, 177.

in omni verbo—tertiam. This passage has been much debated in discussions about the nature of the ancient accent. See Corssen, *Aussprache* ii[2] 798f. and A. J. Ellis, *Quant. Pron.* p. 79.

acutam vocem, an emphasised, accentuated sound. Quint. i 5 § 30 'in omni voce *acuta* intra numerum trium syllabarum continetur, sive hae sunt in verbo solae sive ultimae, et in his aut proxima extremae aut ab ea tertia...est autem in omni voce utique acuta sed numquam plus una nec unquam ultima ideoque in disyllabis prior'. Quintilian's *vox* is here equivalent to Cicero's *verbum*.

quo magis = *et eo magis* (not in its final use). 'And so, for this reason too, let nature's lead as to what will please the ear, be followed out by the efforts of art' (Nixon).

§ 59. **optanda.** De Or. ii 224 'quae (vox) primum est *optanda* nobis; deinde quaecunque erit, ea tuenda'. *optare* is 'to look forward to what can only happen by some extraordinary stroke of good fortune'; cf. ad Att. xi 19 § 1 'cogis me sperare quod optandum vix est,' ib. viii 15A § 1 (Balbus) 'magis opto quam spero,' (Reid on P. Balbo 9 and Acad. ii 121). Cf. Plut. Rep. 540 D εὐχαῖς ὅμοια λέγοντες, and Isocr. Phil. § 118 πράξεις δυνατὸν μὲν εὐχῇς δ' ὁμοίας. **in nobis** = ἐφ' ἡμῖν.

ille princeps, 99. **variabit,** de Or. iii 225 '*quid,* ad aures nostras et actionis suavitatem, quid est vicissitudine et *varietate et* commutatione aptius?' Part. orat. [illegible] *varietate vocis*'.

[illegible] **rum...gradus,** 'the whole range of [illegible] de Or. iii 227 'in omni voce... [illegible] iddam medium, sed suum cuique [illegible] hinc *gradatim* ascendere vocem [illegible] suave est...deinde est quiddam [illegible] *tionis* (cf. **intendens**) extremum, [illegible] tamen interius est, quam acutissi[illegible] clamor...est item contra quiddam in [illegible] *missione* (cf. **remittens**) gravissimum, quoque tamquam *sonorum gradibus* descenditur. haec varietas et hic per omnes sonos vocis cursus et se tuebitur et actioni adferet suavitatem'. The varying sounds of the voice, as it rises or falls, are here regarded as so many successive steps in a graduated scale.

idemque. *-que,* as in 120, marks the transition to another division of the subject, the second division of *actio,* namely *motus.* Madv. de Fin. iii 22 § 73. *idem* by itself would have simply drawn attention to the two excellences of good voice and good delivery being combined in the same person.

nihil ut supersit, without extravagance, or excess. de Or. II 108 (of definition) 'ut vis eius rei quam definias sic exprimatur ut neque absit quicquam nec *supersit*'. Bake quotes Aul. Gellius i 22 § 10 'superesse (περισσόν) Cicero dixit pro eo quod copia quidem et facultate ceteris anteiret, super modum tamen ut largius prolixiusque flueret, quam esset satis'.

More than one editor (Schütz, Kayser, Jahn) has wanted to introduce *desit* in antithesis to *supersit,* thereby introducing a warning against defect as well as excess of action. In defence of the text as it stands, it is perhaps sufficient to reply (i) that in every clause of the sub-

in gestu; status erectus et celsus; rarus incessus nec ita excursio moderata eaque rara; nulla mollitia cervicum, rgutiae digitorum, non ad numerum articulus cadens; nagis toto se ipse moderans et virili laterum flexione,

FPO et Quint.: *ipse se* Nonius. *flexione* codd. et Quint. xi 3 § 122:

ntext Cicero shows himself us to guard against excess of n defect; (ii) that in other ratory he expressly says that s gives more offence to the an the *parum* (§§ 73, 178); t, in writing for Romans who ly the same passion for vehe-culation which is a leading ic of the nations of southern had no necessity for warning st the mistake of deficiency which is commoner in the the Teutonic stock, to which who desire to add *desit* belong.
rectus, i.e. 'his attitude in ll be elevated (*celsus*) and up-int. xi 3 § 159 'status quidem etc.
cessus, i.e. 'he will pace up he platform but seldom, and to istance'. Quint. xi 3 § 126 etiam ambulatio quaedam modicas laudationum moras, Cicero rarum incessum neque probat. discursare vero... m; urbaneque Flavius Ver-rogavit de quodam...quot milia eclamasset'. Brut. 225 (Sex. n solutus et mollis in gestu, ut edam nasceretur, cui saltationi en esset'.
, 'starting forwards'. Quint. cursio opportuna brevis, mo-a'; ib. i 11 § 3 'plurimum or) a scaenico, nec vultu nec excursionibus nimius'; ii 2 unc proni atque succincti ad usulam non exsurgunt modo, n excurrunt'.
cervicum, 'languid, effeminate, the neck'. Quint. xi 3 § 82 ectam oportet esse, non rigidam n. *collum* diversa quidem sed nitate et contrahitur et tendi-pl. *cervices* is in ante-Augustan regular equivalent for *cervix*; is found in Ennius and Pa-ugh Quint. viii 3 § 35 (thinking ainly of the Roman orators writers) says: '*Cervicem* vide-sius primus dixisse, nam veteres appellant'. It includes the nape of the neck and is a wider term than *collum*.

The bending of the neck, as is well observed by Jahn, was regarded as a mark of a weak and effeminate enthusiasm like that of the Maenads and the priests of Cybele. Some examples of this attitude, taken from works of ancient art, may be seen in the illustrations to my ed. of the *Bacchae* of Eur. pp. xxxii, 58, 73.

argutiae digitorum, 'quick movements of the fingers'. de Or. iii 220 'manus autem minus *arguta*, digitis subsequens verba, non exprimens', Aul. Gellius i 5 (of Hortensius) 'manus inter agendum argutae admodum et gestuosae', Quint. (who quotes the whole of this passage *nullae—flexione* in xi 3 § 122, and himself gives the most elaborate directions on the management of the fingers) says, ib. 181, 'non comoedum esse sed oratorem volo. quare neque in gestu persequemur omnes *argutias*'. Crassus made very effective use of the index finger, according to Cic. de Or. ii 188 'tantus dolor oculis voltu gestu *digito* denique isto tuo significari solet'.

non ad numerum, etc. There must be 'no marking of time by the beat of the finger-joint'. Quint. xi 3 § 95 (of the index finger) 'idem summo *articulo* utrinque leviter apprehenso, duobus modice curvatis, minus tamen minimo, aptus ad disputandum est.'

trunco. The true orator will not allow himself any exaggerated action with his legs and arms, or nice postures of the fingers. No! Instead of this, he will control himself by the general pose of his whole body (*truncus* being the body apart from the limbs, like the *torso* of a statue), and by a manly expansion of the chest. Quint. xi 3 § 122 'latera cum gestu consentiant. facit enim aliquid et *totius corporis* motus, adeo ut Cicero plus illo agi quam manibus ipsis putet.'

se ipse moderans. In this somewhat loosely constructed enumeration of particulars we need not be surprised at finding the description pass from the thing to the person,—from the details of delivery to a description of the orator himself. The

brachii proiectione in contentionibus, contractione in voltus vero, qui secundum vocem plurimum potest, adferet tum dignitatem, tum venustatem! in quo cum ne quid ineptum aut voltuosum sit, tum oculorum est 5 magna moderatio; nam ut imago est animi voltus, s oculi; quorum et hilaritatis et vicissim tristitiae m ipsae, de quibus agetur, temperabunt.

XIX Sed iam illius perfecti oratoris et summae eloquenti exprimenda est; quem hoc uno excellere, [id est oratio 10 in eo latere indicat nomen ipsum. non enim inventor positor aut actor *qui* haec complexus est omnia, sed et (

2 *vultus* OJP, et H, idem infra *voltuosum* (cum *FPO*) et *voltus*. *adferet* KP cum codd. Eins. Vit.: *affert* Ernesti, Meyer, et H cum *FO*. *voltuosum sit* *FPO*: *sit aut vultuosum* Nonius (Stangl). 9 *id est* putidum emblema hinc tollendum est' Bake; secluserat Sch. (KJP): 11 qui *haec complexus est* Madvig (adv. crit. ii 189) et W. Frieder post *sed* maluit H. *haec complexus* Nixon; *haec—omnia* secl. Stangl.

editors quote as parallels Brut. 158 'vehemens oratio, multae...facetiae, idem et perornatus et brevis,' and 173 'summa libertas...satis creber.'

virili laterum flexione. De Or. iii 220 'laterum inflexione hac forti ac virili, non ab scaena et histrionibus, sed ab armis aut etiam a palaestra,' where Sorof, perhaps rightly, explains *laterum inflexio* by '*Bewegung des Oberkörpers*.'

brachii proiectione. De Or. iii 220 'brachium procerius proiectum quasi quoddam telum orationis.' Quint. xi 3 § 84 'brachii moderata proiectio'.

in contentionibus, 'in impassioned passages'; ad Herenn. iii 13 § 23 '*contentio* est oratio acris et ad confirmandum et ad confutandum adcommodata', contrasted with *sermo*, which is there defined as 'oratio *remissa* et finitima cotidianae locutioni'.

§ 60. **voltus,** etc. With the whole passage, cf. de Or. iii 221 'sed in ore sunt omnia. in eo autem ipso dominatus est oculorum...animi est enim omnis actio et imago animi vultus, indices oculi'. Quint. xi 3 § 72 'dominatur autem maxime vultus'....75 'sed in ipso vultu plurimum valent oculi, per quos maxime animus eminet, ut citra motum quoque et hilaritate enitescant et tristitiae quoddam nubilum ducant'.

ne quid ineptum. (29) 'no breach of good taste' - detrimental to the *dignitas* of the countenance; de Or. iii 222 'oculorum sit magna moderatio: nam oris non est nimium mutanda species, ne aut ad ineptias aut ad pravitatem aliquam de-

feramur'. **voltuosum,** 'affe ing', fatal to its *venustas*; Qui 'non immerito reprehendi tiatio et *vultuosa* et gesticula lesta et vocis mutationibu

imago, etc. de Or. iii 221 (qu **indices,** 'its tell-tales'.

§§ 61—236. Of ELOCUTIO *Of the style of the perfect ora guished from the philosophic*

§ 61. **illius perfecti,** 55; (3. **hoc uno** = *in eloquendo*, in emphatic words *oratoris* and **latere,** not, 'to be absolutely suppressed'; but, 'to be thr shade, put into the backgrou

The terms **inventor, com actor,** describe the speaker i *inventio* (44), *collocatio* (50) a respectively; but not one of the *whole* of the ground, by traversing the wide province c No account is here taken of w times regarded as one of the f of rhetoric, namely *memoria*, ing already remarked that specially characteristic of rhe *communis multarum artium* (

Mr Nixon, who prefers (after *complexus*) to insertin the drift of the passage to be 'That this *eloquentia* is the s lence of the orator, and th excellences are latent is sh *name;* for we find him called or *compositor* or *actor*, though braced all these functions, b *eloquens*.'

-eloquendo ῥήτωρ et Latine eloquens dictus est. ceterarum enim rerum, quae sunt in oratore, partem aliquam sibi quisque vindicat; dicendi autem, id est, eloquendi maxima vis soli huic conceditur.

62 Quamquam enim et philosophi quidam ornate locuti sunt, 5 siquidem et Theophrastus divinitate loquendi nomen invenit et Aristoteles Isocratem ipsum lacessivit et Xenophontis voce

6 a *divinitate*; *a* om. *FPO*, add. H (et Stangl) cum cod. Laur. 50, 18 manu 2. 7 *Isocraten* H.

ῥήτωρ. 'The Greeks had a word which presented the man of eloquence, not like the English word, as a man of genius, nor like the Roman word, as an official person, but simply as a speaker, ῥήτωρ... In the Greek view, a man that speaks may, without necessarily having first-rate natural gifts for eloquence, or being invested with office, yet deserve to be distinguished from his fellows by the name of a *speaker*. It attests the conception that speaking is potentially an *art*, and that one who speaks may, in speaking, be an *artist*'. Jebb's Attic Orators i p. lxx.

ceterarum rerum, e.g. knowledge of law, philosophy, history (115—120).—For the general sense cf. de Or. ii 38 'omnes artes aliae sine eloquentia suum munus praestare possunt, orator sine ea nomen obtinere suum non potest,' and ib. 49.

§ 62. **et philosophi**—Cicero apparently began by thinking of *et philosophi* with the intention of following it up immediately with *et sophistae* (65) and *et historia* (66), and abandoned this intention owing to his desire to expand each of these several headings. The first *et* may most conveniently be rendered 'not only'. This view is supported by Jahn and Matthiae de anacoluthis ap. Cic. pp. 4—7, quoted by Goeller.

'Anacoluthon, in cases where, for the second *et* in *et...et*, some other construction is substituted, is distinctively Ciceronian (Madv. Fin. Exc. I). As to the other alternative, that of taking *et* as equivalent to *etiam*, the number of examples of this in Cic. is being continually diminished, as texts improve' (Reid).

Theophrastus. Diog. Laert. v 38 τοῦτον Τύρταμον λεγόμενον Θεόφραστον διὰ τὸ τῆς φράσεως θεσπέσιον Ἀριστοτέλης μετωνόμασεν. Quint. x 1 § 83 'in Theophrasto tam est loquendi nitor ille divinus, ut ex eo nomen quoque traxisse dicatur'. In de Or. i 49, *Aristotle, Theophrastus* and Carneades are called 'eloquentes et iudicendo suaves atque ornati.' Cf. Acad. i 33 'Theophrastus...oratione suavis', where Reid quotes Seneca N. Q. vi 13 § 1 'Theophrastum non ut Graecis visum est divini, tamen et dulcis eloquii virum et nitidi sine labore'.

Aristoteles. De Or. iii 141 'itaque ipse *Aristoteles* cum florere *Isocratem* nobilitate discipulorum videret, quod ille suas disputationes a causis forensibus et civilibus ad inanem sermonis elegantiam transtulisset, mutavit repente totam formam prope disciplinae suae versumque quendam Philoctetae paulo secus dixit: ille enim *turpe* sibi ait *esse tacere, cum barbaros*, hic autem *cum Isocratem pateretur dicere*'. Tusc. Disp. i 4 § 7, 'ut Aristoteles vir summo ingenio, scientia, copia, cum motus esset Isocratis rhetoris gloria, dicere etiam coepit adulescentes docere et prudentiam cum eloquentia iungere.' Quint. iii 1 § 14 'eoque (Isocr.) iam seniore...pomeridianis scholis Aristoteles praecipere artem oratoriam coepit, noto quidem illo (ut traditur) versu ex Philocteta usus: αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν, Ἰσοκράτην [instead of βαρβάρους] (δ') ἐᾶν λέγειν'. De Off. i 4 'quorum uterque (Arist. and Isocr.) suo studio delectatus, contempsit alterum'.

This rivalry between Isocrates and Aristotle must belong not to the *second* period of Aristotle's residence at Athens (B.C. 335—322) for Isocrates had then already died in 338; but to the *first* (367—347). It was during this earlier period that Aristotle must have been prompted to set up a rival school for the philosophic study of rhetoric, by 'the indignation which he felt at the undeserved popularity of Isocrates, whom he looked upon as the perverter and corruptor of the genuine study of rhetoric, as one who by confining himself to the least important branch, the epideictic, and teaching his pupils merely to turn

Musas quasi locutas ferunt et longe omnium, quicumq serunt aut locuti sunt, exstitit et gravitate et suavitate Plato, tamen horum oratio neque nervos neque acule rios ac forensis habet. locuntur cum doctis, quorum

2 *et suavitate et gravitate* codd. quidam deteriores (codd. Lambini e quintus Gruteri); *et gravitate et suavitate* Sauppe coni. Tull. p. 4 (KJF): codd. meliores *FPO*, [et] *gravitate* H qui *et suavitate* interpolatum e 4 *forensis* K: -*es* ceteri. *loquuntur* ceteri.

phrases and round periods instead of instructing them in the essentials of the art, exercised a malignant influence u— education in general' (Cope's Int Ar. Rhet. p. 40; cf. Stahr's *Ari* i 63—71, ii 185—8, *Ar. bei den Rön* 45; Spengel, *Artium Scriptores* pp. 1(Aristotle, in his *Rhetoric*, which was pub-lished after the death of Isocrates, is indebted to the latter for a larger number of instances of excellence of style than to any other author, quoting the *Panegyricus* alone ten times in a single chapter (iii 9 § 7).

For Cicero's appreciation of the style of Aristotle cf. Acad. ii 119 'flumen orationis aureum fundens Ar.', Topica 1 § 3 'dicendi incredibili quadam cum copia tum etiam suavitate', de Inv. ii § 6 (dicendi artium) 'inventoribus ipsis suavitate et brevitate dicendi praestitit', de Fin. i 5 § 14 'existimo te...minus ab (Epicuro) delectari, quod ista *Platonis*, *Aristotelis*, *Theophrasti* orationis ornamenta neglexerit'. Stahr at the time of writing his elaborate treatise *Aristoteles bei den Römern* in 1834 p. 46, was only able to mention a single modern critic who completely agreed with Cicero in praising the style of Aristotle, namely F. Schlegel, who in his *History of ancient and modern Literature* eulogizes it for its elegance (i p. 78), and for its precision and perspicuity (ii 201) [=i p. 49 and ii p. 313 of Bohn's English ed.]. We may now add Grote's Aristotle, i 43; and Hampden's *Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, p. 162 (quoted by Wilkins in de Or. i 11 § 49):—'The excellence of his style is, we believe, the last thing to attract the notice of his readers: and yet, as a specimen of pure Greek, it is found to stand almost unrivalled. The words are selected from the common idiom, but they are employed with the utmost propriety, and by their collocation are made further subservient to the perspicuity and force of his meaning.' Cf. Reid on Acad. ii 119.

lacessivit, 'challenged'.

Xenophontis. Diog. Laert. ii 57 ἐκα-λεῖτο δὲ καὶ 'Αττικὴ Μοῦσα γλ ἑρμηνείας. The present passage to by Quint. x 1 § 33 'quanq ore Musas esse locutas existi the phraseology cf. ib. § 99 ' *Musas* Aelii Stilonis sentent dicat sermone *locuturas* fuisse loqui vellent', and Plin. ep. (Voconius Romanus) 'epistul scribit, ut *Musas* ipsas Latine das' (cf. Hor. Ep. ii 1, 27).

gravitate...suavitate. A quent form of expression te the combination of dignity an style, 168, 182. For the *gravit* cf. de Or. i 47 (quoted belo *suavitas* de Div. i 'Platoni cu parvulo dormienti apes in lab dissent, responsum est singula *vitate* orationis fore: ita futura provisa in infante est'.

Plato. For similar encomiu style, cf. Brut. § 121 'quis en in dicendo Platone? Iovem philosophi, si Graece loquatur, l Cic. c. 24). quis Aristotele Theophrasto dulcior?' de Or. cipi longe omnium in dicendo et eloquentissimo'.

nervos, 91, de Or. iii 80 ' *forensibus nervis* satis vehemen nec sine varietate doctrinae s et sapiens esse orator potest', 'Fufius *nervos* in dicendo C. non adsequitur'. **aculeos**, de (the historical style) 'sine ha asperitate et sine sententiarum *aculeis* persequendum est'; pr 'noli hac nova lenitate abuti *aculeos* orationis meae, qui reco excussos arbitrari'.

§ 63. **locuntur.** The regula conversational *talk* (*sermo*) as with public speaking, which is by *dicere*, for which *loqui* is v used (de Or. i 48 and 227) inf. philosophic style is here dis from the oratorical as regard audience addressed, (2) its ol (3) its subject.

malunt quam incitare; sic de rebus placatis ac minime
itis, docendi causa, non capiendi locuntur, ut in eo ipso,
lectationem aliquam dicendo aucupentur, plus non nullis
necesse sit facere videantur. ergo ab hoc genere non
est hanc eloquentiam, de qua nunc agitur, secernere. 5
st enim oratio philosophorum et umbratilis nec sententiis
ois instructa popularibus nec vincta numeris, sed soluta
; nihil iratum habet, nihil invidum, nihil atrox, nihil
ile, nihil astutum; casta, verecunda, virgo incorrupta

de—loquuntur] M; *sic de—turbulentis* secl. K. *sic de* Poggius in cod. 31, retinet O; haec duo verba *sic* et *locuntur* om. cod. Gu[1] (Sch[2], JP). *fide e* scripsit H. 2 [*loquuntur*] post Schuetzium K, *loquuntur* O? et H. · *incitare* et *de*, *s'* (pro *scilicet*) ab interprete aliquo scriptum fuisse conicit : ab eodem supra *capiendi* additum *loquuntur*, coll. §§ 33, 219. *iuncta* codd.

...**non capiendi.** 'To instruct o captivate (or entrap)'. Brut. lus et in *capiendo* adversario verIere, as in the text, a notion of taches to the use of the verb; Lucr. i 941 'deceptaque non ('beguiled but not betrayed'). *r* points to this.

ntur, 'aim at'; a favourite of Cicero's, from fowling, which to be rendered by a metaphor ting; 197, delectationis aucu-Or. ii 30 (of rhetoric) 'quae hominum et saepe errores au-sets traps for).

ollis...et umbratilis, 'quiet and The shady retreat of the school is often elsewhere, contrasted burning sunlight of real life. 57 'educenda dictio est ex hac exercitatione et umbratili me-men, in pulverem, in clamorem, tque in aciem forensem'. Brut. reus...non tam armis institutus estra; itaque delectabat magis es quam inflammabat. proces- in solem et pulverem, non ut tabernaculo, sed ut e Theo-ctissimi hominis umbraculis. hic flexit orationem et eam *mollem* e reddidit'. De Leg. iii 6 § reus ille Demetrius...mirabiliter ex *umbraculis* eruditorum otio-nodo in solem atque pulverem, sum discrimen aciemque pro-Quint. i 2 § 18 'futurus orator axima celebritate et in media e luce vivendum est, assuescat nero non reformidare homines itaria et velut *umbratica* vita ', ib. x 5 § 17...'ne ab illa, in qua prope consenuerunt, *umbra* vera discrimina velut quendam solem reformident'; Tac. Ann. xiv 53 'studia in *umbra* educata', Juv. 7. 173 'ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab *umbra*'. Plat. Phaedrus 239 C οὐδ' ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρῷ τεθραμμένον ἀλλ' ὑπὸ συμμιγεῖ σκιᾷ (where Thompson observes that 'the mark of effeminacy among the Greeks is intolerance of heat, not, as in more northern climates, of cold'). Eur. Bacch. 456; Dion. Hal. de Dem. 32 (contrasting the *de Corona* of Dem. with the *Menexenus* of Plato) οὕτω διαφέρειν...ὅσῳ...ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ πόνοις τεθραμμένα σώματα τῶν σκιὰς καὶ ῥᾳστώνας διωκόντων.

popularibus = *civilibus* (30), 151, de Or. ii 159 'haec nostra oratio *multitudinis* est auribus accommodanda...ad ea probanda quae *populari* quadam trutina examinantur'.

vincta numeris, 40 verba vinxisse, 77 vinculis numerorum, de Or. iii 175 'orator sic illigat sententiam verbis, ut eam numero quodam complectatur et astricto et *soluto*. nam cum *vinxit* modis et forma, relaxat et liberat immutatione ordinis, ut verba neque adligata sint quasi certa aliqua lege versus neque ita *soluta*, ut vagentur', 184 'oratio...sic...soluta...ut sine vinculis sibi ipsa moderetur.'

soluta, 174 'verbis solutis numeros adiunxerit,' 183, Brut. 274 'nec vero haec *soluta* nec diffluentia, sed astricta numeris.' *solutus* and *liber* are often combined by Cic., e.g. Acad. ii 105.

virgo, 'pure and chaste as modest maidenhood'; cf. the elaborate comparison of 'eloquentia' to an heiress who has to be carefully protected by her guardians, in Brut. 330: 'quoniam post Hortensii...

quodam modo. itaque sermo potius quam oratio dicitu
quam enim omnis locutio oratio est, tamen unius orato
hoc proprio signata nomine est.

Sophistarum, de quibus supra dixi, magis distingue
5 litudo videtur, qui omnes eosdem volunt flores, quo
orator in causis, persequi; sed hoc differunt, quod, cu
propositum non perturbare animos, sed placare potius
persuadere quam delectare, et apertius id faciunt qua
crebrius, concinnas magis sententias exquirunt quam p
10 a re saepe discedunt, intexunt fabulas, verba altius tr
eaque ita disponunt, ut pictores varietatem colorum, par

5 *qui orationis eosdem volunt lepores* ll. § 96 Bake. 6 *iis* MOH.
bilis K: *-es* ceteri. 10 *altius* Beier oll. § 82 (OJrst): *apertius* cum
'quod ortum est ex superiore *apertius* ne tolerari potest' O[3].

mortem orbae eloquentiae quasi tutores relicti sumus, domi teneamus eam saeptam liberali custodia, et hos ignotos atque impudentes procos repudiemus tueamurque ut adultam *virginem caste* et ab amatorum impetu quantum possumus prohibeamus'. Tac. dial. de Or. 25 'eloquentiae...nascenti adhuc nec satis adultae'.

Dion. Hal. de comp. verb. 23 describes the words used in the γλαφυρὰ καὶ ἀνθηρὰ σύνθεσις of writers like Isocr. as εὔφωνα... καὶ λεῖα καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ παρθενωπά.

sermo. The dialogues of Plato are called *sermones* in 151, and the word is applied to the language of every-day life in §§ 67, 184 and de Or. i 12; it is contrasted with *contentio* in de Or. iii §§ 177. 203, and de Off. ii 48, and (as contrasted with *contentio* and *amplificatio*) is defined by the Auct. ad Herenn. 23 as 'oratio remissa et finitima cotidianae locutioni'.

signata, 'it is the orator alone, whose speaking is *stamped* by this special name'. In this sense the word is frequently found in Quint. e. g. xii 10 § 16 'ea quae *proprie signari* poterant, circuitu coeperint enuntiare': Cicero himself usually prefers the weaker form of the same metaphor, *significare* or *designare.* ἐπισφραγίζεσθαι (med.) is used in the same sense in Plat. Phaedo p. 75 D.

§ 65. *The style of the perfect orator distinguished from the Sophistic style where the sole purpose is display.*

§ 65. **supra** 37. **magis,** because it is an instance of what Cic. elsewhere calls a *difficilis ad distinguendum similitudo* (de Or. ii 212).

omnes may be taken either with *qui* or with *eosdem;* probably the latter, cf. 96.

This is also supported by per
is constantly used of a persev
which traverses *all* the gro
bach *Stil.* § 108); in Pison. 5
solitudines *persequeris*,' ad F
'*omnes* vias *persequar*.'

flores. See note on *florenti*
and cf. the instances of the
ἄνθος and ἀνθίζειν quoted in
nimium depicta (39).

apertius, 'more palpably,
sively', 38, 230. **concinnas,** 38
de Or. ii 153 'iucundiorem
rem oratorem fore qui pr
minimam artificii...significati

a re discedunt, Ar. Rhet
ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς δεῖ τὸν
σοδιοῦν ἐπαίνοις, οἷον Ἰσοκρά
γάρ τινα εἰσάγει (e.g. the
Timotheus in the *De perm*
Pythagoras and the Egyptia
also on poets in the *Busiris*).
de Isocr. 4 mentions among
which Isocr. appears superi
τὸ διαλαμβάνεσθαι τὴν ὁμοειδία
βολαῖς καὶ ξένοις ἐπεισοδίοις

intexunt fabulas. Thus i
of Isocr. § 28 we have a brie
the story of the wanderings
in the *Helen* a laudatory
Paris and Theseus, in the *P*
on Agamemnon.

altius transferunt, use m
are far-fetched.

varietatem colorum = co
ad Herenn. iv 11 § 16 'ex
rarae disponentur, distinctar
ribus...reddent orationem';
and 199; and ii 54 (as emen
neque distinxit historiam *vari*

adversa contrariis, saepissimeque similiter extrema

generi historia finitima est, in qua et narratur ornate et XX
pe aut pugna describitur; interponuntur etiam contiones
iones, sed in his tracta quaedam et fluens expetitur, non s
torta et acris oratio.
is non multo secus quam a poëtis haec eloquentia, quam
is, sevocanda est; nam etiam poëtae quaestionem attu-
uidnam esset illud, quo ipsi differrent ab oratoribus;

finiuntur Bake. 7 ante *ab* 'excidisse videtur *qua re*' K.

w) etc. **paria paribus**, 38
iunt = *finiunt*, 175 similiter
Verr. iv 52 § 115 'ut aliquando
generis orationem concludam
am.'
*e style of the perfect orator dis-
om that of the historian.*
oria, 37. **regio...describitur**
Jug. 17 (Africa); Liv. xliv 6

, deliberative speeches before
hortationes, harangues ad-
oldiers on the eve of a battle
i 40—44.
taedam et fluens, de Or. ii
Antipater, the rude and un-
orian), 'neque verborum con-
tractu orationis leni et aequa-
it illud opus', ib. 64 (of the
e) 'verborum autem ratio et
nis *fusum atque tractum* et
quadam aequabili *profluens*
liciali asperitate et sine sen-
ensibus aculeis persequendum
(of the style of the Stoics)
onis...non liquidum, non fu-
fluens, sed exile, aridum, con-
utum.' For **fluens** in a good
lsbach, *Stil.* § 129. 4, quotes
7 § 2 elegi fluentes, and Tac.
. 2 profluens. It is used in a
sense in § 220. We may
assage thus: 'these subjects
tyle of flowing smoothness
n out", and not our compact
style'. Cf. Milton's L'Alle-
notes with many a winding
ed sweetness long drawn out'.
lescriptive of public speaking,
is in its widest sense.
λέξις συνεστραμμένη, or στρογ-
to *tracta*. Dion. Hal. de
συστρέφουσα τὰ νοήματα
ὅλως ἐκφέρουσα λέξις, οἰκεία
γωνία τοῖς δικανικοῖς λόγοις

καὶ παντὶ ἀληθεῖ ἀγῶνι. Ar. Rhet. ii 21
§ 7, στρογγυλώτατα, 24 § 2, τὸ συνεστραμ-
μένως καὶ ἀντικειμένως εἰπεῖν and iii 18 § 4
τὰ ἐνθυμήματα ὅτι μάλιστα συστρέφειν δεῖ.
In Cope's Commentary, I have observed
in my note on the last passage that 'the
verb is used metaphorically to express
conciseness and condensation of style';
and that 'in its literal meaning it might
be applied to any squeezing and compact-
ing process like that (for instance) of
making a snowball'. Compare Emerson
on Eloquence (in 'Society and Solitude'
p. 77 ed. 1870) 'Put the argument into a
concrete shape, into an image, some hard
phrase, *round and solid as a ball*, which
they can see and handle and carry home
with them,—and the cause is half won'.
For a slightly different use of *contortus*
see inf. 234.

With the whole of the above passage,
cf. Plin. Ep. v 8 § 9 'Habet quidem
oratio et historia multa communia, sed
plura diversa in his ipsis quae commu-
nia, videntur. Narrat illa, narrat haec,
sed aliter: huic pleraque humilia et sor-
dida et ex medio petita, illi omnia recon-
dita splendida excelsa conveniunt: hanc
saepius ossa musculi nervi, illam tori
quidam et quasi iubae decent: haec vel
maxime vi amaritudine instantia, illa
tractu et suavitate atque etiam dulcedine
placet. Postremo alia verba, alius sonus,
alia constructio. Nam plurimum refert,
ut Thucydides ait, κτῆμα sit an ἀγώνισμα;
quorum alterum oratio, alterum historia
est'.

§§ 66 continued—68. *The style of the
perfect orator distinguished from that of
poets.*

quaestionem attulerunt, not 'have
raised the question', but 'have given rise
to the enquiry', 'led to the problem
being mooted' among scholars and rhe-
toricians. These *quaestiones* owe their

origin in Rome to the literary ζητήματα or προβλήματα of the Alexandrine school. For this use of *quaestio*, cf. M. Furius Bibaculus in Suet. Gramm. 11 (of Valerius Cato):

'mirati sumus, unicum magistrum, summum grammaticum, optimum poetam omnes solvere posse quaestiones';

and Quint. i 2 § 14 'grammaticus quoque de loquendi ratione disserat, quaestiones explicet.'

The text reads, however, like a reminiscence of Ar. Rhet. iii 1 § 8, ἤρξαντο μὲν οὖν κινῆσαι τὸ πρῶτον ὥσπερ πέφυκεν οἱ ποιηταί...His own opinion is given in § 9, quoted in the next note.

numero...et versu. De Or. i 70 'est enim finitimus oratori poeta, numeris astrictior paulo, verborum autem licentia liberior, multis vero ornandi generibus paene par', iii 27 'poetis...quibus est proxima coniunctio cum oratoribus'. Aristotle, after remarking that the mass of the uneducated admire discourses in poetic prose like that of Gorgias, insists that the style of prose is distinct from that of poetry, ἑτέρα λόγου καὶ ποιήσεως λέξις ἐστίν (Rhet. iii 1 § 9). In the Poetics (1), he finds fault with the common nomenclature by which the *metre* of each of the various classes of poets is made their distinctive mark, whereas the proper criterion is their imitation...

absit a versu, tamen, quod incitatius feratur et cla-
borum luminibus utatur, potius poëma putandum
orum poëtarum; apud quos, nisi quod versiculi sunt,
ud cotidiani dissimile sermonis, nec tamen id est
imum, etsi est eo laudabilior, quod virtutes oratoris 5
cum versu sit astrictior: ego autem, etiamsi quorun-
s et ornata vox est poëtarum, tamen in ea cum licen-
maiorem esse quam in nobis faciendorum iungendo-
borum, tum etiam nonnulli eorum voluptati vocibus
rebus inserviunt; nec vero, si quid est unum inter 10

J. S. Reid. 4 *nec tamen id* esse in poeta eximium, *etsi* sit *eo*
rsequatur, Bake. 9 *nonnulli eorum voluptati* Madvig adv. crit. ii
nullorum voluntati H cum *FPO*; *non nullorum voluntate* Sauppe,
I (KJP[1]); *non nullorum voluptati* cod. Laur. 50, 1 (Meyer): *voluptati
rum*) Lambinus 1566, *t. e. auditorum voluptati* idem in margine ed.
iurium voluptati Schuetz[2].

. i[2] p. 690 note = p. 215 of *Philosophy*, Eng. trans. uae hodie supersunt frag- nterdum nitet Democriti n summo bene dicendi ıfantia quaedam hic illic existimare, Ciceronem, tarchum, maximos Demo- errasse, sed potius cre- emper eundem dictionis iorem fuisse. neque enim :tura, in iis libris, quos edidit, minus bene sin- ilosophum Abderitanum, ioribus' (Mullach, *Demo-* p. 94).

ratur, 128 rapide fertur, rtur, 201 cursus incitatior, us, 228 'ne infinite feratur o'. The author of the ous, after contrasting the thenes with the χύσις of th reference (as here) to των χεύματι ἀψόφητί ῥέων θύνεται (13 § 1).

ninibus inf. 135 (note).

oëtarum. Hor. Sat. i 4, m comoedia necne poema re, quod acer spiritus ac nec rebus inest, nisi quod rt sermoni, sermo merus',

4, etc. A style marked nent and brilliant figures t really, says Cicero, the characteristic of good contrary, such a style is eristic of good oratory; *redit is due to the poet,* in that, while comparatively restricted by the limitations of verse, he attains the same excellence of style as the orator. Thus far Cicero has been criticising the opinions of others; in the next section he states his own.

§ 68. **quorumdam**, e.g. the epic, lyric and tragic as contrasted with the comic poets. *grandis* refers back to the general sense of *incitatius feratur*, and *ornata* to *verborum luminibus*.

in ea...quam in nobis. A blending of the two obvious forms of expression 'in ea (sc. voce poetarum)...quam in nostra' and 'in eis (sc. poetis)...quam in nobis' (sc. oratoribus). It is a very slightly irregular form of the *comparatio compendiaria* (41 note).

faciendorum, forming *new* words, 80 verbum novum, 176 'in faciendis verbis tranquillior', Part. Orat. 72 factis verbis. **iungendorum** of *compound* words, 159 'in verbis iunctis', and de Or. iii 154 'novantur verba quae ab eo qui dicit ipso gignuntur ac fiunt, vel coniungendis verbis...vel sine coniunctione (=faciendis)', ib. 170 'aut factum vel coniunctione vel novitate'. This is better than understanding *iungendorum* of striking collocations and combinations of words.

But, if *iungendorum* refers to making up compounds, it merely repeats a portion of the sense of *faciendorum*. Dr Reid would therefore understand it of *syntax*, remarking that in 159 Cic. applies *iuncta verba* merely to *ordinary* compounds.

nonnulli eorum voluptati...inserviunt. This is Madvig's emendation,

eos simile—id autem est iudicium electioque verborum-terea ceterarum rerum dissimilitudo intellegi non potest; nec dubium est et, si quid habet quaestionis, hoc tamen ad id, quod propositum est, non est necessarium. se
s igitur orator a philosophorum eloquentia, a sophistarum, toricorum, a poëtarum, explicandus est nobis qualis futur

XXI Erit igitur eloquens—hunc enim auctore Antonio mus—is, qui in foro causisque civilibus ita dicet, ut pro delectet, ut flectat: probare necessitatis est, delectare sua

and it has the great advantage of removing the awkwardness of '*nonnullorum voluntate*' ('according to the fancy of certain persons' §§ 24, 52) which is in itself an emendation of the manuscript reading *nonnullorum voluntati*. Those who retain *nonnullorum*, understand it as a reference to the predilections of the younger poets among Cicero's contemporaries (the *poetae novi* of § 161, the *cantores Euphorionis* of Tusc. Disp. iii 19 § 45) who formed their style on the model of the learned poets of the School of Alexandria (so Jahn and Piderit, ed. 1). The only misgiving I have respecting the emendation adopted in the text is that one would have expected Cicero to write: *nonnulli eorum vocibus magis quam rebus voluptati inserviunt*. Cf. de Fin. ii 35 § 117 (adulescentes) 'suis commodis (= voluptati) inservituros'. Quint. viii 6 § 17, in remarking that metaphors appropriate in poetry are not always appropriate in prose, says of poetry: 'omnia ad *voluptatem* referunt'. [Dr Reid thinks the manuscript reading right, at least so far as *voluntati* is concerned. '*voluntas* and *voluptas* are often almost interchangeable in Cic.; cf. Lael. 91, 93 (often needlessly altered). *nonnullorum* also seems defensible; *not all* like sound without sense in poetry'].

The Greek dithyrambic poets may be mentioned as an example of the writers to whom Cicero refers.

iudicium refers to *inventio*; **electio verborum** to *elocutio*, both in oratory and in poetry. De Or. i 128 'in oratore verba prope poëtarum'. **propterea**, like *idcirco*, *continuo* and similar words after *non si* or *non quia*, has to be expanded in English into a separate clause: 'and, indeed, if there is any *one* point of resemblance...*that is no reason why* we should be blind to the dissimilarity in the remaining points' (cf. Nägelsbach *Stil.* § 185 1).

hoc ipsum, this particular enquiry as to the true distinction betwe and oratory.

explicandus...qualis. Jahn Fin. iv 6 § 14 'a te diligenter est finis hic bonorum et quis a quem ad modum diceretur'. Ma *obs.* 1. **futurus sit** referring to orator, the orator of the *futur* not at present realised in actual

§§ 69—74. *The perfect orat considered* positively, *and in the generally, in his three functions* delectare, *and* flectere, *and in the three kinds of style. In al must exhibit a just sense of prop*

§ 69. **auctore Antonio**, 18. **causisque civilibus**, the defi limited to the oratory of prac to the exclusion of the γένος ἐπ (37). De Or. i 77 'quod in rebus civilibusque versetur', ii in foro atque in civium causis tionibusque versantur'.

probet...delectet...flectat. D or. 3 'optimus est enim orator qu animos audientium et *docet* et *permovet*. docere debitum est, honorarium, permovere nece Brut. 185 'tria sunt...efficienda ut *doceatur* is apud quem dicitur *tetur*, ut *moveatur* vehementius' ii 121 '*concilientur* animi et *doc moveantur*', 310 '*docendo...conc permovendo*', ib. 115, 128; Qu § 2 '*doceat, moveat, delectet*'.

In Volkmann's *Rhetorik* p. tripartite division is traced bacl totle's three kinds of rhetori (Rhet. i 2 § 3), but it is easy to that the two divisions do not r respond. It is not the *orator* but the proofs (πίστεις) furnishe speech itself, that Aristotle di three classes: those residing (character (ἦθος) of the speaker, as the speech; (2) in the emotio produced in the audience; and (direct, proof in its proper v

flectere victoriae; nam id unum ex omnibus ad obtinendas causas potest plurimum. sed quot officia oratoris, tot sunt genera dicendi: subtile in probando, modicum in delectando, 70 vehemens in flectendo; in quo uno vis omnis oratoris est. magni igitur iudici, summae etiam facultatis esse debebit moderator 5 ille et quasi temperator huius tripertitae varietatis; nam et iudicabit quid cuique opus sit et poterit quocumque modo postulabit causa dicere. sed est eloquentiae sicut reliquarum rerum fundamentum sapientia: ut enim in vita, sic in oratione nihil est difficilius quam quid deceat videre. πρέπον appellant hoc 10

1 *optinendas* H. 2 *oratoris* Julius Victor; *orationis* FPO. 5 *iudici* J: -*ii* ceteri. 7 *cuique* 'valde vereor, ne post *cuique* exciderit *causae*' Madvig adv. crit. iii 98.

answers to part of Cicero's *probare*, (2) to *flectere*, whereas (1) has no direct connexion with *delectare*. In Aristotle's view this last is strictly speaking superfluous, being only a concession to the infirmity of the audience, ἐπεὶ τό γε δίκαιον μηδὲν πλέον ζητεῖν περὶ τὸν λόγον ἢ ὥστε μήτε λυπεῖν μήτε εὐφραίνειν (Rhet. iii 1 § 5). Aristotle's three divisions are in fact only the three different means of attaining that object of rhetoric which Cicero calls *probare*, and one of those means happens to coincide with *flectere*.

necessitatis ... suavitatis ... victoriae, 'to prove is a matter of necessity; to please, of agreeableness; to persuade, of victory'. All the three genitives may be classified under the general heading of genitives of possession = 'belonging to'. For the sake of symmetry, the same construction is used in all three clauses, but there is a slight difference in the several shades of meaning in each. Thus *necessitatis* may be regarded as a genitive of the cause, though it is simpler to take it as an ordinary subjective genitive, equivalent in meaning to the adj. *necessarium*. *suavitatis* is the gen. of that in which a thing consists, or with which it is identical. *victoriae* is the gen. of the object, as is proved by Cicero's own comment, *ad obtinendas causas*. In the parallel from de opt. gen. or. § 3, quoted above, the secondary predicate to the three corresponding infinitives is expressed as an adjective, but the sense of the three successive predicates does not exactly correspond to that of the three genitives in the text. ['The three genitives are so-called *genetivi relationis*; the sense is with all three 'belongs to', 'is concerned with' (Reid).]

Corresponding to the suavitas of the speech, is the *voluptas* which it excites in the audience: Brut. 188 '*delectatur* audiens multitudo et ducitur oratione et quasi *voluptate* quadam perfunditur', and ib. 276 'animos eorum qui audirent, devinciret *voluptate*'.

id unum, sc. *flectere*. **potest plurimum,** de Or. ii 215 'iudicem commovere, in quo sunt omnia'. Brut. 276 'permoveret et incitaret animos, quam plurimum pollere diximus'.

subtile...modicum...vehemens, §§ 20, 21. De Or. ii 128 'meae totius orationis ...tres sunt rationes...una conciliandorum (cf. *delectando*) hominum, altera docendorum (cf. *probando*), tertia concitandorum (cf. *flectendo*). harum trium partium prima *lenitatem* orationis, secunda *acumen*, tertia *vim* desiderat'.

in quo uno, 128 'in quo uno regnat oratio', de Or. i 60 'quod unum in oratore dominatur'.

§ 70. **moderator** = *qui modum adhibet*, referring to proper *control*; 123 'temporum personarumque moderator'. **temperator** = *qui varia* (genera dicendi) *temperat et miscet*, referring to the proper *blending* of things various, 99. Jahn aptly quotes Tusc. Disp. iv 3 § 30 'corporis temperatio, cum ea congruunt inter se, e quibus constamus, sanitas dicitur'. **iudicabit** explains *iudici*, and **poterit** similarly explains *facultatis*.

sapientia, Quint. xii 2 § 6 'hinc etiam illud est, quod Cicero pluribus et libris et epistolis testatur, dicendi facultatem ex intimis sapientiae fontibus fluere'. Hor. Ars P. 309 'scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons'.

quid deceat, 73 f., 123, de Or. iii 210 'nunc quid aptum sit, hoc est, quid maxime deceat in oratione videamus'.

Graeci; nos dicamus sane decorum; de quo praeclare
praecipiuntur et res est cognitione dignissima: huius ign
non modo in vita, sed saepissime et in poëmatis et in
peccatur. est autem quid deceat oratori videndum non
5 tentiis solum, sed etiam in verbis; non enim omnis fortu
omnis honos, non omnis auctoritas, non omnis aetas n
locus aut tempus aut auditor omnis eodem aut verborum

1 multa et praeclare praecipiuntur, et res est cognitione dignissima, cum scribendum esse conicit H, coll. ... 1 § 3 'multa in me et severe di

πρέπον...decorum, de Off. i ... where it is treated in conne... verecundia (=σωφροσύνη) and ... tas in general: 'hoc loco cont... id quod dici Latine decorum potest ... enim πρέπον dicitur'...94 'nam e... uti atque oratione prudenter, ... quod agas considerate omnique in re quid sit veri videre et tueri decet'. ib. 96 it is defined as 'id...quod ita naturae consentaneum est, ut in eo moderatio et temperantia appareat cum specie quadam liberali'. For the characteristic omission of the article in πρέπον, cf. κρινόμενον (126), ἠθικόν and παθητικόν (128).—τὸ πρέπον (according to Dion. Hal. de Dem. 34) τῶν ἄστρων φαίνει παρὰ Δημοσθένει. On 'propriety' in Lysias, see note on 71.

praeclare. We cannot couple *praeclare* and *multa*; the adv. is grammatically common to the two subsequent clauses, *et ...et*; but is less suited to the second than to the first. The logical order would be 'de quo et multa praeclare praecipiuntur et res est cognitione dignissima'. 'The displacement of *praeclare* is a little like the displacement of conjunctions noted by Madv. on Fin. ii 15' (Reid). **praecipiuntur**, e.g. in de off. i 93—99.

poëmatis, de off. i 97 'ex eo decoro quod *poetae* sequuntur...sed tum servare illud poëtas quod deceat dicimus, cum id quod quaque persona dignum est et fit et dicitur'.—For the termination *-īs* for *-ibus* in the dat. and abl. pl. of Greek words in *-ma* cf. *epigrammatis* and *peristromatis* (Phil. ii 67, with Mayor's note, and Roby § 492). *poëmatibus* is the reading of the Wittemberg MS, but the right form is supported by the rhetorician Julius Victor (p. 439 Halm) who quotes the context, with *et poëmatis*, and by the grammarian Charisius 1 p. 114 'Cicero in Oratore *poëmatis* dixit' (quoted by Meyer &c.). Cf. Neue, *Formenlehre* i § 80 p. 298.

in oratione, here 'prose', as in 166, 174, 178, 198 &c. *prosa*, with or without *oratio*, is not found in Cic., ... quent in Quintilian and other... the silver age of Latin.

§ 71. **non...omnis** &c. De ... 'perspicuum est, non omni ... auditori neque personae nequ... congruere orationis unum ge... et causae capitis alium quem... rum sonum requirunt, alium re... tarum atque parvarum (inf. ... etiam qui *audiant* (cf. audito... an populus an iudices; freq... pauci an singuli et quales; ip... tores, qua sint aetate, *honore*, a... debet videri; *tempus*, pacis an... tinationis an otii'. Cf. Quint.

fortuna is a general term, ... the external circumstances of ... persons concerned; **honos, a... aetas**, are similarly not to be c... the orator, but are equally ... to the witnesses in a forensic ... well as to one's opponent, ei... forensic or deliberative speech.

locus, e.g. the place where ... is delivered,—either the law... forensic oratory; or the senat... *rostra* in deliberative oratory, ... to the senate or the people re... The *general* sense may be illu... de Or. iii 23 (where, from a ... different point of view, Crassus ... on the *unity* of eloquence amids... sities of circumstance) 'sive e... loco, sc. *loquitur* (as in the ... sive ex aequo (as on the flo... senate-house), sive ex superiore ... the *rostra*). Allusion is ma... above passage in Piderit's ed... no reference is added; in Jahn'... ence is given, which contains ... prints: but in neither does it ... be observed that *locus* is used ... rent sense in the two passage... it clearly means 'relative positi... gards one's audience; wherea... reference is in the main to the ... the speech is delivered.

-tractandus est aut sententiarum, semperque in omni parte orationis ut vitae quid deceat est considerandum; quod et in re, de qua agitur, positum est et in personis et eorum, qui dicunt, et eorum, qui audiunt. itaque hunc locum longe et late patentem 72 philosophi solent in officiis tractare,—non cum de recto ipso disputant, nam id quidem unum est,—grammatici in poëtis, eloquentes in omni et genere et parte causarum. quam enim

in re...in personis. This faithfulness to the rule of propriety, as regards the subject, the speaker and the audience, was one of the characteristics of the style of Lysias. This is pointed out by Dion. Hal. de Lysia 9, *οἴομαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἔχειν τὴν Λυσίου λέξιν, οὐθενὸς ἧττον τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων, κρατίστην ἁπασῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ τελειοτάτην ὁρῶν αὐτὴν πρός τε τὸν λέγοντα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα (ἐν τούτοις γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τὸ πρέπον) ἀρκούντως ἡρμοσμένην· καὶ γὰρ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ γένει καὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματι καὶ βίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν οἷς διαφέρει προσώπων τὰ πρόσωπα, τὰς οἰκείας ἀποδίδωσι φωνάς. πρός τε τὸν ἀκροατὴν συμμετρεῖται τὰ λεγόμενα οἰκείως, οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον δικαστῇ τε καὶ ἐκκλησιαστῇ καὶ πανηγυρίζοντι διαλεγόμενος ὄχλῳ· διαφορὰς τε αὐτῷ λαμβάνει κατὰ τὰς ἰδέας τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ λέξις.* (See also Blass, *Att. Ber.* i p. 387 or Jebb's *Att. Or.* i p. 176.)

A due regard for this principle of propriety gives oratory its appropriate *character*, gives it *ἦθος* in all the three senses of that term which are to be found in Aristotle's Rhetoric; for thereby the *matter* of the speech not only reflects the character of the *speaker*, which is the first of the three points of view from which Aristotle regards *ἦθος* (i 2 § 7); but is also made to suit the character of the *audience* (*ἦθος ἐν τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις* cf. ii 13 § 16); while the *style* of the speech itself is also kept true to character (iii 7 §§ 1, 6 and 16 §§ 8, 9). See Cope's *Introd. to Ar. Rhet.* p. 108—113, esp. p. 111 note.

§ 72. **itaque** carries on the argument from the sentence ending with *peccatur* in § 70, the intervening sentences being parenthetical.

philosophi, e.g. Panaetius, whose treatise *περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος* was the model followed by Cicero when he wrote his *de Officiis* in B.C. 44, two years after the *Orator*. De Off. iii 7 'Panaetius qui sine controversia de officiis accuratissime disputavit, quemque nos, correctione quadam adhibita, potissimum secuti sumus.'

recto ipso, 'absolute perfection', into the discussion of which questions of 'relative propriety' cannot directly enter. De Off. i 8 'alia divisio est officii. nam et *medium* quoddam *officium* dicitur, et *perfectum*. perfectum officium *rectum*, opinor, vocemus, quod Graeci *κατόρθωμα*, hoc autem commune officium *καθῆκον* vocant. atque ea sic definiunt, ut *rectum* quod sit, id officium perfectum esse definiant, *medium* autem officium id esse dicant quod cur factum sit ratio probabilis reddi possit'. ib. iii 14 'haec enim omnia officia de quibus his libris disputamus, *media* Stoici appellant, ea communia sunt et late patent, illud autem officium quod *rectum* iidem appellant, perfectum atque absolutum est'. De Fin. iii 6 § 24 'quae nos ante recta aut recte facta dicamus...(illi autem appellant *κατορθώματα*) omnes numeros virtutis continent'. 'We have here the purely Stoic idea of right: *nihil recto rectius*', Paradoxa (iii) § 22 (Reid).

grammatici, 93, a term borrowed from the phraseology of the Alexandrine school of criticism, and corresponding to our word 'scholar' rather than to the narrower word 'grammarian'. The interpretation, in its widest sense, of poetic literature formed an important part of the functions of these *grammatici*; de Div. i 34 'quorum omnium (*sc.* oraculorum) interpretes, ut grammatici poëtarum', ib. 116 'et oraculorum et vaticiniorum sunt explanatores ut grammatici poëtarum', de Or. i §§ 10, 187; Sueton. de illustribus grammaticis 4 'proprie sic appellandos poëtarum interpretes, qui a Graecis *γραμματικοί* nominentur'. In Quint. i 4 § 2 *grammatice* is divided into two parts *recte loquendi scientia* and *poëtarum enarratio*, x 1 § 54 'Apollonius in ordinem a *grammaticis* datum non venit quia *Aristarchus et Aristophanes* neminem sui temporis in numerum redegerunt'. (See further in Mayor's note on *grammaticorum consensus* in Quint. x 1 § 53 and on Juv. vii 229—236; also Gräfenhan's *Geschichte der klass. Philologie* i 94, 340 ff.)

eloquentes. After illustrating the importance of the principle of propriety in

indecorum est, de stillicidiis cum apud unum iudicem dicas, amplissimis verbis et locis uti communibus, de maiestate populi
XXII Romani summisse et subtiliter! hic genere toto, at persona alii peccant aut sua aut iudicum aut etiam adversariorum, nec re
5 solum, sed saepe verbo; etsi sine re nulla vis verbi est, tamen

1 *stilicidiis* J. 3 *dicere* post *subtiliter* addendum esse suspicatus est Lambinus, post *Romani* mavult H.

philosophy and literature, Cicero, instead of referring as might have been expected to the theoretical *rhetores* or *rhetorici*, prefers to return more rapidly to his main subject; and, not content even with the word *oratores*, singles out those professional speakers alone, who are worthy of the name of *eloquentes*.

quam enim—subtiliter. Ar. Rhet. iii 7 § 1 τὸ πρέπον ἕξει ἡ λέξις, ἐὰν ᾖ παθητική τε καὶ ἠθικὴ καὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασιν ἀνάλογον. τὸ δ' ἀνάλογόν ἐστιν ἐὰν μήτε περὶ εὐόγκων αὐτοκαβδάλως λέγηται μήτε περὶ εὐτελῶν σεμνῶς (ib. 3 εἰ...καλλιεποῖτο ...περὶ λίαν μικρῶν).

de stillicidiis. One of the *servitutes*, or limiting obligations, subject to which property was held, was that which concerned the *stillicidium*, or the rain-water that fell from the eaves of houses. Among the causes that came before the centumviral court as enumerated in de Or. i 173 are the *iura stillicidiorum* which are there mentioned together with questions of 'party-walls' and 'ancient lights'. Cf. Justinian ii tit. iii 1 'urbanorum praediorum servitutes sunt hae:...ut stillicidium vel flumen recipiat quis in aedes suas, vel in aream vel in cloacam, vel non recipiat'... Readers of the *Heart of Midlothian* will remember Bartholomew Saddletree's profuse display of his legal learning on the subject of what he calls the *tillicide* or 'servitude of water-drap' (c. xxvi).

For the general sense of the present passage cf. Quint. viii 3 § 14 'nam et suadendo sublimius aliquid senatus, concitatius populus, et in iudiciis publicae capitalesque causae poscunt accuratius dicendi genus. at privatum consilium, causasque paucorum (ut frequenter accidit) calculorum, purus sermo et dissimilis curae magis *decuerit*. an non pudeat certam creditam' (*sc.* pecuniam) 'periodis postulare aut circa *stillicidia* affici aut in mancipii redhibitione sudare'. On the orthography of *stillicidium*, see Lachmann and Munro on Lucr. i 313, where the spelling *stilicidium* is adopted in accordance with the rule laid down by the former, that 'when a long vowel is [illegible]ed by *ll*, one *l* is withdrawn when [illegible]ws, if this *i* be not merely the mark [illegible]se', e.g. *vilicus*, *milia*, *Messalina*. [illegible]*dium* is however regarded as an ex[illegible]n to this canon by Corssen, *Ausspr.* [illegible] ii² 528, and Roby § 177. 1.

[illegible]**d unum iudicem**, before a *index* [illegible]*us* appointed by the magistrate, as [illegible]sted with the *iudicium publicum* and [illegible]tumviral court (although the last, as [illegible]e seen above, had also cognisance of [illegible]minor questions). 'poterant etiam [illegible] centumvirales' (says Goeller) 'ordinariis iudicibus demandari, cum neuter litigantium perstaret in causa per centumviros cognoscenda'. De opt. gen. or. 10 'sed si eodem modo putant exercitu in foro et in omnibus templis, quae circum forum sunt, collocato dici pro Milone *decuisse*, ut si *de re privata ad unum iudicem* diceremus, vim eloquentiae sua facultate, non rei natura metiuntur'. 'The expression *unus iudex* is technical in Roman law and probably marked originally the contrast between the *one* IVDEX and the *three* ARBITRI, which had however vanished in Cicero's time' (Reid).

locis communibus. These, like the *verba amplissima*, are appropriate to the *genus amplum* (§ 102). **maiestate**, ad Herenn. iv 25 § 35 'maiestas reipublicae est, in qua continetur dignitas et amplitudo civitatis'. See note on 102.

summisse et subtiliter, sc. *dicere*, understood from the general sense of the previous clause, or from *dicas*. The style referred to is characteristic of the *genus tenue* (20).

persona, de Or. ii 301—5. **iudicum**, 305 'quid, si, quae vitia aut incommoda sunt in aliquo iudice uno aut pluribus, ea tu in adversariis exprobrando non intellegas te in iudices invehi...?' **adversariorum**, ib. 304 'quid, cum personarum quas defendunt rationem non habent?'

sine re nulla vis verbi, 119, de Or. i §§ 17, 20, 48 ad fin., 50, and Cato's golden rule 'rem tene, verba sequentur' (quoted as a 'praeceptum paene divinum'

eadem res saepe aut probatur aut reicitur alio atque alio elata
73 verbo. in omnibusque rebus videndum est quatenus: etsi enim
suus cuique modus est, tamen magis offendit nimium quam
parum: in quo Apelles pictores quoque eos peccare dicebat, qui
non sentirent quid esset satis. magnus est locus hic, Brute, quod 5
te non fugit, et magnum volumen aliud desiderat; sed ad id,
quod agitur, illud satis. cum hoc decere—quod semper usur-

5 *est* cod. Laur. 50, 18 man. 2, et Strebaeus: *esset* cum codd. Meyer. 7 *cum hoc decere* (*quod semper usurpamus*..., *cum hoc* uspiam *decere dicimus*, *illud non decere*, *et id usquequaque*) *quantum sit*, *appareat* Madvig adv. crit. iii 98 (st).

by the rhetorician Julius Victor, p. 374 Halm). **alio atque alio**, Liv. viii 23 'dilatis alia atque alia de causa comitiis'. In Eng. *atque* would here be represented by *or*. **elata**, 'stated', 'expressed', de Or. ii 158 'si coniuncte sit elatum'.

§ 73. **quatenus**, de Or. ii 239 'est etiam deformitatis et corporis vitiorum satis bella materies ad iocandum; sed quaerimus idem, quod in ceteris rebus maxime quaerendum est, *quatenus*'. Acad. ii 92 'rerum natura nullam nobis dedit cognitionem finium, ut ulla in re statuere possimus *quatenus*'.

nimium, 178. **in quo**, 58.

Apelles. Plin. xxxv 80 'et aliam gloriam usurpavit, cum Protogenis opus immensi laboris ac curae supra modum anxiae miraretur, dixit enim omnia sibi cum illo paria esse aut illi meliora, sed uno se praestare, quod *manum de tabula* sciret tollere, memorabili praecepto nocere saepe nimiam diligentiam'. The proverbial phrase (*manum de tabula!*) is used by Cicero himself in a letter written a year later (ad Fam. vii 25 § 1).

non fugit. A complimentary reference to Brutus' philosophical studies. Quint. xi 1 § 5 'Cicero adloquens Brutum testatur esse haec ei nota ideoque brevius a se dici, quamquam sit fusus locus tracteturque a philosophis latius'. **ad id quod agitur**, 68 'ad id quod propositum est'.

illud satis, possibly in conscious reference to *quid esset satis* at the close of the previous sentence. He has just said that Apelles found fault with artists who did not know when they had done enough. He now promises in briefly discussing an important topic to say enough about it, and no more. Bake, who refers *illud satis* to what has gone before, is thereby driven to proposing *quumque* as the beginning of the next sentence.

cum hoc decere. This straggling sentence owes its inordinate length and irregularity of construction to the writer's endeavour to compress into a short compass what would be enough, as he says, to fill a volume. The ground-work of the sentence is as follows: *cum hoc decere ...quantum sit appareat;* then follows a parenthetical distinction between *decere* and *oportere;* next, some illustrations of the importance of *decere* taken from poetry, painting and acting, followed by *quid faciendum oratori putamus?* This forms the apodosis to the part of the sentence which contains these illustrations. The original protasis is thereupon resumed with the words *sed cum hoc tantum sit*, to be immediately followed by the apodosis which ends with *viderit*. The paragraph then closes with a brief sentence summing up the general result of the preceding sections. §§ 69–74.

The supposition that the words *dicimus illud non decere et id* are an interpolation is supported by the fact that they involve a combination between *cum* with the indic. (*dicimus*) and *cum* with the subj. (*appareat*). It is to remove this inconsistency that some critics have proposed *dicamus*, *cum* being obviously causal throughout the whole passage. If the suspected words are retained, the construction of *hoc decere* is the ordinary acc. with inf. after *dicimus* or *dicamus*. If they are left out, *hoc decere* must be taken substantivally as equivalent to τοῦτο τὸ πρέπειν (or πρέπον). This construction, though somewhat rare in Cicero, is nevertheless found in the following passages: ad Att. xiii 29 'cum vivere ipsum turpe sit nobis', Parad. 3 init. 'ipsum quidem peccare, quoquo te verteris, unum est', and de Or. ii 24 'meque, cum huc veni, hoc ipsum nihil agere et plane cessare delectat' (Zumpt § 598); also de Fin. i 1 'quibusdam...totum hoc displicet philosophari' (Madvig, §§ 388 a, Roby § 1355), and *ib*. ii 6 § 18 'hoc non dolere (=do-

pamus in omnibus dictis et factis, minimis et maximis—cum ho
inquam, decere [dicimus, illud non decere, et id] usquequaqu
quantum sit appareat in alioque ponatur aliudque totum si
utrum decere an oportere dicas; oportere enim perfectionen
5 declarat offici, quo et semper utendum est et omnibus, decer
quasi aptum esse consentaneumque tempori et personae; quo
cum in factis saepissime tum in dictis valet, in voltu deniqu
et gestu et incessu; contraque item dedecere; quod si poëta fugi
ut maximum vitium, qui pec[...]m, cum probi orationem
10 adfingit improbo stultove sapie[...] denique pictor ille vidit,

1 *dictis factis minimis maximis* Goere[...] de Leg. p. 38. 2 *dicimus illud non decere et id* secl. Lambinus (M[...] Bake, K; om. P[2]), retinuerunt O[2] et P[1]; *dicimus* in *dicamus* mutavit Ern[...] JII). 5 *offici* J: *-ii* ceteri. 7 *tum in factis* Bake. *vultu* MOJI [...] *am* secl. K. 10 *affingit* MOJII. *sapientem* scripsit II.

loris vacuitatem) solum voluptatis nomine appellaret'. On the analogy of *illud indecorum* in §§ 82, 88, Cicero might have used *hoc decorum* in the present passage, but this in itself is not a sufficient reason against taking *hoc decere* as the subject to *quantum sit*. It is a further recommendation of this view, that it makes the construction of the beginning of the sentence agree with that of the resuming words *sed cum hoc tantum sit*.

usurpamus, 'speak of', 'insist on'. **in alio ponatur**, 'is reckoned as another thing'; Topica 71 'in laude ponendum est'.

§ 74. **oportere** corresponds to the *rectum ipsum* § 72, absolute right, as contrasted with relative. The latter is the province of *decere*. **quasi** implies that the definition is a rough approximation only. **aptum.** De Or. iii 210 'quid *aptum* sit, hoc est, quid maxime *deceat* in oratione videamus'. **consentaneum.** So in de Off. i 96 *decorum* in the generic sense is defined as 'quod consentaneum sit hominis excellentiae, etc.': in the specific, 'quod naturae consentaneum est', etc.

quod sc. *dedecere*, **poëta**, see note on *poëmatis*, § 70 ad fin.

probi...**improbo stultove sapientis.** For the *chiasmus* cf. de Fin. iii 3 § 10, 'ratio enim nostra consentit, pugnat oratio' (Madvig § 473 b, Roby § 1051). The structure of the sentence, as well as the substantival use of the several singular adjectives, resembles de Off. iii 23 § 89 (from the 'de officiis' of Hecaton, a pupil of Panaetius) 'si tabulam de naufragio *stultus arripuerit, extorquebitne* eam sa[...] si potuerit?' (Nägelsbach *Stil.* [...] cf. Madvig § 301 a *obs.*)

[...]**r ille**, Timanthes of Kythnos or Sikyon, a contemporary of Parrhasios, fl. B.C. 400. Plin. N. H. xxxv 73 'Timanthi vel plurimum adfuit ingeni; eius enim est *Iphigenia* oratorum (*sc.* Cic. et aliorum) laudibus celebrata, qua stante ad aras peritura, cum maestos pinxisset omnes praecipueque patruum (*sc.* Menelaum) et tristitiae omnem imaginem consumpsisset, patris ipsius voltum velavit, quem digne non poterat ostendere'; Quint. ii 13 § 12 'quid? non in oratione operienda sunt quaedam, sive ostendi non debent sive exprimi pro dignitate non possunt? (13) ut fecit Timanthes, opinor, Cythnius in ea tabula, qua Coloten Teium vicit. nam cum in *Iphigeniae immolatione* pinxisset tristem Calchantam, tristiorem Ulixen, addidisset Menelao quem summum poterat ars efficere maerorem; consumptis adfectibus non reperiens quo digne modo patris voltum posset exprimere, velavit eius caput et suo cuique animo dedit aestimandum'. Valerius Maximus viii 11 § 6 'quid ille alter aeque nobilis pictor, luctuosum *immolatae Iphigeniae* sacrificium referens, cum Calchanta tristem, maestum Ulixen, [clamantem Aiacem,] lamentantem Menelaum circa aram statuisset, caput Agamemnonis involvendo nonne summi maeroris acerbitatem arte non posse exprimi confessus est? itaque pictura eius haruspicis et amici et fratris (he should have written *patrui*) lacrimis madet, patris fletum spectantis adfectu aestumandum reliquit'. The author of the *Aetna* 596

cum immolanda Iphigenia tristis Calchas esset, tristior Ulixes, maereret Menelaus, obvolvendum caput Agamemnonis esse, quoniam summum illum luctum penicillo non posset imitari; si denique histrio quid deceat quaerit, quid faciendum oratori putemus?—sed cum hoc tantum sit, quid in causis earumque quasi membris faciat orator viderit: illud quidem perspicuum est, non

1 *tristior* Sauppe (coni. Tull. p. 11) ex Quint. ii 13 § 13 (KJPH): *maestior* MO cum codd. 6 *viderit* cum codd. OJPH : *videbit* Bake (K).

describes Agamemnon in this scene as *velatus pater*; and Eustathius ad Il. p. 1343, 60 in commenting on Homer's pathetic description of the aged Priam as not speechless only, but with his head shrouded in a veil, adds ἐντεῦθέν φασι ὁ Σικυώνιος γραφεὺς Τιμάνθης τὴν ἐν Αὐλίδι γράφων σφαγὴν τὴν Ἰφιγενείας ἐκάλυψε τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα. If it is necessary to suppose that the artist was indebted to a hint from a poet, we should be rather disposed to trace the veiled Agamemnon of Timanthes to the description in the *Iphigeneia at Aulis* of Euripides which was acted after the poet's death in 404 B.C. (1547 ff.): ἀνεστέναξε κάμπαλιν στρέψας κάρα πέπλοις ἔκρυψε. Euripides, it is true, may not have written this part of the play, but the interpolation may nevertheless be earlier in date than the artist's painting. The same touch of nature is admirably introduced in Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*, 'My father held his hand upon his face'; and by Christopher Wordsworth (late Bp of Lincoln) in his Latin Ode of 1827 'sed genitor pedem Tulisse retro dicitur et caput Velasse, collectaque veste Implicitos tenuisse vultus'. Cf. Reynolds' *Discourses*, viii ad fin.

As a theme of ancient art, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia is best represented in the four following examples:

(1) A well-known painting found at Pompeii, no. 1304 in Helbig's *Campanische Wandmalerei*, copied in Museo Borbonico iv 3, Zahn iii 42, Panofka's *Bilder antiken Lebens* 13, 2, Müller-Wieseler's *Denkmäler* i 206, and elsewhere: cf. Overbeck's *Heroische Bildwerke* p. 320. It is regarded by Helbig as the product of an eclectic tendency in painting, corresponding to that of Pasiteles and his school in sculpture.

(2) A less noted painting of similar origin, no. 1305 in Helbig, copied in Zahn ii 61 and *Arch. Zeitung* 1847 p. 72, cf. Overbeck *u. s.* p. 319.

(3) A fine relief on a round altar of marble in the Uffizi at Florence (copied in R. Rochette *Mon. In.* 26, 1 p. 129 ff., and Panofka *u. s.* 13, 1; cf. Uhden's *Schr. d. Berl. Akad.* 1812 p. 74 and Dütschke's *Antike Bildwerke der Uffizien* no. 165).

(4) A mosaic found in 1848 near Castello de Ampurias (*Emporiae*) in Catalonia, discussed by Heydemann and Schlie in the *Arch. Zeitung* 1869, pp. 8 ff. and 90 ff. This includes Ulysses as well as Agamemnon, Menelaus and Calchas; and is regarded by Heydemann as the nearest approximation, now extant, to the original work of Timanthes.

In all the above works Agamemnon is represented as a veiled figure, either standing or seated; but, whereas in the masterpiece of Timanthes, it was the different degrees of sorrow that were portrayed, culminating in the father's grief that could only be expressed by the veiling of his countenance, in three (if not all) of the above works, the veiled face, though possibly suggested by that masterpiece, may be regarded as only a natural and obvious means of indicating pathos in painting or sculpture, corresponding to the effect of speechless sorrow in the drama (Lange's *Verm. Schriften* p. 163 ff. and Jahn's *Archäologische Beiträge* p. 378—393).

tristis...tristior...maereret. The alteration **tristior** for *maestior* restores the proper expression of the successive degrees of sorrow. *maestior*, which is stronger than *tristior*, would require a still stronger word than *maereret* to follow. *maerere* is generally used of the outward expression of sorrow, the gloomy countenance and the garb of mourning.

si denique, here in the third, as well as in the second stage of the climax. **histrio quid deceat quaerit.** De Or. i 132 '...et ut ne dedeceat. id enim est maxime vitandum'...'Roscio quem saepe audio dicere caput artis esse decere'.

sed, resuming the thread of the sentence, as in §§ 86, 100, 132, 202 init., de Or. i 147, 163.

modo partis orationis, sed etiam causas totas alias alia forma dicendi esse tractandas.

11 Sequitur, ut cuiusque generis nota quaeratur et formula: magnum opus et arduum, ut saepe iam diximus, sed ingredien-
5 tibus considerandum fuit quid ageremus, nunc quidem iam quocumque feremur danda nimirum vela sunt.

Ac primum informandus est ille nobis, quem solum quidam vocant Atticum: summissus est et humilis, consuetudinem imi-

1 *partis* KH: *-es* ceteri.

§ 75. *Transition from the subject of propriety to the three distinctive kinds of style, each of which requires the application of this principle. Passing from the general to the particular, we find that one of the points in which the perfect orator shews a complete mastery of his art is the skilful employment of all the three* genera dicendi (§§ 76—97) *and firstly of the* genus tenue (§§ 76—90).

§ 75. **nota**, the distinctive or characteristic mark, 46. **formula**, definite concrete type, 36. **saepe**, §§ 1, 33, 52.

ingredientibus, 'while still embarking'. We may complete the sense by supplying either *in navem* (which is expressed in II Verr. v 160), or *cursum* ('on our voyage'), or *mare* (as in Sallust H. 3, 77). This last may be supported by a parallel passage from Quint. xii pro., where the successive stages of the author's progress through his work are described in metaphorical phrases like those of this section. § 2 'aura sollicitante provecti longius... nec adhuc a litore procul videbamur', § 3 'procul a portu...in altum ablati'; till at last (§ 4) he finds himself on the boundless expanse of ocean with Cicero alone in sight, 'qui tamen ipse, quamvis tanta et tam instructa nave hoc *mare ingressus*, contrahit vela inhibetque remos et de ipso demum genere dicendi, quo sit usurus perfectus orator, satis habet dicere'. The passage resembles a Greek skolion preserved by Athenaeus xv p. 295:

> ἐκ γῆς μὲν ἄνδρα χρὴ κατιδεῖν πλόον,
> εἴ τις δύναιτο καὶ παλάμην ἔχοι·
> ἐπεὶ δέ κ' ἐν πόντῳ γένηται,
> τῷ παρεόντι τρέχειν ἀνάγκη.

The first to refer to this parallel was Lipsius (*Antiq. Lect.* ii 12 ap. Meyer), but it seems improbable that Cicero had the Greek skolion in mind, as suggested in Piderit's ed.

danda...vela sunt. 'Whereas now, of course, we must *spread our sails* whithersoever the winds shall waft us.' De Or. ii 187 'ad id, unde aliquis flatus ostenditu[illegible]do' ('set my sails'). Quin[illegible] ep. [illegible]h. 3 'permittamus vela vent[illegible] et o[illegible]ventibus bene precemur'.

i[illegible]dus, 7. **solum**, 28, 29, 83.

I[illegible]ollowing description of th[illegible] *tenue* [illegible], we cannot doubt that Cicer[illegible] has [illegible] Lysias, whom the rhetorica[illegible] criti[illegible] the ancients unanimously re[illegible]gard[illegible]he best representative of the [illegible] or plain style. (Volkmann's *R*[illegible]7-8, where *μέσον* must be a slip o[illegible] or *ἰσχνόν*, Blass *Att. Ber.* I p. 3[illegible] *Att. Or.* i 160—2, and Fr. [illegible]er das *genus tenue* des Lysias' [illegible] is true that his name is not mentioned, the writer's object being to give a theoretical delineation of a particular style as one of the varied accomplishments of his ideal orator. An historical and critical sketch of the same style was afterwards written in the times of Augustus, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his *de Lysia Iudicium* and elsewhere. Cicero probably had before him some similar Greek criticisms on the style of Lysias, possibly in the περὶ λέξεως of Theophrastus, whose partiality for Lysias seems, however, to have been less strong than that of Dionysius (de Lys. 14). Special attention will be drawn in the following notes to parallels from Dionysius which although later in date than the *Orator*, probably embody a considerable amount of earlier Greek criticism on the subject. Dion. himself says that the persuasiveness and naturalness of the style of Lysias is a matter of general notoriety, δι' ὄχλου γὰρ ἤδη τοῦτό γε (de Lys. 10 init.).

§ 76. **summissus**, §§ 26 (note) and 82. **humilis**, 192.

consuetudinem imitans. Dion. Hal. de Lys. 2 τῆς Ἀττικῆς γλώττης ἄριστος κανών...τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιχωριαζούσης. ib. 3 (λέξεως ἀρετή) ἡ διὰ τῶν κυρίων τε καὶ κοινῶν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κειμένων ὀνομάτων ἐκφέρουσα τὰ νοούμενα. In de

tans, ab indisertis re plus quam opinione differens. itaque eum qui audiunt, quamvis ipsi infantes sint, tamen illo modo confidunt se posse dicere; nam orationis subtilitas imitabilis illa quidem videtur esse existimanti, sed nihil est experienti minus; etsi enim non plurimi sanguinis est, habeat tamen sucum aliquem 5

Or. iii 153 *inusitata verba* are defined as 'prisca fere ac vetustate ab *usu cotidiani sermonis* iam diu intermissa', the use of which may however be revived by the orator, provided 'consuetudo ferre possit'.

ab indisertis—differens. 'Differing in reality far more than in appearance from those who are not eloquent', i.e. really differing from them far more than is at first sight supposed. Dion. Hal. de Lys. 3 ὁμοίως τοῖς ἰδιώταις διαλέγεσθαι δοκῶν, πλεῖστον ὅσον ἰδιώτου διαφέρει. Cf. *opinione*, 'reputation', like *existimatio*, 'what is thought of one'; cf. Reid on Sull. 10.

infantes, 56. **imitabilis**, not found elsewhere in Cicero; it becomes more frequent in Quintilian. **subtilitas**. This is the characteristic of Lysias in de Or. iii 28, and the epithet *subtilis* is applied to him in Brut. 35 and Quint. x 1 § 78. 'This plainness of style appears, in mere fancy indeed, to be easy to imitate, but in actual practice nothing is harder' (sc. minus imitabile). Dion. de vet. script. censura v § 1 (of Lysias) οὐ μὴν συνεχῶς αὐξητικὸς πλὴν τοῦ σκοποῦ λεληθότως ἐπιτυγχάνων, μετὰ κεκραμένης κατὰ τὴν χάριν ἡδονῆς· ὡς ἀναγιγνωσκόμενον μὲν [οὐχ ὅλον] (*legendum* εὔκολον τι*vel* οὐ χαλεπὸν) νομίζεσθαι χαλεπὸν δὲ εὑρίσκεσθαι ζηλοῦν πειρωμένοις. Isocrates Panath. § 3 (λέγειν) ὡς ἅπαντες μὲν ἂν ἐλπίσειαν εἰ βουληθεῖεν, οὐδεὶς δ' ἂν δυνηθείη ῥᾳδίως πλὴν τῶν πονεῖν ἐθελόντων καὶ σφόδρα προσεχόντων τὸν νοῦν. Hor. Ars P. 240 'ut sibi quivis Speret idem, sudet multum frustraque laboret Ausus idem'. Steele's *Guardian* no. 15 'From what I have advanced it appears, how difficult it is to write easily. But when easy writings fall into the hand of an ordinary reader, they appear to him so natural and unlaboured, that he immediately resolves to write, and fancies that all he hath to do is to take no pains. Thus he thinks indeed simply, but the thoughts, not being chosen with judgment, are not beautiful: he, it is true, expresses himself plainly, but flatly withal. Again, if a man of vivacity takes it in his head to write this way, what self-denial must he undergo, when bright points of wit occur to his fancy! How difficult will he find it to reject florid phrases, and pretty embellishments of style! So true it is, that simplicity of all things is the hardest to be copied, and ease to be acquired with the greatest labour'. Anth. Pal. vii 50 (on Euripides).

non plurimi sanguinis, 'not full-blooded'. *sanguis* is often used metaphorically to denote 'fulness, richness, warmth' of oratory; Brut. 68 'utinam imitarentur nec ossa solum, sed etiam *sanguinem*' (of the Attic style of Hyperides and Lysias), ib. 36 'sucus ille et *sanguis* incorruptus' (of the Attic orators), ib. 283 (of C. Licinius Calvus) 'verum sanguinem deperdebat' (Quint. x 1 § 115); id. viii 3 § 6 (hic ornatus) '*sanguine* et viribus niteat', x 2 § 12 'minus virium ac *sanguinis* habeant declamationes quam orationes', xi 1 § 34 'non sola illa laetiora ...sed etiam illa...plena *sanguinis*', x 1 § 60 (in Archilocho) 'plurimum *sanguinis* atque nervorum' (inf. 91 *nervorum*). Cf. the affectedly elaborate comparison of oratory to the human body in Tac. Dial. de Or. 21 (quoted on p. 29; and Pope's comparison in the *Essay on Criticism*, 303,—written, as has already been remarked (p. 25), under the influence of Cicero and Quintilian: 'For works may have more wit than does 'em good, As bodies perish thro' excess of blood'. For cognate metaphors, see Mayor on Quint. x 1 § 33 p. 88 and Nägelsbach *Stil.* § 136 4.

sucum aliquem, 'some vital juice', 'some of the sap of life'. Ter. Eun. ii. 3, 27 'color verus, corpus solidum et *suci* plenum', where the old commentator Donatus explains *sucus* as 'humor in corpore, quo abundant bene valentes'. Cf. de Or. ii 88 'non potest in eo esse *sucus* diuturnus quod nimis celeriter est maturitatem adsecutum'. ib. 93 (Lysias and others) 'retinebant illum Pericli *sucum* sed erant uberiore filo'; iii 96 'ornatur oratio genere primum et quasi colore quodam et *suco* suo'. Quint. 1 pro § 24 'plerumque nudae illae artes nimiae subtilitatis adfectatione frangunt atque concidunt quidquid est in oratione generosius et omnem *sucum* ingenii bibunt et ossa detegunt; quae ut esse et adstringi

oportet, ut, etiamsi illis maximis viribus careat, sit, ut ita integra valetudine. primum igitur eum tamquam e numerorum eximamus: sunt enim quidam, ut scis, numeri, de quibus mox agemus, observandi ratione quad
5 alio in genere orationis, in hoc omnino relinquendi: s quiddam sit nec vagum tamen, ut ingredi libere, non ut videatur errare. verba etiam verbis quasi coagmentare ne

2 *tanquam* H. 3 *oratorii* cum codd. Dr. Mon. O[2]: *oratori* fort MKJP[1], et H cum *FPO*, idem probaverat Bake. 4 *servandi* Bake.

nervis suis debent, sic corpore operienda sunt', x 1 § 31 'historia quoque alere oratorem quodam uberi iucundoque *suco* potest'. It is combined with *sanguis* as here in Brut. 36 (quoted above) and ad Att. iv 16 c § 10 (of Roman politics) 'amisimus...omnem non modo *sucum ac sanguinem* sed etiam colorem et speciem pristinae civitatis'.

illis, e g. of the *genus grande*. **viribus .. valetudine,** de opt. gen. 8 'non sunt contenti quasi bona *valetudine* sed *vires* lacertos sanguinem quaerunt'. Brut. 64 (of the imitators of Lysias) 'quos *valetudo* modo bona sit, tenuitas ipsa delectat'; de Fin. ii 64 (in the unmetaphorical sense) 'color egregius, *integra valetudo*'.

§ 77. **vinculis**, 64 'nec vincta numeris', de Or. iii 176, 184 (quoted below).

oratorii. The epithet is defended by Orelli as pointing the contrast with *poetici numeri*. Upon which Bake remarks that this distinction is already involved in the qualifying pronoun *quidam;* adding 'neque *oratorii numeri* plur. usquam dicitur, aut dici poterat, sed *oratorius numerus*'. *oratorii*, however, being the rarer word, is more likely to be corrupted in MSS into *oratori* than the converse. Cf. de Or. i 151 'non poëtico sed quodam oratorio numero et modo' where *oratorius* is combined with *quidam* and cannot be altered as here into any case of *orator*. Bake's objection to the pl. is quite arbitrary.

mox, § 168 ff. **alio in genere** sc. in the grand, and also in the intermediate, styles.

solutum...nec vagum, Dion. Hal. de Lysia 8 καὶ συντίθησί γε (τὴν λέξιν) ἁπλῶς πάνυ καὶ ἀφελῶς, ὁρῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ καὶ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ διαλελυμένῃ λέξει γίνεται τὸ ἦθος...δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀποίητός τις εἶναι καὶ ἀτεχνίτευτος ὁ τῆς ἁρμονίας αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρ...ἔστι δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἔργου τεχνικοῦ κατεσκευασμένος. πεποίηται γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο τὸ ἀποίητον καὶ δέδεται τὸ λελυμένον.

ingredi, 'step', primarily 'p ground'. **non...errare,** de Or 'ut verba neque adligata sint q aliqua lege versus, neque ita vagentur', ib. 184 'liberior est sic est...*soluta*, non ut fugiat t *erret*, sed ut *sine vinculis* sibi ip retur'.

verba—neglegat. 'Let hi over careful in (so to speak) words with one another'.

coagmentare, a metaphor f pentry and building, applied artistic composition and skilful tion of the successive words of a Its primary sense of 'joining as applied to works of handicraf blocks of stone, beams of wood, so closely together as to leave between them, is seen in such pa de Fin. iii 74 'quid...in operib factis tam compositum tamque tum et *coagmentatum* inveniri p de Sen. 72, Tusc. Disp. i 71); applies it to the soldering of a w (8, 7), and to the joints of the level (8, 6). Its metaphorical in the present passage may be i from Brut. 68 (of the style of Censor as compared with that o 'ut aptior sit oratio, ipsa verba et quasi *coagmenta*, quod ne G dem veteres factitaverunt'; and 171 'collocationis est componer ere verba sic, ut neve asper eo cursus neve hiulcus sit, sed quod *coagmentatus* et levis' (then fo passage from Lucilius on the fitting cubes of a mosaic paven quoted below, 149). The san phor is familiarly used by Quint the apologetic *quasi* with whic introduces it; xii 10 § 77 ('perpendendis coagmentandisqu intabescentem'. He also uses t by way of illustration, in writi perbaton (='verbi transgressio')

habet enim ille tamquam hiatus et concursus vocalium molle quiddam et quod indicet non ingratam neglegentiam de re hominis magis quam de verbis laborantis. sed erit videndum de reliquis, cum haec duo ei liberiora fuerint, circuitus conglutinatioque verborum: illa enim ipsa contracta et minuta non 5

1 *et concursus* Quint. ix 4 § 37 et Iulius Victor p. 432, 35: *concursu* cum codd. Meyer. 2 *ingratam quandam* Iulius Victor *l. c.* (M), cf. Meyer in Blaetter f. b. Gymn. 1883: *ingratam* ceteri.

§ 62 'fit frequentissime aspera et dura et dissoluta et hians oratio, si ad necessitatem ordinis sui verba redigantur, et, ut quodque oritur, ita proximis, etiamsi vinciri non potest, alligetur. (63) differenda igitur quaedam et praesumenda, atque ut in structuris lapidum impolitorum loco, quo convenit, quodque ponendum. non enim recidere ea nec polire possumus, quo *coagmentata* se magis iungant, sed utendum iis, qualia sunt, eligendaeque sedes'.

hiatus. This is perhaps the only passage in Cic. where this word, which has since become familiar as a term of prosody, is metaphorically applied to the break between word and word produced by the juxtaposition of vowels with no consonant to combine them. But *hiantia* occurs in 32 and *hiabant* in 152. Cf. Aul. Gellius vii 20, 6 (Catullus) 'amans hiatus illius Homerici suavitatem, ebri[os]a dixit propter insequentis *a* litterae (verbi acinae) concentum' (Cf. Ellis, exc. on Cat. xxvii and Munro's Cat. p. 67). In this sense the word is used once only by Quint. quoted below, without Cicero's apologetic *tamquam*. The Greek rhetoricians use χαίνειν in a similar sense (Hermog. περὶ ἰδεῶν, ii 349 in Spengel's *Rh. Gr.*, οὐ δὴ κεχηνέναι δεῖ τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς γοργὸν λόγον); and hence are derived the grammatical terms χασμοί, χασμῳδεῖν and χασμῳδίαι, defined by Eustathius ad Hom. Il. 1 p. 11 as αἱ τῶν φωνηέντων ἐπαλληλίαι καὶ συμπτώσεις (Ernesti *lex. techn. Gr.* s. v.). See further in notes on 149.

concursus vocalium. Auct. ad Herenn. iv 12 § 18 'compositio est verborum constructio aequabiliter perpolita. ea conservabitur, si fugiemus crebras *vocalium concursiones*, quae vastam atque hiantem orationem reddunt, ut haec sunt: baccae aeriae amoenissimae impendebant'.... (Pope, who had this last passage in view, gives us an English example in the line 'Tho' oft the ear the open vowels tire'—*Essay on Criticism* 345.) De Or. iii 171 (quoted above), *inf.* §§ 150 and 151, part. orat. 21 'suave genus erit dicendi...coniunctione (verborum), quae neque asperos habeat concursus (by the conflict of discordant consonants) neque disiunctos atque hiantes' (by open vowels). Quint. ix 4 § 33 (as one of the forms of *iunctura*) '*vocalium concursus*; qui cum accidit, hiat et intersistit et quasi laborat oratio. pessime longae, quae easdem inter se litteras committunt, sonabunt. praecipuus tamen erit *hiatus* earum quae cavo aut patulo maxime ore efferuntur' etc. The corresponding Gk. term is σύγκρουσις φωνηέντων (Dion. Hal. de vet. script. cens. iii 3, see Demetr. de elocut. 68 and other passages quoted on § 151 init.). The avoidance of this is a leading characteristic of the style of Isocrates. To Lysias, on the other hand (and it is his style that Cicero has mainly in view), 'an absolute avoidance of hiatus is unknown: in most of his speeches it is found to a moderate extent, though comparatively rarely in some, e.g. the *Olympiakos*' (Blass *Att. Ber.* i p. 413 fin. and III B p. 337 f.).

non ingratam neglegentiam. Quint. ix 4 § 35 (of *hiatus*) 'nescio neglegentia in hoc an sollicitudo sit peior', where the present passage ('habet—laborantis') is quoted in § 37.

de re—laborantis. Dion. Hal. de Lysia 4 fin. (of the perspicuity of Lysias) τούτου δὲ αἴτιον, ὅτι οὐ τοῖς ὀνόμασι δουλεύει τὰ πράγματα παρ' αὐτῷ, τοῖς δὲ πράγμασιν ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ ὀνόματα. In Isocrates on the other hand, δουλεύει ἡ διάνοια πολλάκις τῷ ῥυθμῷ τῆς λέξεως καὶ τοῦ κομψοῦ λείπεται τὸ ἀληθινόν (id. de Isocr. 12, and ib. 13).

§ 78. **circuitus** ('the periodic rhythm'). One of Cicero's many renderings of περίοδος (§ 204), §§ 187, 206.

conglutinatio verborum, 'the compact combination of words', lit. a gluing, or cementing, together. A slight variation on the metaphor of *coagmentare* used in the previous section. It occurs in its literal sense in De Sen. 72 'omnis conglutinatio recens aegre...divellitur', where we also have *coagmentavit*, and *conglutinavit* contrasted with *dissolvit*. The noun

neglegenter tractanda sunt, sed quaedam etiam neglege
diligens. nam ut mulieres esse dicuntur non nullae in
quas id ipsum deceat, sic haec subtilis oratio etiam i

1 *est: erit* coni. K.

is not found elsewhere, but the metaphorical use of the verb is frequent in Cic., e.g. de Or. i 188 'ars...quae rem dissolutam divolsamque conglutinaret et ratione quadam constringeret'. (On this and similar metaphors, see Nägelsbach *Stil.* § 133 ad fin., pp. 408-9 ed. The same metaphor may be noti... the corresponding rhetorical term in in Dion. Hal. de Dem. 43 τὰ μὲν ἀρ... λημένας ἔχει τὰς ἁρμονίας καὶ διεστώσας, τὰ δὲ προσκολλῶσαι (προσκεκολλημένας *Sylburg*) καὶ συμπεπυκνωμένας. ib. 40 (λέξεις) πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον νοῦν οὔτ' ἀναγκαίας οὔτ' ἴσως χρησίμας, δεσμοῦ δέ τινος ἢ κόλλης τάξιν ταῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ ταύτας κειμέναις ὀνομασίας παρεξομένας.

contracta ex hiatu; **minuta** non periodica, sed membra et incisa. nam opponuntur circuitus et conglutinatio verborum—Ernesti (ap. Goeller); though in his Clavis s.v. *minutus* he oddly says: *contracta* opponuntur hiantibus, *minuta* periodis. Ernesti's distinction as stated in his *commentary* is adopted by Goeller, Jahn and Piderit. The first says: 'ut in coagmentando nullus hiatus est, quia nullus concursus vocalium; ita in contractis hiatus est, qui tamen ipsa contractione tollitur'. Though the rest of his note is somewhat obscurely, and even ungrammatically expressed, I conclude that by *contracta* he understands 'blended' in pronunciation,—i.e. with the *hiatus* not removed by transposition or other alteration, with the final vowel of one word not elided before the first vowel of the next, but blended with it by *synaloephe.* This may be right; and, if so, we may explain *contracta* as = *non distracta* (see § 152 where *distrahere voces* is used of keeping vowel-sounds apart and allowing the *hiatus* to stand, without softening it down by *synaloephe*).

On the other hand, it can hardly be doubted that the common use of *contractus* makes it equivalent to *brevis*, e.g. in the Brutus (written in the same year as this passage), we have § 162 'ambitus ille verborum...erat apud illum (L. Crassum) *contractus et brevis*, et in membra quaedam, quae κῶλα Graeci vocant, dispertiebant orationem lubentius', ib. 120 contractior oratio, cf. de Or. iii 157 'ad verbum

unum contracta brevitas'; pa... 'contractione orationis', ib. ... verbo dilatetur aut in verbum c... oratio', and inf. 193 'contractio... gravitatem non habet'. On... *contracta* and *minuta* would bo... contrasted with the periodic st... has already said that, in allowi... *cursus vocalium*, the *orator A*... shew a certain agreeable neglig... he now adds that a similar ... *diligens* is to mark the struct... sentences, which are to res... short and concise clauses of... rather than the fully develope... of an Isocrates. This explana... cepted by Dr Reid as undoubte...

neglegentia diligens, i.e. ... certain care in the very careless... in the very absence of art. Di... de Lysia 8 δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀποίητ... καὶ ἀτεχνίτευτος ὁ τῆς ἁρμονίας... ρακτὴρ...ἔστι δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἐ... κοῦ κατεσκευασμένος· πεποίηται... τοῦτο τὸ ἀποίητον καὶ δέδεται τὸ... καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν δεινῶς... σθαι τὸ δεινὸν ἔχει. For the... cf. 'insanientis sapientiae' in H... 2, and 'strenua inertia' in Ep. i ... Cic. Phil. i 5 'qui illam insepult... turam effecerunt' (this last ref. i... Volkmann's *Rhet.* p. 371, whe... Gk. instances are quoted; see al... on Eur. Bacch. 66 πόνον ἡδὺν ... εὐκάματον. The figure is ra... torical prose).

mulieres...inornatae etc. ... in Dion. Hal. de Isocr. 3, Iso... short of Lysias in χάρις, ὅσον... καλῶν σωμάτων τὰ συνεραν... ἐπιθέτοις. Plaut. Mostell. 279 'si pulcrast, nimis ornatast.'

id ipsum, 'the very absence... ment.' Thomson's *Seasons*, ... 204, 'Loveliness Needs not t... aid of ornament, But is, when u... adorned the most'.

etiam incompta, 'even in dis... 'unkempt', used to keep up the... son of the *oratio* to a *mulier in*... in de Or. i 234 'cuius artem cu... tam et *incomptam* videres, verb... dote locupletasti et *ornasti*'; ... 1 § 1, 'tua illa horridula mihi... compta visa sunt; sed tamen ...

; fit enim quiddam in utroque, quo sit venustius, sed appareat. tum removebitur omnis insignis ornatus quasi tarum; ne calamistri quidem adhibebuntur; fucati vero nenta candoris et ruboris omnia repellentur; elegantia : munditia remanebit. sermo purus erit et Latinus; dilu- 5 neque dicetur; quid deceat circumspicietur—unum aberit, XXIV

quod ornamenta neglexerant, et :s ideo bene olere, quia nil idebantur. meus autem liber crati μυροθήκιον atque omnes pulorum arculas ac nonnihil stotelia pigmenta consumpsit'. i 6 § 41 'nuda sit et velut *in*-ntio', Liv. iv 41 § 1, of *versus* :. ii 386, and Hor. A. P. 446. **que**, in the case of *mulieres* and *oratio inornata*, 'in both ertain effect is produced which sh charm, but without obtrud-

...**margaritarum.** For the cf. Pope's *Essay on Criticism* s like painters, thus, unskill'd he naked nature and the living th gold and jewels cover ev'ry hide with ornaments their want

tri, lit. 'curling irons', 'crisp- (see diagram in Rich's dict. , a metaphor from the toilet, artificial adornment or rheto-sh. Brut. 262 'qui volent illa commentarios) calamistris inu- . dial. de oratoribus 26 'malim Gracchi impetum aut L. Crassi m quam *calamistros Maecenatis* is Gallionis' (Augustus used to he called the μυροβρεχεῖς *cin*- Maecenas, Suet. Aug. 86). enough, this metaphor is not l in Quintilian; possibly, by his id become too trite and com- Some similar phrases may be Dion. Hal. de comp. verb. 25 Jahn), ὁ δὲ Πλάτων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κτενίζων καὶ βοστρυχίζων χρόνον ἀναπλέκων οὐ διέλιπεν ι γεγονὼς ἔτη.

nedicamenta, φάρμακα, meta- applied to artificial embellish- n the corresponding non-meta- ense of 'cosmetic' it is found in Ben. 7, 9, 2. Brut. 36 'in qua naturalis in- *fucatus* nitor', de Or. iii 199 venustatis non *fuco* illitus, sed *diffusus color*,' *ib*. 100 'cincinnis *id* '*infucata vitia*', ii 188 'sine pigmentis *fuco*que puerili'. Quint. viii 3 § 6 *fuco* ementitus color. The primary sense of *fucus* (φῦκος) is a reddish sea-weed (rock-lichen, orchil) used as a red dye; hence *fucus* of 'rouge' (Plaut. Most. i 3, 118. The *fucatus candor* of the text corresponds to the *cerussa* (ψιμύθιον, white-lead) of the Roman ladies' toilet (Most. i 3, 101). For the *fucatus rubor*, or 'rouge', cf. Ovid Met. iii 491 and Am. iii 3, 5. Cf. *Guesses at Truth* p. 210 ed. 1868 'eschew fine words as you would *rouge*: love simple ones, as you would native roses on your cheeks'.

elegantia 83, **munditia** Quint. viii 3 § 87 'nam ipsa illa ἀφέλεια simplex et inaffectata habet quendam *purum*, *qualis etiam in feminis amatur*, *ornatum*, et sunt quaedam velut e tenui diligentia circa proprietatem significationemque *munditiae*.' Cf. Horace's *simplex munditiis* (C. i 5, 5); and Ovid A. A. iii 479 'Munda sed e medio consuetaque verba puellae Scribite; sermonis publica forma placet'.

sermo purus. Dion. Hal. De Lysia 2 καθαρός ἐστι τὴν ἑρμηνείαν πάνυ. **dilucide planeque**, ib. 4 ἡ δὲ Λυσίου λέξις ἅπασά ἐστι φανερὰ καὶ σαφής. **quid deceat**, ib. 9 οἴομαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἔχειν τὴν Λυσίου λέξιν (quoted in full in note on § 71).

unum aberit. The four points of excellence in style as stated in de Or. iii 47 are (1) *ut Latine*, (2) *ut plane*, (3) *ut ornate*, (4) *ut ad id quodcunque agetur, apte congruenterque dicamus*; i.e. purity, perspicuity, ornament, and propriety. All of these qualities of style are implicitly recognised in Aristotle's Rhet. iii 2 § 1, 2, though the division is not accurately made nor the order regularly followed (Cope's Introd. p. 279 ff.). From the passages of Dion. Hal. de Thuc. iud. T. vi p. 92, 175 (c. 23) and Ep. ad Pomp. p. 39 (ad fin.), referred to in Volkmann's *Rhet*. p. 334, we may infer that the four points were probably τὸ καθαρόν, τὸ σαφές, τὸ πρέπον and τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές (καλλιρρημοσύνη, σεμνολογία. Cf. τὸ μέγα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ περιττὸν ἐν λέξει, Dion. Hal. de Isocr. 5 quoting Theophr.) Jahn specifies as the four: (1) τὸ σαφές, (2) τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές, (3) τὸ ἡδύ, (4) τὸ πιθανόν,

quod quartum numerat Theophrastus in orationis laudi
tum illud, suave et adfluens,—acutae crebraeque
ponentur et nescio unde ex abdito erutae, idque in h
dominabitur; verecundus erit usus oratoriae quasi su
5 supellex est enim quodam modo nostra, quae est in o
alia rerum, alia verborum; ornatus autem verborum
unus simplicium, alter collocatorum: simplex probat

1 *ornatum* codd.: *ornamentum* Tulichius, Lambinus, Meyer; *moratu*
Bake coll. § 128 et de Or. ii [illegible] Top. 97, auct. περὶ ὕψους xxxiv 2
Lysianas quoque χάριτας com[illegible]it, τό τε ἠθικὸν μετὰ γλυκύτητο
ἐφηδυνόμενον. 2 *affluens* [illegible] *FPO*; *adf.* PK; *afluens* typothetae
3 *erutae.* *Atque* J. [illegible]r (HST); *atque* cum codd. σ² ('(
hoc'); *atque in hoc oratore* [illegible]*buntur* ed. Ascensiana², Lambinus, Er
in hoc orator dominabitur Manutius (JP), 'malim cum Manutio *orator*,
§ 8' σ². 6 (post *autem*) *verborum* om. *FPO*, add. cod. Vatican. man.
verborum *ornatus autem* Stangl. 7 *conl.* K.

but this list, like that suggested above, is purely a matter of inference, and rests on no definite testimony. The reference is doubtless to the lost work of Theophr. περὶ λέξεως. Cf. Dion. Hal. de comp. verb. 16 p. 101, εἴρηται δέ τινα περὶ τούτων καὶ Θεοφράστῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ κοινότερον ἐν τοῖς περὶ λέξεως, ἵνα ὁρίζει τινὰ ὀνόματα φύσει καλά· παραδείγματος ἕνεκα ὧν συντιθεμένων καλὴν οἴεται καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ γενήσεσθαι τὴν φράσιν. The same writer is referred to in §§ 172, 194, 218. *Introd.* p. lxix f.

The **ornatum suave** (= τὸ ἡδύ), as pointed out by Piderit, is inappropriate to the *genus tenue* and belongs to the *genus medium*; and similarly the **ornatum adfluens** (τὸ περιττόν, τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές) belongs to the *genus grande*. *These* two varieties of ornament are denied to the *genus tenue*.

adfluens 42. **acutae crebraeque sententiae.** De Or. ii 34 'quid autem subtilius quam crebrae acutaeque sententiae?', Brut. 29 (of Thucydides and the orators contemporary with him, who have this point in common with the *orator tenuis*) 'grandes erant verbis, *crebri sententiis*, compressione rerum breves et ob eam ipsam causam interdum subobscuri', ib. 66 'horum concisis sententiis, interdum etiam non satis apertis cum brevitate tum nimio *acumine*, officit Theopompus elatione atque altitudine orationis suae (quod idem *Lysiae* Demosthenes)'; Plin. Ep. i 16, 2 (of the oratory of Pompeius Saturninus) 'adsunt aptae (al. acutae) crebraeque sententiae'.

idque, referring to the point mentioned last, the *acutae crebraeque sententiae*. **dominabitur,** De Or. i 60 'quod unum *in oratore* dominatur'. **verecundus** inf. § 81 (note).

supellectilis, changing t
from furniture we may rende
be only a moderate use of
called the orator's *stock in*
orators have, in a manner,
naments'. By a similar meta
instrumentum is elsewhere
store of oratorical subjects
the head of *inventio*, wh
atque ornatus is applied to
dicendi and other parts of *d*
ii 366). [Cf. Sen. Ep. 58, 1
pria Platonis supellex' (Rei

§ 80. **supellex.** At thi
a parenthetical explanation,
with *pauciora* in the middle
which the general descripti
with the words *ergo ille tenu*

duplex 134, de Or. iii 14
ornatus orationis, qui ex s
est; alius, qui ex continuati
constat'. In adopting this
sion, Cicero departs sligh
threefold division incidenta
by Theophrastus as quoted l
de Isocr. 3, καθόλου δὲ τρ
φησι Θεόφραστος, ἐξ ὧν γι
καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ περιττὸν ἐν
ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων (*verbo*
καὶ τῆς ἐκ τούτων ἁρμονίας
collocatio) καὶ τῶν περιλαμβ
σχημάτων. **simplex,** not
verbum.

propriis, de Or. iii 149
sunt et certa quasi vocabula
una nata cum rebus ipsis
with metaphors and with a
on the ordinary language), il
priis igitur est verbis illa la
abiecta atque obsoleta fugi

priis usitatisque verbis, quod aut optime sonat aut rem maxime explanat; in alienis aut translatum *ac sumptum* aliunde ut mutuo, aut factum ab ipso *et* novum aut priscum et inusitatum; sed etiam inusitata ac prisca sunt in propriis, nisi quod raro utimur. collocata autem verba habent ornatum, si aliquid con- 5 cinnitatis efficiunt, quod verbis mutatis non maneat manente sententia; nam sententiarum ornamenta, quae permanent, etiamsi verba mutaveris, sunt illa quidem permulta, sed quae emineant pauciora. ergo ille tenuis orator, modo sit elegans, nec in facien-

1 *verbis* delet J. *sonat...explanat* Meyer JP[1], et H cum *FPO*: *sonant...explanant* cod. Eins. (OKP[2]St). 2 *ac sumptum* P[2]: *aut factum* MO cum *FPO*; *et factum* Schuetz (KH); *aut sumptum* Ernesti, *et sumptum* Lambinus (Bake coll. de Or. iii 161 'ducta', St); *aut factum ab ipso*, *aut priscum* J (omissis *aliunde—mutuo* et *aut novum*); *aut translatum aliunde et mutuatum aut factum ab ipso et novum* Schenkl. 3 et *novum* Schuetz[2] (O[1]KHSt, Bake, Schenkl); *aut novum* cum codd. Ern. MO[23]; *ac novum* P[2]; om. J. *usitatum FPO*. 4 *usitata FPO*. 5 *conl.* K. 9 *orator* secl. Bake (K).

illustribus utatur, in quibus plenum quiddam et *sonans* inesse videatur', ib. 159 'omnes translatis et alienis magis delectentur verbis quam *propriis* et suis'. Quintilian i 5 § 4 divides *verba singula* into 'nostra aut peregrina; aut simplicia aut composita; aut *propria* aut translata; aut usitata aut ficta'; and in viii 3 § 24 gives three divisions, 'propria, ficta, translata'. The nearest equivalent in Greek is ὄνομα οἰκεῖον. The slight distinction between this and ὄνομα κύριον is generally neglected by the Latin writers on rhetoric (see Cope on Ar. Rhet. iii 2 §§ 2 and 6, and Introd. p. 282 note); but in the present passage *proprium* corresponds fairly well to *οἰκεῖον* and *usitatum* to *κύριον*. The latter is defined in Ar. Poet. xxi 3 as ᾧ χρῶνται ἕκαστοι opposed to γλῶττα, ᾧ ἕτεροι.

sonat. Demetr. de Eloc. 173 (quoted by Jahn) ποιεῖ δὲ εὔχαριν τὴν ἑρμηνείαν καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα καλὰ ὀνόματα. ὡρίσατο δ' αὐτὰ Θεόφραστος οὕτως· κάλλος ὀνόματός ἐστι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἢ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἡδύ, ἢ τὸ ἐν διανοίᾳ ἔντιμον.

aut translatum, etc. De Or. iii 152—6 'tria sunt in verbo simplici, quae orator adferat ad illustrandam atque exornandam orationem; aut *inusitatum* verbum aut *novatum* aut *translatum*. *inusitata* sunt prisca fere ac vetustate ab usu cotidiani sermonis iam diu intermissa;...*novantur* autem verba quae ab eo, qui dicit, ipso gignuntur ac *fiunt*...*translationes* quasi *mutuationes* sunt, cum quod non habeas *aliunde sumas*', inf. 201 'translatum, novum, priscum' and 81 'in faciendis verbis...in transferendis...*in priscis*'. *translatum* = μεταφορά; *factum*, πεποιημένον; *priscum et inusitatum* comes under the head of γλῶτται which include not only foreign words but also those that are obsolete and archaic (Cope's Introd. to Ar. Rhet. p. 288). Bake is doubtless right in approving *et novum*. We thus obtain, as he observes, the three kinds of words mentioned in §§ 81 and 201.

inusitata...in propriis. Similarly Ar. Poet. xxi 3 λέγω δὲ κύριον μὲν ᾧ χρῶνται ἕκαστοι γλῶτταν δὲ ᾧ ἕτεροι, ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ γλῶτταν καὶ κύριον εἶναι δυνατὸν τὸ αὐτό, μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέ· τὸ γὰρ σίγυνον Κυπρίοις μὲν κύριον, ἡμῖν δὲ γλῶττα. **raro**, de Or. iii 153 'inusitata sunt prisca fere ac vetustate ab usu cotidiani sermonis iam diu intermissa, quae sunt poëtarum licentiae liberiora quam nostrae; sed tamen *raro* habet etiam in oratione poëticum aliquod verbum dignitatem'.

§ 81. **collocata**, §§ 134 and esp. 135. **concinnitatis** 'neatness' or 'symmetry' of expression, §§ 38 and 83; § 20 (concinniores). **nam** here anticipates a possible objection, by explaining that there *are* figures of rhetoric which, unlike those just mentioned, remain unaffected by a change of expression. The latter are the *ornamenta sententiarum* (σχήματα διανοίας, see § 136); the former, a subdivision of the *ornamenta verborum* (σχήματα λέξεως).

ergo, resuming from the end of § 79. For the general sense of the subsequent clauses, cf. Dion. Hal. de Lysia 3 (of the style of L.) ἡ διὰ τῶν κυρίων τε καὶ κοινῶν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κειμένων ὀνομάτων ἐκφέρουσα τὰ νοούμενα· ἥκιστα γὰρ ἄν τις εὕροι Λυσίαν τροπικῇ φράσει χρησάμενον.

...*uria* 'gemmare ... *vitis* ...
firmat etiam Quint. viii 6 § 6 ... *sitire*
Pont. i 8, 60, Columella xii 9, ...
F¹P¹O¹; al. *lascivire* in marg. ...

in transferendis verecundus, ...
xvi 17 § 1 'ut sit, quomodo *Theo*...
placet, *verecunda* translatio' (the ...
word was probably σώφρων); de ...
165 '*verecunda* debet esse translati...
opt. gen. 4 'in tralatis (perficiendum ...
ut similitudinem secuti *verecunde* ut ...
alienis'. auct. ad Herenn. iv 45 'tra...
tionem *pudentem* dicunt esse opor...
ut cum ratione in consimilem rem t...
seat, ne sine delectu temere et cu...
videatur in dissimilem transcurrisse'. ...
passage of Theophrastus above allu...
to was probably in the same context ...
that referred to in the περὶ ὕψους 3...
διόπερ ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης (Rhet. iii. 7 § ...
καὶ ὁ Θεόφραστος μειλίγματά φασί τι...
τῶν θρασειῶν εἶναι ταῦτα μεταφορῶν τ...
ὡσπερεὶ φάναι καὶ οἱονεὶ καὶ εἰ χρ...
τοῦτον εἰπεῖν τὸν τρόπον καὶ εἰ δεῖ ...
παρακινδυνευτικώτερον λέξαι (cf. de
Or. l. c.). '*in reliquisque* seems neces-
sary, after *in priscis*' (Reid).

demissior 'somewhat subdued'. **tra-
latione—crebrior** = *crebrius utetur*; 'in
metaphor perhaps he will be more abun-
dant'.

frequentissime. In Cicero the positive
frequenter means not only 'in la...
numbers', but also 'frequ... ' in ...
an instan...

ı frumenta. nihil horum parum audacter, sed aut simile
ınde transferas, aut si res suum nullum habet nomen,
causa sumptum, non ludendi videtur. hoc ornamento
paulo quam ceteris utetur hic summissus, nec tam
tamen, quam si genere dicendi uteretur amplissimo; 5
ud indecorum, quod quale sit ex decoro debet intellegi, XXV
ue apparet, cum verbum aliquod altius transfertur; idque
ne humili ponitur, quod idem in alia deceret. illam
oncinnitatem, quae verborum collocationem illuminat
ibus, quae Graeci quasi aliquos gestus orationis σχήματα 10

—*deceret* secl. K. 8 *in alta deceret* Manutius (st). 9 *colloca-*
minat K. 10 et p. 95, 1 *his FPO*: *iis* OH.

rum=non satis, 217. Tusc. ı 'nemo parum diu vixit qui ectae functus est munere'. **simile est** (sc. *horum quidvis*) though the preceding clause *orum quidvis satis audacter;* actly equivalent to what Cic. written. The sing. is due ding *nihil*. **si res** etc., de Or. es suum nomen et vocabulum on habet, ut *pes* in navi, ut d per libram agitur, ut in *tium*, necessitas cogit, quod , aliunde sumere.' **docendi** orrowed to explain your mean- t merely to please the ear'. **nto**, viz. metaphor. **summis-** 76, 90. , sc. from what has been said ty' in §§ 70—74. **ansfertur**, 'when any meta- etched'; Demetr. de eloc. § 78 ... πόρρωθεν μετενηνεγμέναις. repetita' (11). **humili**, where *genus dicendi* is appropriate. he *grande* or *medium genus*. **ncinnitatem**, 38, 81. **illumi- inibus**. For the cognate abl. i 235 'alieno ornatu velis or- ivilis scientiam', and see Roby or *illuminat* cf. de Or. iii 170 ,quod maxime tamquam stellis notat et *illuminat* orationem'. **a**. Rhetorical figures are o two classes according as m (1) the words, either (a) b) in collocation; or (11) the s (1) the *lumina orationis* (135) ded into *lumina verborum*, (a) (80) i.e. *singulorum;* and (b) (81). In contrast to these, 11), the *lumina sententiarum* synonym of *lumina* we have as in § 81 '*ornamenta et ver-*

borum et sententiarum' and § 136 'sen- tentiarum ornamenta'. The Gk. equiva- lent to 1 is σχήματα λέξεως; to 11, σχή- ματα διανοίας. The Auct. ad Herenn. does not use the word *lumina;* in iv 13 § 18, he says of dignitas (orationis), 'in verborum et in scientiarum *exornatio- nem* dividitur'. (Cf. Volkmann's *Rhet.* § 47.) For a list of the various rhetorical figures, see §§ 135 ff.

σχήματα, here=*gestus*, is also rendered by *lumina* in Brut. 275 'erant et verbo- rum et sententiarum illa lumina, quae vo- cant Graeci σχήματα, quibus tamquam in- signibus in ornatu distinguebatur omnis oratio'; and by *formae* ib. 69 'ornari ora- tionem Graeci putant, si verborum immu- tationibus utantur, quos appellant τρό- πους, et sententiarum orationisque formis quae vocant σχήματα' (where the τρόποι are strictly speaking *ornamenta verborum singulorum* and therefore identical with the *orationis formae* and the first division of the first class of σχήματα). Both ren- derings are combined in § 181 'orationis quasi *formae* et *lumina*'. Cf. de opt. gen. 14 'sententiis isdem et earum *formis* tamquam *figuris*'. In the rhetoricians after the time of Cic., *figurae* became the most common equivalent, e.g. Quint. who uses the word *schema* more frequently than *lumina* (which occurs in viii 5 §§ 29, 34, 6 § 7; ix 1 § 25, 2 §§ 2, 102; xii 10 §§ 49, 62), uses *figura* in this sense in more than a hundred passages, e.g. i 8 § 16 'schemata utraque, id est figuras, quaeque λέξεως quaeque διανοίας vocantur'. Simi- larly in Aquila Romanus, de figuris sen- tentiarum et elocutionis, pro. 'figurarum aliae sunt sententiarum quae διανοίας σχή- ματα appellant, aliae elocutionis, quae λέξεως σχήματα vocantur'. In the term 'figure', this rendering of σχήματα has come down to modern times.

appellant, quod idem verbum ab eis etiam in sententiarum orn
menta transfertur, adhibebit quidem hic subtilis, quem nisi quo
solum, ceteroqui recte quidam vocant Atticum, sed paulo parciu
nam, sicut in epularum apparatu, a magnificentia recedens no
5 se parcum solum, sed etiam elegantem videri volet, *et* elig
quibus utatur. sunt enim pleraque apta huius ipsius oratoris, d
quo loquor, parsimoniae. nam illa, de quibus ante dixi, hui
acuto fugienda sunt, paria paribus relata et similiter conclus
eodemque pacto cadentia et immutatione litterae quasi quaesita
10 venustates, ne elaborata concinnit [illegible] quoddam aucupium delec
tationis manifesto deprehensum [illegible] eat; itemque si quae ver

1 *quod idem—transfertur* secludit Nixon. [illegible] *adhibebit* Bake (KJPHST): *adhib*
cum codd. MO. *hic quidem* Eins. (ST). [illegible] *ceteroquin* cod. Laur. 50, 1 (OKJP)
ceteroque FPO; *ceteroqui* scripsit H (ST). [illegible] om. *FPO*, add. cod. Vat. 120
man. 3, et Laur. 50, 18 man. 2 (edd. [illegible] 5 et *eliget* Bake (KJ), *eligetqu*
Lambinus (H): *eliget FPO*, quod retin[illegible] 6 *pleraque P*, *placraque F*
plerque O. *aptae FPO*, *apta* La[illegible] *oratoris* secl. K. 9 *quas*
cum codd. MOP; secl. Lambinus et Bake (K) [illegible]st *quoddam* transponebat Schuetz

solum...Atticum, 28. **recedens.** If we render this 'one who shrinks from display', we make it an instance of the substantival use of the *nominative* case of the present participle. To avoid this we should have to take *orator hic subtilis* as the subject of the present sentence (see Nagelsbach *Stil.* § 29, 1). *Sapiens* is often so used (pro Mur. 62 'numquam sapiens irascitur', and frequently in the philosophic writings, as an equivalent of ὁ σοφός); and *serpens* and *adulescens* are similarly formed; but there is probably no other example in Cicero (*indicans* and *statuens* in de Off. i 2 § 6 being capable of another explanation). It is possible, perhaps, to regard the subject of the sentence as general, equivalent to our *one*; but it appears simpler to remove the difficulty by inserting *et* or *que*, the effect of which is to make *recedens* an ordinary participle.

parcum...elegantem. Brut. 148 'Crassus erat elegantium parcissimus, Scaevola parcorum elegantissimus', where Piderit quotes Corn. Nepos, Atticus c. 13, '*elegans* non *magnificus*, splendidus non sumptuosus'. **eliget**, referring to the primary meaning of **elegans** 'choice', hence 'tasteful'.

§ 84. **pleraque** is opposed to *omnia*; hence the *orator subtilis* will have to choose, *eliget*; and in the following sentence Cic. shews what he must avoid. It is also opposed to *nulla*; hence the view of the Atticists, that none of the figures of speech are allowed them, is false. inf. 86 '*pleraque*...convenient etiam huic tenuitati'. **parsimoniae**, 'simplicity of taste', refers back to *parcius* and *parcum*. **ante dixi**, 65 and 38; **huic acuto**, 20, 98. On **paria paribus relata**, etc. 'parallelisms of structure, resemblances of termination and coincidences of cadence', see 38 (note).

immutatione litterae, 'those prettinesses, as it were, purposely produced by the change of a letter', de Or. ii 256 'alterum genus est, quod habet parvam verbi immutationem, quod in littera positum Graeci vocant παρονομασίαν ut "Nobiliorem mobiliorem" Cato'. It has been proposed to strike out **quasi** or place it before *aucupium* which however already has in *quoddam* an equivalent to *quasi*. It is not easy to explain, and it may have found its way into the text from the repetition of the first two syllables of *quaesitae*. In § 89, we have *vitabit quaesita* without any apologetic *quasi*. Probably it refers to the metaphorical use of *venustates* as much as to *quaesitae*.

'It is difficult to say when Cic. would, or would not, think it necessary to modify any word by *quasi*. If he had a Greek word in his mind or was imitating some Greek passage, the *quasi* is natural' (Reid).

ne...appareat (he must avoid all these) 'lest an over-studied symmetry and a certain catching at a pleasing effect should become too palpably obtrusive'. For **aucupium** cf. §§ 63, 197.

borum iterationes contentionem aliquam et clamorem requirent, erunt ab hac summissione orationis alienae, ceteris promiscue poterit uti; continuationem verborum modo relaxet et dividat utaturque verbis quam usitatissimis, tralationibus quam mollissimis. etiam illa sententiarum lumina adsumet, quae non erunt 5 vehementer illustria: non faciet rem publicam loquentem nec ab inferis mortuos excitabit nec acervatim multa frequentans una

6 *inlustria* KH.

§ 85. **iterationes**, 135 'cum iterantur verba'. **contentionem**, 56 (note), 95 'a raising of the emphasis, and a loudness of voice' (clamorem). **summissione**, 'this *quiet style* of oratory', de Or. iii 212 'ornamentis isdem uti fere licebit alias contentius, alias summissius'. The *tenuis orator* is called *summissus* in §§ 76, 82, 90.

ceteris sc. figures of speech. **continuationem**, 'provided he loosens and breaks up the *compact continuity* of the words': i.e. the periodic structure; part. orat. 21 'constructio verborum tum coniunctionibus copuletur, tum dissolutionibus quasi relaxetur'. The result of *relaxet* is the *solutum* of § 77, and of *dividat* the *minuta* of § 78.

mollissimis, the smoothest of metaphors, opp. to *duris*. De Or. iii 165 'si vereare ne paulo *durior* translatio esse videatur, *mollienda* est praeposito saepe verbo'. Quint. viii 6 § 17 (translationes) '*durae*, id est a longinqua similitudine ductae'.

sententiarum lumina, 83 (note), 136. **vehementer illustria**, 'too dazzling, glaring'. De Or. i 151 'omnes *sententiae* verbaque omnia, quae sunt cuiusque generis maxime *illustria*'.

rem publicam loquentem, a figure frequently used by Cicero himself, as in Cat. i 18 (patria) 'tecum, Catilina, sic agit et quodam modo tacita *loquitur*': etc.; ib. 27 'si mecum patria...si cuncta Italia, si omnis *respublica* sic loquatur: M. Tulli, quid agis?', ib. iv 18, and Div. in Caecilium 19 'Sicilia tota, si una voce loqueretur, hoc diceret', etc. It is called 'personarum ficta inductio' in de Or. iii 205, and *conformatio* by the auct. ad Herenn. iv 53 § 66 'cum aliqua quae non adest persona confingitur quasi adsit aut quom res muta aut informis eloquens et forma ei et oratio adtribuitur ad dignitatem adcommodata aut actio quaedam, hoc pacto: quodsi nunc haec urbs invictissima vocem mittat, non hoc pacto loquatur? etc... proficit plurimum in amplificationis partibus et commiserationis'.

It corresponds to the προσωποποιία of the Gk. rhetoricians, not the rhetorical exercise of that name described in Theon's *progymnasmata* 10 (referred to by Göller), but the figure explained and illustrated by Apsines 12 (Spengel's *Rhet. Gr.* i 386), who quotes Dem. Olynth. i init. ὁ γὰρ παρὼν καιρὸς ταύτας ἀφίησι τὰς φωνάς, and by Quint. ix 2 § 29—37, where two of the above passages of Cic. in Cat. are quoted. Cf. id. xii 10 § 61 where he says of the representative of the *grande atque robustum dicendi genus*, 'hic orator et defunctos excitabit ut Appium Caecum (*pro Cael.* 33), apud hunc et patria ipsa exclamabit, aliquandoque Ciceronem in oratione contra Catilinam in senatu (referring esp. to Or. i) *alloquetur*': (the awkwardness of this last sentence may be removed by reading *aemulabitur* sc. *hic orator;* some MSS have *alloquatur.* Halm follows Obrecht in inserting *ut* before *Ciceronem.*)

ab inferis mortuos excitabit, de Or. i 245 (where Ant. says to Crassus) 'patrem eius, ut soles, dicendo a mortuis excitasses', Brut. 322 'erat...nemo (except Cicero) qui memoriam rerum Romanarum teneret, ex qua, si quando opus esset, ab inferis locupletissimos testes excitaret', Top. 45 'oratoribus et philosophis concessum est, ut muta etiam loquantur, ut mortui ab inferis excitentur'. Cf. Quint. xii 10 § 61 (quoted above). Even Lysias, the standard type of the *tenuis orator*, does not entirely abstain from this figure, introducing it with admirable taste and excellent effect near the close of his speech against Eratosthenes xii § 100 οἶμαι δ' αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς τεθνεῶτας) ἡμῶν τε ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς εἴσεσθαι τὴν ψῆφον φέροντας κ.τ.λ. As an English example we may refer to part of the magnificent burst of eloquence in Robert Hall's Sermon on the threatened invasion in 1803: 'I cannot but imagine that the virtuous

complexione devinciet: valentiorum haec laterum sunt nec ab hoc, quem informamus, aut exspectanda aut postulanda; erit enim ut voce, sic etiam oratione suppressior. sed pleraque ex illis convenient etiam huic tenuitati, quamquam isdem orna- 5 mentis utetur horridius; talem enim inducimus. accedet actio non tragica nec scaenae, sed modica iactatione corporis, voltu

4 *isdem* KJH: *eisdem* P; *iisdem* MO. 5 *accedet* Lambinus (Ernesti, OKJPSt): *accedit* Meyer et H cum codd. 6 *scaenae* HSt: *scenae* MOKJP; cf. § 134; *ab scaena* conicit Reid. *vultu* MOJPH.

heroes, legislators and patriots of every age and country, are bending from their elevated seats to witness this contest, as if they were incapable, till it be brought to a favourable issue, of enjoying their eternal repose' (Brougham's *Rhet. Diss.* p. 290).

The most famous Roman example is the speech made against Pompeius by a man whose extreme age P. had jested at, saying he had come *ab inferis*. The man answered 'non mentiris, Pompei; venio enim ab inferis..., sed dum illic moror, vidi cruentum Cn. Domitium Ahenobarbum..., omnesque eos una voce indignantes, quod indemnati sub te adulescentulo carnifice occidissent', Valer. Max. vi 2 § 8 (Reid). Cf. also II Verr. v § 113.

acervatim, i.e. 'he will not crowd a long series of reiterations, within the bounds of a single period'. Quint. viii 4 § 26 'potest ascribi amplificationi *congeries* quoque verborum ac sententiarum idem significantium. nam, etiamsi non per gradus ascendant, tamen velut *acervo* quodam allevantur: "quid enim tuus ille, Tubero, destrictus in acie Pharsalica gladius agebat? cuius latus ille mucro petebat? qui sensus erat armorum tuorum? quae tua mens? oculi? manus? ardor animi? quid cupiebas? quid optabas?" (pro Ligario 9). simile est hoc figurae, quam συναθροισμὸν vocant: sed illic plurium rerum est congeries, hic unius multiplicatio. haec etiam crescere solet verbis omnibus altius atque altius insurgentibus: "aderat ianitor carceris, carnifex praetoris, mors terrorque sociorum et civium Romanorum, lictor Sextius"' (II Verr. v 118). συναθροισμὸς is defined by Alexander περὶ σχημάτων 9 (Spengel's *Rhet. Gr.* iii 17), as συναγωγὴ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἢ πραχθῆναι δυναμένων εἰς ἓν κεφάλαιον (he quotes in illustration Dem. de Cor. § 71 p. 248).

complexione. De Or. iii 1 § 2 'longissima est igitur complexio verborum quae volvi uno spiritu potest'. It is one of

...s numerous renderings of περίοδος; ...ers see § 204. **devinciet.** Brut. ...n verbis...comprehensione devin...'.

...**um** must be rendered 'lungs'. In ...se, Cic. nearly always uses the plural ... i §§ 114, 255, II Verr. iv 67 'quae ...ae latera, quae vires', de Sen. §§ ...; Quintilian, the singular (pr. § 27, ... 1 § 8, x 7 § 2, xi 3 §§ 13, 16, 40, ..., 11 § 2), except when quoting the ... passage in ix 1 § 29 'illa adhuc ...ra et *maiorum*, ut Cicero existimat, ...', and similarly in i 12 § 18 and viii 4 § 16, where he is quoting or commenting on Cicero. In a somewhat different sense he has *motus laterum* in xi 3 § 90 and 165. Cic. de Or. iii 6 has '*lateris* dolore consumi', 'to die of disease of the lungs'.

§ 86. **pleraque ex illis** sc. *sententiarum luminibus*, with the exception of those that are *vehementer illustria*. **huic tenuitati** = *oratori tenui vel Attico*. **isdem** as the *orator amplus*. **horridius** = *minus nitide*, 'with less brilliancy', 20. **talem** implies a reference to the main thought of the preceding sentence *pleraque—convenient*, and not merely to the clause immediately preceding (*eisdem—horridius*).

actio non tragica nec scaenae. His delivery will be 'not that of tragedy or the stage'. Coming after *tragica*, the generic term *scaena* necessarily refers to all other theatrical representations except those of tragedy. De Or. iii 220 'omnes autem hos motus subsequi debet gestus, non hic verba exprimens *scaenicus* sed universam rem et sententiam non demonstratione, sed significatione declarans, laterum inflexione hac forti ac virili. non *ab scaena* et histrionibus, sed ab armis aut etiam a palaestra' (supra § 59). Quint. i 11 § 3 (orator) plurimum aberit a scaenico, nec vultu nec manu nec excursionibus nimius. [The passage quoted from de Or. suggests to Dr Reid that possibly Cic. wrote *ab scaena* here. The text, he thinks, can

tamen multa conficiens; non hoc, quo dicuntur os ducere, sed illo, quo significant ingenue quo sensu quidque pronuntient.

Huic generi orationis aspergentur etiam sales, qui in dicendo XXVI nimium quantum valent; quorum duo genera sunt, unum facetiarum, alterum dicacitatis: utetur utroque; sed altero in narrando 5

4 *nimium* codd. et Iulius Victor p. 428 (MO, K in textu, JP[2]HST): *mirum* Ald[2], Lambinus, Manutius, Bake, K in adnot. crit., Klotz[2], P[1].

scarcely be right, even *actio scaenae* would be odd.]

scaena (not *scena*) is the form supported by inscriptions belonging to the times of the republic and the earlier empire; similarly we have η represented by *ae* in *proscaenium* and *scaenicus* (found side by side with *scenicus*) and in *Thraecius* (Θρῃκιος); Corssen's *Aussprache* i[2] 325. *scaena* is also the form found in the best MSS of Horace and Virgil.

modica iactatione corporis. It is uncertain whether we should take *modica* as abl. or nom. The latter is maintained by Schütz and approved by Goeller who takes the clause as equivalent to *accedet actio modica in corpore iactando*, but I suspect that Cicero would in that case have written *corporis iactatione modica*, with or without *in* before *corporis*. The later commentators are silent. It is perhaps better to take the phrase as an abl. of the 'characteristic quality'. The construction as well as the general sense would thus correspond to that of de Or. iii 31 'Sulpicius autem...summa contentione corporis et dignitate motus est'.

voltu, de Or. iii 221; distinguished from *facies*, ib. i 127.

os ducere, 'pulling faces', 'grimacing'. Quint. ix 3 § 101 'nam et voltus mutatio oculorumque coniectus multum in actu valet; sed si quis *ducere os* exquisitis modis et frontis ac luminum inconstantia trepidare non desinat, rideatur; et orator habet rectam quandam velut faciem, quae ut stupere immobili rigore non debebit, ita saepius in ea, quam natura dedit, specie continenda est'; ib. x 3 § 21, where *torquere voltum* is one of the things that are *ridicula nisi cum soli sumus*. Cf. *voltum ducis* in Ovid Ep. ex Ponto iv 8, 13, and *voltuosum* (60).

ingenue, 'naturally', 'unaffectedly', or perhaps 'in a gentlemanly manner'.

§§ 87—90. On wit in rhetoric, see Volkmann's *Rhet.* § 29.

§ 87. **aspergentur,** 'sprinkled', 'seasoned', with the salt of wit, a metaphor suggested by the primary sense of *sales*, as in de Or. i 159 'libandus est etiam ex omni genere urbanitatis facetiarum quidam lepos, quo tamquam sale perspergatur omnis oratio'; and ad Att. i 13 § 1 (epistolae) 'humanitatis sparsae sale'; cf. Quint. vi 3 § 19 quoted in note on § 90.

sales is here used as the generic term, subdivided into *facetiae* ('humour') and *dicacitas* ('wit'). In de Or. ii 218 the generic term is *facetiae* and its subdivisions are *cavillatio* ('humour') and *dicacitas*: 'cum duo genera sint *facetiarum*, alterum aequabiliter in omni sermone fusum, alterum peracutum et breve, illa a veteribus superior *cavillatio*, haec altera *dicacitas* nominata est'. The former is described in § 219 as a *perpetua festivitas*; and the two are contrasted in § 220 'in utroque genere leporis excellens, et illo, quod in perpetuitate sermonis, et hoc, quod in celeritate atque dicto est', cf. ib. § 240 'duo sunt genera facetiarum, quorum alterum *re* tractatur, alterum *dicto*'. In the case of so vague and indefinable a subject, we need not be surprised at these variations of terminology. Our English 'wit' has gone through a still greater variety of meanings than any similar Latin word; and it has been observed that, in Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, it bears no less than seven different significations (Bain's *Engl. Comp. and Rhetoric* p. 57).

nimium quantum. De Fin. iv 25 § 70 'inter honestum et turpe *nimium quantum*, nescio quid immensum, inter ceteras res nihil omnino interesse'. Roby § 1647.

facetiarum. This is exemplified in the sparkling vein of sustained pleasantry pervading the tasteful telling of a story, *in narrando aliquid venuste;* and it must therefore correspond closely to our 'humour'. 'Humour', says Landor, 'is wit appertaining to character, and indulges in *breadth* of drollery rather than in play and brilliancy of *point*' (i 190 ed. 1846).

dicacitatis, 'wit', as exemplified in isolated *dicta*, smart sayings, pointed and piquant expressions, puns and the like. Quint. vi 3 § 21 'dicacitas sine dubio a dicendo, quod est omni generi commune,

quae plerumque sunt frig

4 ne mimicum Nonius, *nec mim*
6 odi J: *odii* ceteri. *8 adli*

ducta est, proprie tamen significat
monem cum risu aliquos incessentem'.

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§ 90. ego, in sharp contrast to the judgment of the Atticists. **formam**, 'type', 9. **summissi**, 76, 82. **germani**, 32.

salsum, i.e. seasoned with the salt of wit. Quint. vi 3 § 18 '*salsum* in consuetudine pro ridiculo tantum accipimus; natura non utique hoc est, quanquam et ridicula oporteat esse salsa. nam et Cicero omne, quod salsum sit, ait esse Atticorum, non qui sunt maxime ad ridendum compositi; et Catullus (86, 4), cum dicit, *nulla est in corpore mica salis*, non hoc dicit nihil in corpore eius esse ridiculum. salsum igitur erit, quod non erit insulsum, velut quoddam simplex orationis condimentum, quod sentitur latente iudicio velut palato, excitatque et a taedio defendit orationem. sane tamen, ut ille in cibis paulo liberalius aspersus, si tamen non sit immodicus, affert aliquid propriae voluptatis: ita hi quoque in dicendo habent quiddam, quod nobis faciat audiendi sitim'. De Or. ii 217 'inveni ridicula et salsa multa Graecorum; nam...in eo genere...praeter ceteros Attici excellunt', ib. 251, 255, 260, 278; de N. D. i 79 'salsum et venustum', piquant and charming.

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Lysias, Demetr. περὶ ἑρμηνείας § 128 ὁ γλαφυρὸς λόγος χαριεντισμὸς καὶ ἱλαρὸς λόγος ἐστί. τῶν δὲ χαρίτων αἱ μέν εἰσι μείζονες καὶ σεμνότεραι, αἱ τῶν ποιητῶν,

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(ib. ...
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salubre, 'fresh and sound'. Brut. 51 'omnem illam salubritatem Atticae dictionis et quasi sanitatem', de opt. gen. or. 8 'qui incorrupta sanitate sunt, quod est proprium Atticorum'. A reminiscence of ὑγιές.

Lysias, Demetr. περὶ ἑρμηνείας § 128 ὁ γλαφυρὸς λόγος χαριεντισμὸς καὶ ἱλαρὸς λόγος ἐστί. τῶν δὲ χαρίτων αἱ μέν εἰσι μείζονες καὶ σεμνότεραι, αἱ τῶν ποιητῶν,

... humour of Lysias, see Blas... *Ber.* i pp. 389, 654 and esp. Jebb's ... *Or.* i 184, where reference is made t... xvi (*in Mantith.*) § 15 πλείστων ἐνθ... των, ὕστερον ἀνεχώρησα τοῦ σεμνοῦ ... μέως τοῦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δειλίαν ὠ... κότος, xxiv (*pro inval.*) § 9 εἰ γὰρ ... κατασταθεὶς χορηγὸς τραγῳδοῖς κ.τ.λ. ... § 14 ὥσπερ ἐπικλήρου τῆς συμφορᾶς οὐ... ἀμφισβητήσων ἥκει), and vii (*de olea*) § ... Cf. also Or. x against Theomnestus (s... Mahaffy's *Gk. Lit.* ii 146—7).

Lysias and Hyperides are here men... tioned first, partly because they were th... favourite models of the *novi Attici* (Brut. ... 67, 68). *Introd.* p. xlvii.

Hyperides. The wit of this brilliant orator of the anti-Macedonic party, whose fame was at one time nearly equal to that of his great contemporary Demosthenes, is characterised as follows by the writer of the treatise περὶ ὕψους 34. 2: ἄφατοί τε περὶ αὐτόν εἰσιν ἀστεϊσμοί, μυκτὴρ πολιτικώτατος, εὐγένεια, τὸ κατὰ τὰς εἰρωνείας εὐπάλαιστρον, σκώμματα οὐκ ἄμουσα, οὐδ' ἀνάγωγα κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' ἐπικείμενα, διασυρμός τε ἐπιδέξιος καὶ πολὺ τὸ κωμικὸν καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς εὐστόχου κέντρον, ἀμίμητον δὲ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἐπαφρόδιτον. Cf. inf. 110, de Or. i 58, ii 94, iii 28, Brut. 36, 67, 138, 285, 290, Acad. i 10, Quint. x 1 § 77 'dulcis in primis et acutus, sed minoribus causis, ut non dixerim utilior, magis par...

wit and humour ...

Uberius est aliud aliquan|toque robustius quam hoc humile, de quo dictum est, summissius autem, quam illud, de quo iam dicetur, amplissimum: hoc in genere nervorum vel minimum, suavitatis autem est vel plurimum; est enim plenius quam hoc enucleatum, quam autem illud ornatum copiosumque summissius. huic omnia dicendi ornamenta conveniunt plurimumque est in hac orationis forma suavitatis; in qua multi floruerunt apud Graecos, sed Phalereus Demetrius meo iudicio praestitit ceteris, cuius oratio cum sedate placideque l*ab*itur, tum illustrant eam

1 *toque robustius* hinc incipit cod. Abrincensis (*A*). 3 *nervorum FPO: verborum A.* 4 *sanitatis* Beier, *sanguinis* Schuetz. *autem si A* ('corruptum scilicet ex *autemst*' H). 7 *orationis FPO: ornamenti A.* 9 *labitur* Purgold (KJPH): *loquitur FPO* (MO); *liquitur A.* *inlustrant* KH: *illustrent A.*

§ 91. **robustius.** Here, as often elsewhere, style is described by means of a metaphor borrowed from the human body (§ 76). **summissius**, § 90. **iam dicetur** sc. §§ 97—99.

nervorum, 'sinews', applied metaphorically to 'force' and 'energy' of style as in § 62, and Hor. A. P. 26 'sectantem levia nervi deficiunt animique', Quint. x 1 § 60 (in Archilochus) 'plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum'.

suavitatis plurimum. Dionys. Hal., who selects Isocrates and Plato as examples of the λέξις μικτή or μέση, repeatedly applies the epithet ἡδεῖα to the style of the former (e.g. de Dem. 4 and 18); while of the latter he says that ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐωδεστάτων λειμώνων αὔρα τις ἡδεῖα φέρεται (ad Cn. Pomp. 2).

plenius...summissius. For the *chiasmus* cf. 99, 142. **enucleatum**, 28.

§ 92. **omnia dicendi ornamenta**, in emphatic contrast with *pleraque* in the description of the plain style in §§ 84, 86. **plurimum—suavitatis**, an apparently unnecessary repetition. The clause cannot, however, be struck out, as it is required to introduce the immediately subsequent remarks on Demetrius Phalereus. **forma**, of style as in 74 ad fin.

Phalereus, ὁ Φαληρεύς, of the Attic deme Phaleron; the name though 'mostly trisyllabic' is scanned as a quadrisyllable in Phaedr. 5, 1, 1 'Demetrius qui dictus est Phalereus'. De Or. ii 94 'Phalereus ille Demetrius omnium istorum' (sc. the orators of the post-Demosthenean age, when 'alia quaedam dicendi *molliora* ac *remissiora* genera viguerunt') 'mea sententia politissimus'. Brut. 37 'Phalereus enim *successit eis senibus* (sc. *Hyperides, Aeschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, Demades*) adulescens eruditissimus ille quidem horum omnium, sed non tam armis institutus quam palaestra. itaque *delectabat* magis Athenienses quam inflammabat. processerat enim in solem et pulverem, non ut e militari tabernaculo, sed ut e Theophrasti doctissimi hominis umbraculis. (38) hic primus inflexit orationem et eam mollem teneramque reddidit et *suavis*, sicut fuit, videri maluit quam gravis: sed *suavitate* ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret'. ib. 285 'mihi quidem ex illius orationibus redolere ipsae Athenae videntur. at est floridior, ut ita dicam, quam Hyperides, quam Lysias'. De off. i 3 'disputator subtilis, orator parum vehemens, *dulcis* tamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum possis agnoscere'. Quint. x 1 § 80 'Phalerea illum Demetrium, quamquam is primus inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur, multum ingenii habuisse et facundiae fateor, vel ob hoc memoria dignum, quod ultimus est fere ex Atticis, qui dici possit orator, quem tamen in illo medio genere dicendi praefert omnibus Cicero', ib. § 33 'meminerimus non athletarum toris sed militum lacertis opus esse, nec versicolorem illam, qua Demetrius Phalereus dicebatur uti, vestem bene ad forensem pulverem facere'. Diog. Laert. v 82 χαρακτὴρ δὲ φιλόσοφος, εὐτονίᾳ ῥητορικῇ καὶ δυνάμει κεκραμένος. Blass, *Att. Ber.* iii B 312—318. For the position of *Phalereus*, before *Demetrius*, cf. Brut. 285, de Or. ii 95, de Leg. iii 14 (P. ille D.); de Rep. ii 2 (P. D.); and for similar collocations supr. § 39 and Brut. 325 'Milesius Aeschines'.

sedate placideque. The style of Demetrius 'has a smooth and tranquil flow' resembling that of the genus tenue; while its affinity with the genus grande is

quasi stellae quaedam tralata verba atque immutata. tralata ea dico, ut saepe iam, quae per similitudinem ab alia re aut suavitatis aut inopiae causa transferuntur: mutata, in quibus pro verbo proprio subicitur aliud, quod idem significet sumptum ex re
5 aliqua consequenti; quod quamquam transferendo fit, tamen alio modo transtulit cum dixit Ennius 'arce et urbe orba sum' alio modo, [si pro patria arcem dixisset; et] 'horridam Africam terribili tremere tumultu' [cum dicit pro Afris immutat Africam]. hanc ὑπαλλαγὴν rhetores, quia [illegible] summutantur verba pro

1 *mutata A.* *ea dico F* (MOKJP): *d*[illegible] *A* (H). 2 *ab alia re ad aliam rem PO.* 3 *trasferuntur A.* *mut*[illegible] et *A* (MOKH): *immutata* Schuetz (JPst). 4 *proprio* om. *A.* 6 *cum* [illegible] edd.): *quod A.* *dixit FPO* et *A* (MOPH): *dicit* cod. Vit. (KJ), idem de suo [illegible] Bake. *cum dixit* secl. st. *arcem et urbem orbas FPO; arcem urbẽ* [illegible] e Tusc. Disp. iii 44 (ubi versus idem integer traditur, *arce et urbe orba sum*[illegible] *accidam? quo applicem?*) codicum lectionem correxerant edd.; propter versum [illegible] subsequentem *horridam &c.* oratione obliqua expressum, hic quoque accusa[illegible] *orbam* maluerunt O[1] (in apparatu critico) et H. 7 *alio modo, si pro p*[illegible]*cem dixisset* seclus. H; *si* om. *P; si—et* seclus. Goeller et Bake (KJ); *pro pa*[illegible]*o modo 'horridam &c.' cum dicit, pro Afris immutat Africam* P. *modo—et* [illegible] 8 *cum dicit—Africam* om. Halm in P[2] p. 203 (HSt). *pro Afris—Africam* secl. Bake (KJst). *immutat FPO, immutate A* (Goeller, H). 9 *ypalagen P, ypalagem O.* *summutantur FPO: summunt tantū A.*

proved by its being 'lighted up with what may be called the stars of metaphor and metonymy'. **labitur** in §§ 187, 191, and *fluit* in §§ 21, 39.

quasi stellae quaedam, de Or. iii 170 'aut *translatum* quod maxime *tamquam stellis quibusdam* notat et illuminat orationem'.

tralata ea—From this point to **tralationes vocat** in § 94 we have a parenthetical disquisition on metaphor and metonymy, after which the writer resumes his criticism of Demetrius.

suavitatis aut inopiae causa, de Or. iii 155 'tertius ille modus transferendi late patet, quem necessitas genuit *inopia* coacta et angustiis (ib. 159), post autem *iucunditas delectatioque* celebravit...verbi translatio est instituta *inopiae causa*, frequentata *delectationis*' (inf. 134). Quint. viii 6 § 5.

mutata, de Or. iii 167 'ne illa quidem traductio atque immutatio in verbo quandam fabricationem habet: *Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu.* Pro Afris est sumpta Africa; neque factum verbum est, ut: Mare saxifragis undis; neque translatum, ut: Mollitur mare; sed ornandi causa proprium proprio commutatum'. Quint. viii 6 § 23—27.

transferendo fit. Although metonymy may be regarded as coming under the head of metaphor in its widest sense (de Or. iii 169 ad fin.), there is however a distinction. In *metaphor* another and a figurative expression takes the place of the literal one; in *metonymy* another literal expression (especially a name) is substituted for the proper literal one. This is explained by the two instances quoted from Ennius (Piderit).

§ 93. **arce et urbe,** 'reft of citadel and city'. *arx et urbs* are here metaphorically used instead of *patria*. The quotation is from the Andromache (Ribbeck ix 4). It is quoted with its context in Tusc. Disp. iii 44. The second example, where the name of the country is by metonymy used instead of that of the inhabitants, is from the Annales (v 311 Vahlen).

ὑπαλλαγήν, Quint. viii 6 § 23 'nec procul ab hoc genere (*sc.* synecdoche) discedit μετωνυμία quae est nominis pro nomine positio. cuius vis est pro eo quod dicitur, causam propter quam dicitur ponere; sed, ut ait Cicero, ὑπαλλαγὴν rhetores dicunt. haec inventas ab inventore (e.g. *Ceres* for 'corn') et subiectas res ab obtinentibus significat' (e.g. *Neptunus* for the 'sea'). **summutantur** = ὑπαλλάττονται. **grammatici** 72. **nomina** = ὀνόματα, implied in the latter part of the compound word **μετωνυμία**.

verbis, *μετωνυμίαν* grammatici vocant, quod nomina transferuntur. 94 Aristoteles autem tralationi et haec ipsa subiungit et abusionem, quam *κατάχρησιν* vocant, ut cum minutum dicimus animum pro parvo, et abutimur verbis propinquis, si opus est, vel quod delectat vel quod decet. iam cum confluxerunt plures 5 continuae tralationes, alia plane fit oratio: itaque genus hoc Graeci appellant *ἀλληγορίαν*, nomine recte, genere melius ille, qui ista omnia tralationes vocat. haec frequentat Phalereus maxime suntque dulcissima, et quamquam tralatio est apud eum

1 *Metunumian A.* *tranferuntur F, traferuntur A.* 2 *et haec A, haec FPO.* 3 *catrachresin P, qua charesin A.* *vocat A.* 5 *decet A, licet FPO.* *confluxerunt* Pal², Gu³; *cum confluxerunt* edd. Gryph., Schirach, KJP: *cum fluxerunt* codd. meliores (MOHSt). 6 *continuae* (*-e FO, -o A*) *plures P* (MO²²HSt): *plures continuae* edd. Crat. Grut. Ern. O¹KJP. *alia FPO, alta A.* 9 *maximeque* (om. *sunt*) *A.* *quam A.*

§ 94. **Aristoteles** Poet. 21 *μεταφορὰ δ' ἐστὶν ὀνόματος ἀλλοτρίου ἐπιφορὰ ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἐπὶ εἶδος, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴδους ἐπὶ γένος, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴδους ἐπὶ εἶδος, ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον* (see further in Cope's Introduction to Ar. Rhet. p. 374—378 and Commentary on iii 2 § 7 fin.). *ὑπαλλαγή* is a species of 'metaphor', in so far as it involves the substitution of one word for another by a transfer from *εἶδος* to *εἶδος*, i.e. from one specific term to another that resembles it.

abusionem. De Or. iii 169 'abutimur saepe etiam verbo non tam eleganter quam in transferendo, sed etiamsi licentius, tamen interdum non impudenter; ut cum grandem orationem pro longa, minutum animum pro parvo dicimus'. Quint. viii 6 § 35 'discernendum est hoc totum a translatione genus, quia abusio est, ubi nomen defuit; translatio, ubi aliud fuit', ib. x 1 § 12 (with Mayor's note); also iii 3 § 9 and viii 2 § 5. It will be observed that Quintilian's definition, which is the same as that of the Gk. rhetoricians, is not in accordance with Cicero's use of the word, which agrees with ad Her. iv 33 'abusio est quae verbo simili et propinquo pro certo et proprio abutitur'.

κατάχρησιν. Aristot. de Caelo i 3 Ἀναξαγόρας καταχρῆται τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ (αἰθὴρ) οὐ καλῶς. Strabo p. 210 uses *καταχρώμενος* of the application to Sicily of the inaccurate epithet *τρίγωνος*. *κατάχρησις*, as defined by the Gk. rhetoricians, corresponds to those *tralata* which *inopiae causa transferuntur*: Tryphon *περὶ τρόπων*, *Rhet. Gr.* iii 192 Sp., *ἡ μὲν μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ κατονομαζομένου ἐπὶ κατονομαζόμενον λέγεται, ἡ δὲ κατάχρησις ἀπὸ κατονομαζομένου ἐπὶ ἀκατονόμαστον ὅθεν καὶ κατάχρησις λέγεται* (ib. pp. 208, 217, 232, 246), e.g. *γόνυ καλάμου* and *ὀφθαλμὸς ἀμπέλου*.

minutum pro parvo. De opt. gen. or. 9 '*parvarum* rerum causulas...*minutarum* causarum genera', compared with de Or. ii 88 causa parvula and 320 parvis...causis (Reid on Acad. ii 75).

quod decet. Quint viii 6 § 2 (tropos) 'quosdam gratia significationis, quosdam *decoris* assumi', ib. § 6.

plures continuae tralationes, e.g. de Off. ii 19 (a series of metaphors from sailing); de Or. iii 69 (do. from flowing water).

alia oratio = ἀλληγορία, de Or. iii 166 'illud, quod ex hoc genere profluit, non est in uno verbo translato, sed ex pluribus continuatis conectitur, ut aliud dicatur, aliud intellegendum sit'. Quint. ix 2 § 46 *ἀλληγορίαν* facit continua *μεταφορά*, ib. viii 6 § 44 continuatis translationibus.

ille, Aristotle.

Phalereus is used instead of the full name, as in Brut. 37.

tralatio apud eum multa. In the extant fragments of Demetrius there is nothing very remarkable in expression, no excess of rhetorical figures or special boldness in their use. A passage preserved by Polybius xxix 6 c contains the following examples: *ἡ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἀσύνθετος τύχη,—Μακεδόνας εἰς τὴν Περσῶν δύναμιν εἰσοικίσασα*, and *διότι καὶ τούτοις ταῦτα τἀγαθὰ κέχρηκεν* (Blass, *Att. Ber.* III B 315); and the fragment translated by Rutilius Lupus ii 16, as an example of antithesis, closes with the

multa, tamen immutationes nusquam crebriores. in ide
orationis—loquor enim de illa modica ac temperata—v
cadunt lumina omnia, multa etiam sententiarum; latae
que disputationes ab eodem explicabuntur et loci commu
5 contentione dicentur. quid multa? e philosophorum sch
fere evadunt; et nisi coram erit comparatus ille fortio
hic, quem dico, probabitur. est enim quoddam etiam in
florens orationis pictum et expolitum genus, in quo omn
rum, omnes sententiarum illigantur lepores. hoc totu
10 phistarum fontibus defluxit in forum, sed spretum a su
repulsum a gravibus, in ea de qua loquor mediocritate c
III Tertius est ille amplus copiosus gravis ornatus, in
fecto vis maxima est; hic est enim, cuius ornatum di

1 *multae A.* *unius quam A.* 2 *ac* MOII cum *FOA* Eins:
Vit. 3 *latae* cum codd. (*late OP*[1], corr. *P*[2]) MOP[2]PII: *lactae* (Gulielm
Iulio Victore p. 438 (K). 4 *ab: at A.* *explicabuntur...dicentur*
A; idem correxerat Sauppe; *dicentur* Iulius Victor l. c.: *explicantur...dicen*
(MOP[1]). 6 *evaden...A*, *evadent* codd. *m* et *l.* 7 *quem FP*
insignibus florens st. 8 *florens* ex *floribus* corruptum esse existimat H
9 *omis A.* *inligantur* KII, *illigatarum A.* 11 *de FPO*; *demum* Iul
demum de Stangl. 12 *amplius A.* *ornatus A.*

words 'propter huius honoris dignitatem superbiae nostrae nemo *vestigium* experitur'.

§ 95. **temperata** 21; **cadunt** 37; **verborum lumina** 83, **sententiarum** 85.

latae 'hoc est, fusa et tracta oratione, non acutulis et angustis conclusionibus elatae' (Goeller). The orator of the intermediate type will unfold his arguments in a general and popular manner, with *breadth* as well as learning.

loci communes 47, 126. **sine contentione**, 'without overstrained emphasis': 85 init.; *contentio* is contrasted with *sermo*, the quiet style of ordinary language, in de Or. iii 203, of irony, (dissimulatio) 'est periucunda, cum in oratione non contentione, sed sermone tractatur'.

e philosophorum scholis, as was the case with Demetrius himself, who was a pupil of Theophrastus (Brut. 37 quoted on § 92). **ille fortior**, the orator of §§ 97—99.

§ 96. **est enim.** Cicero has just stated that the orator of the intermediate type, though liable to be thrown into the shade if pitted against the bolder type, nevertheless, if regarded absolutely, is sure to win approval. To warrant this favourable opinion and also perhaps (as Piderit suggests) to contrast this style of philosophic discourse with the dry and cramped manner of the Stoics (de Or. i

50, 83; iii 66), he adds a brief
of the intermediate style in its
liant form. In spite of any p
to the contrary, 'there is
declares, 'a brilliant and florid,
polished, style of oratory in wh
beauties of diction and of th
intertwined'.

insigne, 78 fin. 'insignis
florens (ἀνθηρόν) 20, **pictum,**
colour', 65, de Or. iii 100 'qua
sit coloribus picta...oratio'. T
pair of epithets (as observed by
pears redundant and open to
It may further be suggested
second pair were omitted we
tain a closer connexion betwee
thet *florens* and the metaphor
ence to the chaplet of flowers
illigantur (21, 215).

sophistarum, 37. **medioc**
Or. iii 199 'est et plena quaed
sed tamen teres, et tenuis non
ac viribus, et ea quae particeps
generis, quadam *mediocritate* la

consedit, 'has subsided',
resting-place'; cf. pro Murena
consedit, 'passed out of public vi
land), is contrasted with *excurr*

§§ 97—99. *On the grand st*

amplus copiosus gravis, 20.
thets *amplus* and *grandis* are
Lysias in § 30.

copiam admiratae gentes eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere passae sunt, sed hanc eloquentiam, quae cursu magno sonituque ferretur, quam suspicerent omnes, quam admirarentur, quam se adsequi posse diffiderent; huius eloquentiae est tractare animos, huius omni modo permovere; haec modo perfringit, 5 modo irrepit in sensus, inserit novas opiniones, evellit insitas. sed multum interest inter hoc dicendi genus et superiora: qui in illo subtili et acuto elaboravit, ut callide arguteque diceret nec quicquam altius cogitaret, hoc uno perfecto magnus orator est, etsi non maximus; minimeque in lubrico versabitur et, si semel 10 constiterit, numquam cadet. medius ille autem, quem modicum et temperatum voco, is modo suum illud satis instruxerit, non extimescet ancipites dicendi incertosque casus; etiam si quando minus succedet, ut saepe fit, magnum tamen periculum non

1 *pluribus A.* 2 *passi A.* 3 *fertur A.* *susciperent A.* *omnes* om. *A.* 4 *se* om. *P.* *adsequi* KP: *ass.* ceteri. *eloquentiae* secl. Bake (K). 6 *inrepit* KH cum *A.* 8 *acuteque A.* *nec—cogitaret* om. *A.* 9 *cogitavit* scripsit H. *perfecto FOP*[1], al. *profecto* superscr. *P*[2], *perfectus A.* 10 *si FPO* et *A* (MOH): *etsi* J (KP). 11 *nunquam* OH. 12 *illud penus* coniecit K. 13 *extimescit ancipitis FPO.*

sed, 'I mean', here introduces a correction and limitation of the vague term *eloquentia.*

admirarentur. Quint. viii 3 § 6 'recteque Cicero his ipsis ad Brutum verbis quadam in epistola scribit: *nam eloquentiam, quae admirationem non habet, nullam iudico*'. de opt. gen. or. 12 'quid? dubium est, utrum orationem nostram tolerabilem tantum, an etiam admirabilem esse cupiamus? non enim iam quaerimus, quid sit Attice, sed quid sit optime dicere'. Accordingly the epithet *admirabilis* is repeatedly applied to oratory in subsequent §§, 122, 125, 128; cf. 236, de Or. i 152 iii 38, 52—53, Quint. viii prooem. 33, Tac. dial. de or. 30.

diffiderent. Those who listen to the *tenuis orator* fancy, however wrongly, that he is easily imitated (76), whereas, in the case of the *gravis orator*, they despair of imitating him from the very outset. It is these two passages apparently that Quintilian has in view in xi 1 § 91: 'Cicero quodam loco scribit, *id esse optimum quod cum te facile credideris consequi imitatione, non possis.* alio vero, *non id egisse ut ita diceret, quomodo se quilibet posse confideret sed quomodo nemo.* quod potest pugnare inter se videri. verum utrumque ac merito laudatur, causarum enim modo distat. quia simplicitas illa et velut securitas inaffectatae orationis mire tenues causas decet, maioribus illud admirabile dicendi genus magis convenit, in utroque eminet Cicero; ex quibus alterum imperiti se posse consequi credent; neutrum, qui intellegunt'.

perfringit, 'storms', 'bursts its way into', the feelings. Brut. 38 (of Demetrius Phalereus in contrast to Pericles) 'suavitate ea qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret'.

inserit...evellit, 'implants' and 'plucks out', a strong metaphorical equivalent for 'imparting' and 'removing' (Nägelsbach *Stil.* § 133, 2).

§ 98. **subtili et acuto,** epithets characteristic of the plain style. Similarly with **callide** (20, 23). For other applications of *argutus*, cf. 38.

in lubrico...constiterit (30)...**cadet,** metaphors borrowed from the wrestling school: similarly *deicere* in 129 and pro Tullio 30. Dion. Hal. de Lysia 13 ad fin. ἀσφαλής τε μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ἢ παρακεκινδυνευμένη.

temperatum 21, 95. **ancipites casus,** De Or. i 120 'dicendi difficultatem variosque eventus orationis'. **minus succedet** de Or. i 123 'nonnunquam summis oratoribus non satis ex sententia eventum dicendi procedere'. For the impersonal and absolute use of *succedet* (sc. *ei*), cf. ad Quint. ii 14 § 2 'si ex sententia successerit'. The personal use is rarer and is not necessary in the present passage.

... scriter, nihil p...
praesertim cum causae part...
ex parte tractandae, si is ...
rem coepit, furere apud sa...
vinulentus videtur.

1 *alte A, aliter FPO.* ... Stegmann p. 15 (st): *studet FPO* (vul... *simus A.* *sapiens tamen* st. ... 10 *id A.* 11 *coepit* codd. ... 12 *vinulentus* H et st cum *A* (conf. ... ceteri edd. *videbitur* H. Stepham...

alte, 'he cannot fall far'. Similarly Horace says of a still less elevated type of style, in poetry, 'serpit humi tutus' (A. P. 28). Cf. Plin. Ep. ix 26 § 2 'tutius per plana sed humilius et depressius iter: frequentior currentibus quam reptantibus lapsus, sed his non labentibus nulla, illis non nulla laus, etiamsi labantur. nam ut quasdam artes, ita eloquentiam nihil magis quam ancipitia commendant'.

§ 99. **natus...exercuit...studuit.** Brut. 25 'sive illa (*sc.* eloquentia) arte pariatur aliqua sive exercitatione quadam sive natura'. De Or. i 5. 14, 96, ii 29. 35, 147, 232, Pl. Phaedr. 269 D εἰ μέν σοι ὑπάρχει φύσει ῥητορικῷ εἶναι, ἔσει ῥήτωρ ἐλλόγιμος προσλαβὼν ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ μελέτην, and Isocr. de perm. 187, contr. Soph. 14.

temperavit, also ...
in ...

100 Tenemus igitur, Brute, quem quaerimus, sed animo, non manu; *manu* si prehendissem, ne ipse quidem sua tanta eloquentia mihi persuasisset, ut se dimitterem. sed inventus profecto est ille eloquens, quem numquam vidit Antonius. quis est igitur is? complectar brevi, disseram pluribus. is est enim eloquens, qui et humilia subtiliter et magna graviter et mediocria temperate potest dicere. 'nemo is' inquies 'unquam fuit.' 'ne fuerit: ego enim quid desiderem, non quid viderim disputo, redeoque ad illam Platonis de qua dixeram rei formam et speciem, quam etsi non cernimus, tamen animo tenere possumus. non enim eloquentem quaero neque quicquam mortale et caducum, sed illud ipsum, cuius qui sit compos, sit eloquens; quod nihil est aliud nisi eloquentia ipsa, quam nullis nisi mentis oculis videre possumus. is erit igitur eloquens, ut idem illud iteremus, qui poterit parva summisse, modica temperate, magna graviter dicere.

(margin: XXI; 5; 101; 10; 15)

1 *non FPO*: *nam A* (OHSt). *non manu;* manu *si* M (JP): [*non*] *manu si* K: *non manu, nam manu si* Klotz. *non manu; nam si* Reid. 2 *prendissem A*. 4 *eloquens* secl. K. *nunquam* OH. 5 *is' cōplectar A*, *sed complectar FPO*. *brevi disseram FPO*: *brevi vidi* relicto sex litterarum spatio *A*, *vi* per incuriam bis scripto. 6 *et humilia A*, *et* om. *FPO*. *magna FPO* (MOKJP): *alta A* (HSt), quod defendit Stegmann coll. § 192. 7 *ne fuerit FPO* (MOKJP): *ne·· dūtu* (..*dūtu* in margine) *fueris A*. *nedum tu* videris. *ne fuerit* H, *videris* ex codicibus quibusdam deterioribus addito, cuius vestigium etiam in *A* (*vidi* v. 5) odorasse sibi visus est Stangl. 9 *de qua dixeram* secl. Bake (K). 12 *cuiusq. A*. *cōposit eloquens A*.

voce dicens. So in the Phaedrus 231 D Socrates ironically describes himself as νυμφόληπτος while using certain exaggerated and enthusiastic forms of expression. In the arrangement of the words in the two clauses, *furere apud sanos* and *inter sobrios bacchari vinulentus*, we have a *chiasmus* or introverted parallelism.—'He seems like a madman in the presence of the sane and as it were a drunken bacchanal among sober men'.

§§ 100—101. *The perfect orator must be master of all three styles.*

§ 100. **quaerimus**, 14; **si prehendissem**—Perhaps a reminiscence of Proteus (Odyss. iv 416—9). **sed**, here used (as in 74 ad fin.) to resume after an intervening parenthesis the sense of the first clause of the sentence. **Antonius**, 18.

complectar—The characteristics of the perfect orator are 'summed up concisely' in the next sentence, and 'expanded at large' in §§ 102—111. **enim**, which here signifies, not 'for', but 'in fact', does not give the reason for the promised definition, but emphatically introduces the definition itself. **subtiliter**...**graviter**...**temperate**, §§ 20, 21.

§ 101. **ne fuerit**, concessive, II Verr. i 37 '"seditiosus homo Cn. Carbo fuit". fuerit aliis: tibi quando esse coepit?' (Madv. § 352, Roby § 1622).

Platonis, 10, **dixeram**, 'I *had* spoken' of it, in a passage preceding what I have just written. II Verr. iv 48 'sed tamen, quod ante de istius abstinentia dixeram (*sc.* in § 46), sigillis avolsis reliquum argentum sine ulla avaritia reddidit' (Roby § 1490). **formam et speciem**, 43.

mortale et caducum. Rep. vi 17 'infra ...nihil est nisi *mortale et caducum* praeter animos'. *Caducus* which, in its literal sense, is generally used singly (as in de Sen. 52 vitis...naturâ caduca est), is in its metaphorical sense constantly coupled by Cicero with some synonymous term: with *fragilis* in de Leg. i 24 and de Am. 102; with *mobilis* pro Domo 146, ad Att. iv 13; with *infirmus* in de Nat. Deor. i 99; and with *incertus* in de Am. 20.

iteremus. In repeating the definition of the previous §, Cic. keeps three of the words unchanged, while for love of variety, he alters *humilia subtiliter* into *parva summisse* and *mediocria* into *modica*, and places the highest type of eloquence last.

Tota mihi causa pro Caecina de verbis interdicti f
involutas definiendo explicavimus, ius civile laudavimu
ambigua distinximus. fuit ornandus in Manilia lege Po
temperata oratione ornandi copiam persecuti sumus. iu
5 retinendae maiestatis Rabiri causa continebatur: ergo i

1 *de verbis FPO: re vera* (om. *interdicti*) *A.* 3 *in* om. K. 5
-*ii* ceteri. *itinebitur A.* *in omni FPO* (OKJP): *in eo A*; *i*
satis probabiliter scripsit H; *ibi omni* Stangl.

§§ 102—110. *Illustrations from Cicero's own speeches.*

pro Caecina. This speech is cited as an example of the *tenue genus* w propriately used when the objec The question turns on the poin illegal force had been used by Ae in opposing Caecina's taking pos of some landed property claimed latter as heir of his deceased wife w however, held it on a life tenanc and therefore could not bequeath him any interest in it whatever. Caecina finding himself forcibly kept out of this property by Aebutius, obtained from the praetor (Dolabella) an *interdictum* or order for restitution (what is called in Gaius iv 140—1 an *interdictum restitutorium, recuperandae possessionis causa*), in the following terms: VNDE TV, SEX. AEBVTI, A. CAECINAM VI HOMINIBVS COACTIS ARMATIS DEIECISTI, EO RESTITVAS. The counsel for Aebutius in the course of his defence let fall a mere *obiter dictum*, implying that Caecina had not been expelled from the property but merely prevented from taking possession,—'non deieci sed obstiti' (Caec. 31). Cicero, on the part of the plaintiff, having a thoroughly bad case, was delighted to fasten upon this and to dilate upon it at great length, with considerable parade of minute definition (**res involutas definiendo explicavimus**, cf. 116). So far as quibbling with the letter goes, it is Cic. who is liable to this charge, and not his opponent.

Again, as the counsel on the opposite side had used depreciatory language with respect to the jurists ('iurisconsultorum auctoritati obtemperari non oportere', Caec. 65), Cicero replied by dilating on the dignity and importance of the civil law (**ius civile laudavimus**) in §§ 70—75. But, in reality, he maintained that even the literal interpretation was in his client's favour, if the ambiguous terms were but rightly understood (**verba ambigua distinximus**). He accordingly contends that VNDE does not merely mean *ex quo* but also includes *a quo* (Caec. 88); and that consequently, for the praetor's take effect, it is not essential th should have been first in actual of the estate and afterwards exp it, as that order also contem case in which the attempt to ta sion was forcibly opposed. Bu in some sense known to the Ro was the necessary foundation fo dict, and Cic. entirely fails to Caecina ever had any *possessio* from Piderit's index, with c by Dr Reid; for further detail introductions to the speech in th of Klotz, Jordan or Long, and i *Semestrium*). In the time of T speech was considered inordina (dial. de or. 20 'quis de exce *formula* perpetietur illa immensa quae pro M. Tullio et *A. Caecina* and an accomplished scholar an of our own day declares that 'it impossible to make the case in (Forsyth's *Cicero* p. 52).

in Manilia lege. The admirab *De Imperio Gnaei Pompei*, del B.C. 66 in support of a bill brou the tribune Manilius for conf Pompeius the supreme comma war against Mithridates. It wa political harangue which Cicero from the Rostra (Forsyth p. 75). praises of Pompeius which occu part of the speech, esp. §§ 27 orator expresses himself with moderation and in a dispassio dignified tone. Here the obje *ciliare* and *delectare*, and the *g* *peratum* is accordingly used.— *pro lege Manilia* has no ancient

ius omne—continebatur. ' of maintaining the dignity of R wholly involved in the case of R **maiestas** is defined de Or. ii 'amplitudo ac dignitas civitatis' ii 52—55, esp. 53 'maiestatem est de dignitate aut amplitudine tate populi aut eorum quibus po testatem dedit aliquid deroga orat. 105 'magnitudo quaedam

: amplificationis exarsimus. at haec interdum temperanda
anda sunt. quod igitur in accusationis septem libris non
:ur genus? quod in Habiti? quod in Corneli? quod in

llificationis A. 3 *Habiti* KJH cum codd. plerisque; *Abiti* cod. Vit. (cf. ad Or. pro Cluentio); *Aviti* MOP. *Cornelii A* (MOKP); *Corneli* JH.

in eius potestate ac iure reti- pro C. Rabirio 35 'non vos ad candos esse, verum ad suffragia dos contra oppugnationem vestrae is putavi'. See further in Mr l's n. on pro Rabirio § 20, where ll described as signifying 'in a ense the "sovereign majesty" or gnty" of the Roman people', and iighest term for greatness and im- gnity'.—Rabirius, an aged sena- accused in 63 B.C. of the murder torious tribune Appuleius Satur- iich had taken place fully 36 years n 100 B.C. Marius had at that ived the authority of the Senate oying armed force against Satur- l Glaucia, who were consequently and killed. It is important to at the murdered men had sur- on terms granted by Marius, the murder took place outside the onferred on him. The accusation y directed against Rabirius was ned at the Senate 'ut illud sum- ilium maiestatis atque imperii... r' (pro Rab. 2). See Merivale's 101—104 and esp. the Introduc- Mr Heitland's comprehensive f the speech (pp. 30, 35).

ficationis. The *maiestas p. R.* t appropriately be handled *sum- ubtiliter*, but called for *loci com- d amplissima verba* (§ 72). **ex-** . One of the stronger Latin rs enumerated in Nägelsbach's 19. 3, where he quotes Phil. iv 16 n libertatis exarsimus', and xii 7 commune incendium exarserat'; add x 19 and xi 3. In English either to be content with an at metaphor, such as 'broke out ave the rein to'; or with a para- ich as 'my language glowed with nd of grandeur of style'. The *permovere*, and the *genus grande* ingly used.

temperanda, in contrast to the use of the three styles which has illustrated.

tionis. The case against Verres e only one in which Cicero was on the side of the prosecution, hes against Verres are here and elsewhere called the *accusatio* without specification of the name of the accused person. The oration *in Pisonem* belonging to the year 52 B.C. was not a speech of prosecution, but a violent invective delivered in the Senate-House—like the Philippics near the close of his life. In the same year we find him complaining of having to defend men who deserved little at his hands (ad Fam. vii 1 § 4).

septem libris, the *divinatio in Caecilium*, the *actio prima* and the five books of the *actio secunda*. Subsequently in quoting more definitely from the Verrine orations, Cic. describes the 2nd and 4th books of the *actio secunda* as the *secundus* (§ 210) and *quartus* (167) *accusationis*, the two previous speeches being regarded as only preliminary to the prosecution proper. See Forsyth's *Cicero*, pp. 41—48.

Habiti. Aulus Cluentius Habitus, son of a Roman knight of that name by Sassia, was defended by Cicero in B.C. 66, on the charge of having poisoned his step-father Oppianicus (see Forsyth's *Cicero*, p. 72, and Introduction to Ramsay's ed. of the *pro Cluentio*). Quintilian vi 5 § 9 (de consilio) specially refers to the speech as supplying numerous examples of the skilful management of an intricate and difficult case.

Corneli. Gaius Cornelius, tribune of the plebs in 67, was defended by Cicero in B.C. 65 on a charge of *laesa maiestas.* The offence with which he was charged consisted in his having proposed a law 'that no one should be absolved from the obligation of obeying the law except with the consent of the supreme power in the state—that is the people at a meeting duly assembled'. 'The prosecution was conducted by the leading men of the Senate, such as Catulus, Lucullus, Hortensius, Metellus, and Lepidus;—a formidable array—but Cicero defended him, and he was acquitted. The speech is unfortunately lost. It lasted four days, and is mentioned by Quintilian in glowing terms of praise' (Forsyth's *Cicero*, p. 85). Quint. viii 3 § 3 (de ornatu) 'nec fortibus modo sed etiam fulgentibus armis praeliatur in causa Cicero Cornelii; qui non consecutus esset docendo iudicem tantum et utiliter demum ac Latine per-

plurimis nostris defensionibus? quae exempla selegiss
vel nota esse arbitrarer vel posse eligere qui quaererent
est enim ullo in genere laus oratoris, cuius in nostris ora
non sit aliqua si non perfectio, at conatus tamen atque
5 bratio. non adsequimur; at quid sequi deceat videm
enim nunc de nobis, sed de re dicimus; in quo tantum a
nostra miremur, ut usque eo difficiles ac morosi simus, u
non satis faciat ipse Demosthenes; qui quamquam unus
inter omnis in omni genere dicendi, tamen non semper
10 auris meas; ita sunt avidae et capaces et semper aliquid
XXX sum infinitumque deside[illegible] sed tamen, quoniam et [illegible]
oratorem cum eius studio[illegible] [illegible]o Pammene, cum esses [illegible]

1 *quae FPO*; *quaeq. A*, *quae* [illegible] conicit H. *ni A*. 2 [illegible] *FPO*: *accusarentur A*. *pos*[illegible] *FPO* (MOKJP): *possent* (...*ofer* in *legere A*; *ipsos posse* (Beier apud [illegible] m) *seligere* scripsit H. *ipsos posse* 3 *oratoris* om. *A*: *oratoria* Be[illegible] 5 *adsequimur* KPH: *ass*. ceteri *quid FAP*[1], *at qui P*[2], *atqui O*. [illegible]*t*, *si qui F*, *si quid POM*. *at q*[illegible] *deceat* optime scripsit H(st). *at q*[illegible] *at* cod. Erl. Aldus, Victorius, Manu[illegible] Sch. O (coll. § 123) K; *at si qui*[illegible] M; *at quid sit quod deceat* ed. Ven Weller, JP). 7 *ut...simus F* [illegible] MOKJP): *et...sumus A* (H). [*et*]...*sumu*[illegible] coll. Brut. 278, de Fin. ii 54, v 57, ad Att. xiii 21 § 5. 9 *omnis* K: 10 *auris* KH: *-es* ceteri. *avide A*. *semper* MOKJP cum Vit.[2]: *saepe* [illegible] Vit.[1], et *A* (H). 11 *quō* (sc. *quoniam*) *A*, *quod iam FPO*. 12 [illegible] *Lammene FPO*. *esset A*.

spicueque dicendo, ut populus Romanus admirationem suam non acclamatione tantum sed etiam plausu confiteretur. sublimitas profecto et magnificentia et nitor et auctoritas expressit illum fragorem...'. Asconius arg. 'qua vero arte et scientia orationis, ita ut et dignitatem clarissimorum civium, contra quos dicebat, non violaret, et tamen auctoritate eorum laedi reum non pateretur; quantaque moderatione rem tam difficilem aliis tractaverit, lectio ipsa declarabit'. Only fragments of the two speeches have come down to us. They may be found in Baiter and Kayser's Cicero xi p. 7—20. Two passages from the second speech are preserved in §§ 225, 232, and the case is, as here, vaguely mentioned in § 108.

plurimis defensionibus, in contrast to the single *accusatio*. **quae exempla** refers to the general sense of the preceding clauses; otherwise we might have expected the fuller phrase *quorum generum*.

laus oratoris, 'oratorical merit'.

§ 104. **nec...de nobis, sed de re**; cf. Acad. ii 66 'sed non de me...sed de sapiente quaeritur'; de Or. iii 74 'non de memet ipso sed de oratore', ib. 75 'non quid ego sed quid orator'; Sen. dial. vii 18 § 1 'de virtute, non de me loquor' (Reid).

tantum abest, ut...ut...ut. ix 7 § 3 'quod suades *ut* ab e[illegible] *ut* mihi concedat, *ut* idem tribua[illegible] on Acad. ii 50).

non satis faciat. Quint. xi[illegible] 'quanquam neque ipsi Ciceroni[illegible] thenes videatur satis esse perfec[illegible] dormitare interim dicit' (elsewh[illegible] ever, Cic. says 'plane quidem per[illegible] cui nihil admodum desit Dem[illegible] facile dixeris', Brut. 35). Plut[illegible] 24 καίτοι τινὲς τῶν προσποιουμέν[illegible] θενίζειν ἐπιφύονται φωνῇ τοῦ Κικ[illegible] πρός τινα τῶν ἑταίρων ἔθηκεν ἐν[illegible] γράψας, ἐνιαχοῦ τῶν λόγων ἀπ[illegible] τὸν Δημοσθένη· τῶν δὲ μεγάλων κ[illegible] στῶν ἐπαίνων οἷς πολλαχοῦ χρ[illegible] τοῦ ἀνδρὸς...ἀμνημονοῦσι.

ita—'to such an extent' (de [illegible] =*usque eo* (de Or. i 224) or [illegible] common equivalent in Livy and [illegible] **avidas** 'greedy'. **capaces** 'i[illegible] **immensum infinitumque**, de [illegible] 'An especially characteristic [illegible] wherein Cicero openly confesse[illegible] tiality for a sonorous and copiou[illegible] his detractors accordingly terme[illegible] *flatus et tumens*, *supra modum* *et superfluens*, Tac. dial. de or. [illegible] derit). *Introd.* chap. VI, p. lx.

§ 105. **Pammenes**, an inst[illegible]

totum diligentissime cognovisti neque cum dimittis e manibus et tamen nostra etiam lectitas, vides profecto illum multa perficere, nos multa conari; illum posse, nos velle, quocumque modo causa postulet, dicere. sed ille magnus; nam et successit ipse magnis et maximos oratores habuit aequalis: nos magnum fecissemus, si 5 quidem potuissemus, quo contendimus, pervenire in ea urbe, in qua, ut ait Antonius, auditus eloquens nemo erat. atqui si Antonio Crassus eloquens visus non est aut sibi ipse, numquam Cotta visus esset, numquam Sulpicius, numquam Hortensius:

1 *nec A.* *a manibus A.* 4 *sed FPO: nam A.* *ipse O* et in margine F^2P^2, *ille AF*[1], om. *P*[1]. 5 *aequalis* K: *-es* cet. *nos FPO; nos minus A; nos non minus* codd. mutili interpolati e.g. cod. vetus Car. Stephani (11 'facilius enim post *nos* illud *non* intercidere potuit, quam in *A* illud *minus* nescio quo pacto interpolari'). *nos nimis* Manutius (st). 7 *ait* om. *A.* 8 *aut* om. *A.* *ut sibi ipse* (sc. visus non est) Bake, idem habet Erl.[2] *sibi: tibi A.* *tibi numquam* K cum cod. Vit. 9 *nunquam* OII.

Brutus in rhetoric, as appears from this passage and Brut. 332 'nam quid te exercuit Pammenes vir longe eloquentissimus Graeciae?' Seneca contr. i 4 § 7 'Pammenes ex bonis (*corr. Faber* novis) declamatoribus'.

Athenis, 1 Acad. 12 (Brutus) 'Aristum Athenis audivit aliquamdiu, cuius tu (*sc.* Varro) fratrem Antiochum'.

sed ille etc. The oratorical pre-eminence of Dem. rests upon the greatness of his predecessors and was rendered still more conspicuous by that of his contemporaries (hence *nam*). Whereas Cicero's predecessors could, at best, only be regarded as imperfect models, and he was obliged by his own efforts to make a way to the highest point—the mastery over all the three *genera* and their proper blending one with another (Piderit).

magnum fecissemus, II Verr. iii 42 'magnum te fecisse arbitrare', ad Quint. fr. i 2 § 7 'valde magnum facis', Varro L. L. vi 39 and Hor. Sat. i 10, 20 'at magnum fecit'. These passages are sufficient to defend the text against the conjecture of Reiz, *magni fuissemus;* which is besides too arrogant for the context. **ait Ant.** 18. **auditus...erat**, at the time of his writing.

§ 106. Crassus, 19. **Cotta** (Gaius Aurelius), 132, born about B.C. 120, almost exactly contemporary with **Sulpicius** (de Or. iii 31 'duo *prope* aequales'), to whom he presents a complete contrast both in character and in oratorical style. 'His disposition was that of a calm and somewhat unsympathetic nature, in which intellect was entirely predominant; and his oratorical power like that of his model, Antonius, lay chiefly in the *inventio*, his language being simple and unimpassioned. His speeches were free from all redundancy, impetuosity and affectation. While others, like Sulpicius, sought to sway the feelings of the court by powerful efforts and impassioned appeals, Cotta moulded the judicial decision by a calm and reasonable treatment of the subject, and plain but convincing arguments' (Piderit, index). His style, which belongs to the *genus tenue*, is thus sketched in Brut. 202 'inveniebat acute Cotta, dicebat pure ac solute; et ut ad infirmitatem laterum perscienter contentionem omnem remiserat, sic ad virium imbecillitatem dicendi accommodabat genus. nihil erat in eius oratione nisi sincerum, nihil nisi siccum atque sanum: illudque maximum, quod cum contentione orationis flectere animos iudicum vix posset nec omnino eo genere diceret, tractando tamen impellebat, ut idem facerent a se commoti quod a Sulpicio concitati'; ib. 205, 207, 317; de Or. ii 98 'acutissimum et subtilissimum dicendi genus est consecutus', iii 31 'limatus et subtilis, rem explicans propriis aptisque verbis. haeret in causa semper et quid iudici probandum sit cum acutissime vidit, omissis ceteris argumentis in eo mentem orationemque defigit'. He is one of the interlocutors in the de Natura Deorum and (with Sulpicius) in the de Or. (see esp. Wilkins' Introd. p. 19 f.).

P. **Sulpicius** Rufus, 132, celebrated as *tribunus plebis* in 88. He is a representative of the *genus grande*. Brut. 203, 'fuit enim Sulpicius vel maxime omnium, quos quidem ego audiverim, grandis et,

nihil enim ample Cotta, nihil leniter Sulpicius, non multa gravit
Hortensius; superiores magis ad omne genus apti, Crassum dic
et Antonium. ieiunas igitur huius multiplicis et aequabiliter i
omnia genera fusae orationis auris civitatis accepimus, easqu
5 nos primi, quicumque eramus et quantulumcumque dicebamus, a
huius generis [dicendi] audiendi incredibilia studia convertimu
quantis illa clamoribus adulescentuli diximus [de supplicio parri
cidarum], quae nequaquam satis defervisse post aliquanto sentir

1 *Cotta A*, om. *FPO*. 3 *aequaliter* [st). 4 *fuse A.* *easque m* *ba*
primi FPO: itaq. nri A. 5 *-cunque* ramus: *oramus A.* 6 *dicend*
FPO (O²H): om. *A* (Ern. O¹MKJPS. *au* . Göller. 7 *de supplicio parri*
cidarum om. *A* (KJP); 'eiiciatur molestu ' Bake; retinent MOH cum *FPO*
8 *defervisse* MOKPH cum *FPO*, *defer* *atis deperiisse A.*

ut ita dicam, **tragicus orator.** vox cum magna tum **suavis et splendida**; gestus et motus corporis ita venustus, ut tamen ad forum, non ad scaenam institutus videretur; incitata et volubilis nec ea redundans tamen nec circumfluens oratio. Crassum hic volebat imitari; Cotta malebat Antonium: sed ab hoc vis aberat Antonii, Crassi ab illo lepos', ib. 182 f. 205; De Or. iii 31 'Sulpicius autem fortissimo quodam animi impetu, plenissima et maxima voce, summa contentione corporis et dignitate motus, verborum quoque ea gravitate et copia est, ut unus ad dicendum instructissimus a natura esse videatur.' i 132 'ego enim neminem nec motu corporis neque ipso habitu atque forma aptiorem nec voce pleniorem aut suaviorem mihi videor audisse': ii 88 (see Wilkins *u. s.* p. 17).

leniter...**graviter.** Brut. 164 'multa in illa oratione graviter, multa leniter'.

Q. **Hortensius**, 129, 132; born B.C. 114, consul in 69, died in the year 50 (Brut. 1), the first orator of his day until he was surpassed by Cicero. He made the Asiatic style, in its two varieties, his principal model (ib. 325); and, in the present passage, he represents the *genus medium*. Brut. 301—4, esp. 303 'erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, facultate copiosus; eaque erat cum summo ingenio tum exercitationibus maximis consecutus. rem complectebatur memoriter, dividebat acute, nec praetermittebat fere quidquam, quod esset in causa aut ad confirmandum aut ad refellendum. vox canora et suavis: motus et gestus etiam plus artis habebat, quam erat oratori satis'; ib. 189, 190, 228, 317—326. *Introd.* p. xli.

ieiunas...**orationis**, lit. 'hungry in ...ect of', 'meagrely supplied with'. is very rarely construed with a ...f the thing lacking', but it here the analogy of words like *inops, ca-* *...ruus, sitiens.* Justinus xxxviii 6 ad ...nem illum populum (the Romans) ... animos, inexplebiles sanguinis ... imperii, divitiarumque avidos ac ieiunos habere'. The corresponding subst. is similarly used de Or. ii 10 'propter eorum, qui de dicendi ratione disputarunt, ieiunitatem (=inopiam) bonarum artium'.

aequabiliter...**fusae**, 126 init., de Or. iii 96 'id (embellishment) non debet esse fusum aequabiliter per omnem orationem'.

quicumque eramus, 12 quicumque sim.

quantulumcumque, for the word cf. de Or. i 135 ii 97; for the sense, the studiously modest exordium of the *pro Archia*.

§ 107. **clamoribus**, a neutral term like θόρυβος, here 'applause', as in 111, 214. **adulescentuli.** It was at the age of 26, in B.C. 80, that he delivered the speech *pro Q. Roscio Amerino*, from § 72 of which the following highly wrought passage is quoted (Forsyth's Cicero pp. 25—30).

[**de supplicio parricidarum**] Digest xlviii 9, 9 'poena paricidii more maiorum haec instituta est, ut paricida virgis sanguineis verberatus deinde culeo insuatur ('sewn up in a sack') cum cane, gallo gallinaceo, et vipera et simia, deinde in mare profundum culeus iaciatur'; Juvenal viii 214 (with Mayor's note). On the derivation and spelling of *parricida* see Wordsworth's Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin, p. 501 or Clark's Early Roman Law § 7.

defervisse, a metaphor from the fermenting of new wine. In the Brutus (287—8) we have an elaborate comparison between the different degrees of develop-

uid enim tam commune quam spiritus vivis, terra
fluctuantibus, litus eiectis? ita vivunt, dum possunt,
nam de caelo non queant; ita moriuntur, ut eorum
n tangat; ita iactantur fluctibus, ut numquam ab-
postremo eiciuntur, ut ne ad saxa quidem mortui
' et quae sequuntur. sunt enim omnia sicut adu-
tam re et maturitate quam spe et exspectatione
hac indole iam illa matura: 'uxor generi, noverca
lex.' nec vero hic erat unus ardor in nobis, ut hoc

A sed in margine corr. 2 *fluctuantibus* orat. Roscianae codd., *uctantibus A.* 3 *non* om. *A.* 4 *iram ntangant A.* *alluantur A* et *MPO* (MO[2]), *adluantur F*, Klotz, KHST (Halmius c.): *abluantur* cod. Vit. Erl. (Ern, O[1]JP) et orat. Roscianae codd. *ecuntur A.* *sicut: sic A.* 8 *laudata A.* *hac iam A.* 9 *filio filia A.* *paelex* H et st cum *A* et *F*; *pellex* MOKJP

nd the successive stages aches its maturity; esp. tam quasi de musto ac tionem fugiendam'. It essful defence of Q. Ros- at Cicero in B.C. 79 left ars, to recruit himself by complete his rhetorical s and elsewhere; on his of 30, the youthful fault dant and florid style had corrected, 'contentio lerat et quasi *defervera*t q. v.). Quint. xii 6 § 4, e same passage of the s: 'quae cum sex et vi- nos summis audientium it, defervisse tempore et m senior idem fatetur' e term *nequaquam* or *non* have fallen out before 4 § 9 'mihi ne maturitas tinet, nec musta in lacu nt; sic et annos ferent et ient'; Plin. Ep. ix 16 novo musto novos versi- ut primum videbuntur ttemus.'—Similarly Ma- blishing his Essays, con- the criticism of Milton, en when the author was lege and which contains graph such as his matured oves, still remains over- udy and ungraceful orna-

defervuissent in pro Cael. *rint* and *effervuisse* ib. 77; *pro Cluent.* 108 and in

the present passage. Corssen, *Aussprache* i 126; and Roby § 76.

'quid enim...conquiescant'. 'What boon so universal as air to the living, earth to the dead, the sea to the wave-tost, the shore to the ship-wrecked? Such is their life while they survive, that they cannot breathe the breath of heaven; such their death, that earth lays no finger on their bones; they are tost by the waves, which cannot wash away their guilt; they are at length cast out upon the shore, against whose rocks they rest not even in death'. *abluantur* 'purified' is supported by the previous context 'ne cum delati essent in mare,...ipsum pollu- erent, quo cetera quae violata sunt ex- piari putantur'. *alluantur* 'lapped by the waves', appears less appropriate here; *alluere* in its literal sense is gene- rally used of water washing the walls of a town.

non tam re...quam spe. All these are characteristic of youth,—youth that 'wins praise for hopeful promise rather than for ripe performance'. Cic. apud Servium ad Aen. vi 877 'causa difficilis laudare puerum, non enim res laudanda sed spes est'.

ab hac indole. scilicet *exorta sunt.* To the same native exuberance is due a passage from a far later speech, which Cic. delivered fourteen years after, at the age of 40. 'A plea', says Piderit, 'in justification of language which Cicero's critics may well have found fault with, as too bombastic'.

'uxor...paelex'. Pro Cluentio 199: Sas- sia, the mother of Cluentius, 'etiam nomina

...oloque mutarent, non num...
sermonis accederent: ipse num...
10 discederem? sed quid poëtas d...

1 *pro Roscio*, 'quam temperata esset ... *Avito, pro Cornelio*, et in *compluribus* ... Roscio' Bake, secl. KHSt, om. JP. *ipse a...* *redundantia multa habet* coni. Schütz; *ipsa...* *tia multa habet* coni. 11 coll. Quint. xii ... Lambinus: *at FPO* et *A*. 5 *eaque* om. J verbis *nemo—nostra* in pa... om. *A*. *Habito* ... *maximis FPO*. 10 *descen...* non in margine sed sub finem versus 5, quo... (sc. *enim*). in eodem compendio *ego* latere su...

necessitudinem, non solum naturae [nomen et] iura mutavit'. After an intrigue with the husband of her own daughter, she caused him to divorce his wife, and married him herself, thus becoming 'the wife of her own son-in-law' after having been 'the rival of her own daughter'. She afterwards caused her own son, Cluentius, to be charged by her step-son with having poisoned her third husband Oppianicus, thus proving in her unnatural conduct a 'step-dame to her very son'.

§ 108. **iuvenilis redundantia.** De Or. ii 88 (of the youthful Sulpicius) 'verbis effervescentibus et paulo nimium redundantibus, quod erat aetatis'. Brut. 316 (Molo) 'dedit operam...ut nimis *redundantes* nos et superfluentes *iuvenili* quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia reprimeret et quasi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret'. ...

Fi... phi... fort... ... sure... ciam... Rom... homi... sed e... 102 '... § 1... Arch. ... Homer... coordin... rem. ... by mere... pressed ... trated in...

eos vidimus, quibus nihil posset in suo genere esse praestantius, qui non solum in dissimillimis personis satis faciebant, cum tamen in suis versarentur, sed et comoedum in tragoediis et tragoedum in comoediis admodum placere vidimus: ego non
110 elaborem? cum dico me, te, Brute, dico; nam in me quidem iam 5 pridem effectum est, quod futurum fuit. tu autem eodem modo omnis causas ages? aut aliquod causarum genus repudiabis? aut in eisdem causis perpetuum et eundem spiritum sine ulla commutatione obtinebis? Demosthenes quidem, cuius nuper inter imagines tuas ac tuorum, quod eum, credo, amares, cum ad te 10 in Tusculanum venissem, imaginem ex aere vidi, nihil Lysiae

1 *videmus FPO* et *A.* 2 *dissimilissimis A.* *cum tamquam* coni. Peter (KSt), *ut tamquam* Bake. 3 *in suis: in* om. *A.* 7 *agis A.* *repudiaris A.* 8 *isdem A.* *et* seclus. Sch. (st). 9 *optinebis* H. 10 *ac FPO: aut A.* *credo F* et *A*, *crebro PO.* *amares A.* 11 *ex* om. *A.* *nil A.*

§ 110. **perpetuum...obtinebis?** 'will you maintain throughout, the same unbroken energy, the same unabated ardour, without any variation of style?' **spiritum**, 'animated tone', 'fire' (130); 'vim dicendi contentionemque quae ex ingenii quodam vigore et ἐνθουσιασμῷ nascitur' (I. C. T. Ernesti, lex. techn.). Quint. x 1 § 44 'elatior ingenii vis et magis concitata et plena spiritus' (of the *genus grande*), ib. 104 'elatum spiritum et audaces sententias' (of Cremutius). Dion. Hal. Thuc. 23 τὸ ἐρρωμένον καὶ ἐναγώνιον πνεῦμα, id. Dem. 22 ad fin., Lucian Enc. Dem. 14 σφοδρὸς τῷ πνεύματι,...ποικιλώτατος δ' ἐναλλαγαῖς σχημάτων.

imagines tuas, complimentary statues and busts of Brutus, presented by the gratitude of provincial and municipal authorities. Some of the most noted representations of Brutus are well described in the following extract from M. Gaston Boissier's *Cicéron et ses Amis*, p. 327: On a pu voir au musée Campana une statue très-curieuse de Brutus. L'artiste qui l'a faite n'a point cherché à idéaliser son modèle, et il semble n'avoir aspiré qu'à une réalité vulgaire; mais on y reconnaît bien Brutus. A ce front bas, à ces os de la face accusés avec tant de lourdeur, on devine un esprit étroit et une âme entêtée. La figure a un air fiévreux et malade; elle est à la fois jeune et vieille, comme il arrive à ceux qui n'ont pas eu de jeunesse. On y sent surtout une tristesse étrange, celle d'un homme accablé sous le poids d'une destinée grande et fatale. Dans le beau buste de Brutus conservé au musée du Capitole, la figure est plus pleine et plus belle. La douceur et la tristesse sont restées; l'air maladif a disparu. Les traits y ressemblent tout à fait à ceux qu'on trouve sur la fameuse médaille qui fut frappée pendant les dernières années de Brutus, et qui porte à son revers un bonnet phrygien entre deux poignards, avec cette légende menaçante: *Idus martiae*. Michel-Ange avait commencé un buste de Brutus dont on peut voir l'admirable ébauche aux Offices de Florence. Ce n'était pas une étude de fantaisie, et l'on voit qu'il s'était servi des portraits antiques en les idéalisant. (The unfinished bust by Michelangelo is now in the Museo Nazionale in the Bargello, upper storey, room ii.) See also Bernouilli's *Römische Ikonographie* i p. 187 and *Introd.* p. lvii.

§§ 110 f. *Illustrations from Demosthenes.*

tuorum, the *imagines maiorum*. At the funeral of the sister of Brutus and wife of Cassius, among the *clarissimarum familiarum imagines*, those of Cassius and Brutus were conspicuous by their absence, 'praefulgebant eo ipso quod effigies eorum non visebantur' (Tac. Ann. iii 76).

quod...amares dependent on **vidi** (sc. *a te positam*). The tense indicates that Cicero is reporting his impressions at the time of his visit.

Tusculanum Brut. 300 (Cic. addressing Brutus) 'in Cumano aut in Tusculano... quoniam utroque in loco vicini sumus'.

imaginem ex aere. A bronze bust, or statue, of Dem. The most celebrated statue of the orator now extant is that in the *Bracchio nuovo* of the Vatican Museum, no. 62, well described in Stahr's Torso i

subtilitate cedit, nihil argutiis et acumine Hyperidi, nihil levitate Aeschini et splendore verborum. multae sunt eius totae orationes subtiles, ut contra Leptinem; multae totae graves, ut quaedam

1 *subtilitati* AP[a], *suptilitate* P[1]. *acumini* FPO. *Hyperidis* FP, *Hyperidis* FM, *Hypericlis* O. *lenitate* PO. 2 *et totae* FPO.

592. A cast of this statue may be seen in the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology, as well as in the Museum of Casts, South Kensington. An autotype copy of the former is given opposite p. xxviii.

A fairly exact replica of this is in the possession of Lord Sackville at Knole Park, Sevenoaks (engraved in *Trans. of Royal Soc. of Lit.* 1853 iv 384); and it has been generally supposed that both of them are copies, in marble, of the bronze stat· by Polyeuktos erected at Athens in · B.C. In the original the hands were fol (ἕστηκε δὲ τοὺς δακτύλους συνέχων δι' λήλων Plut. Dem. 30), whereas in ... above copies they hold a scroll, an alteration which (as suggested by Michaelis) may have been made at a time when Dem. had come to be admired wholly or mainly for his literary fame (Overbeck *Gesch. d. Gr. Plastik* ii 85; Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Gt Britain* p. 417 ff.). Several busts of the orator are figured and described in Visconti's *Iconographie Grecque* i 346—359; and in Schroeder's *Abbildungen von Dem.* There is also a fine head of Dem. in the Royal Gardens at Athens. 'His furrowed brow, knitted eyebrows, closely pressed lips, we feel confident, show us the noble patriot as he appeared to the Athenians daily, and make us regret that the speaking head is so fragmentary' (Mrs Murray Mitchell in *The Century*, May, 1882, p. 85-6, and in her *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture* p. 547 f.): there is a cast in the Cambridge Museum (325). It is interesting to note that the statue in the Vatican was found at Tusculum where it doubtless once belonged to some Roman admirer of Dem. who, like Brutus, had a villa at that place.

Among the Romans, just as their taste for travel was mainly directed to the visiting of places interesting for their historical or legendary associations, and was seldom prompted by a love of the beauties of nature; so their taste for works of sculpture was not inspired by a love of art for its own sake but rather by the associations called up by the subject represented by it. It is to this feeling that we must attribute their fondness for embellishing their villas with sculptured portraits of historical and literary celebrities.

subtilitas, characteristic of Lysias (Brut. 35, Quint. x 1 § 78); **acumen**, of ...rides (id. § 77 'acutus H.' and de ... i 28 'suavitatem Isocrates, *subtilitatem Lysias, acumen Hyperides*, sonitum ...ines, vim Demosthenes habuit'). ...ate, λειότητι. **splendore v.** (163—4); ... Or. 19 (of Aesch.) § 133 σεμνολό-... ib. 255 σεμνολογεῖ. The style of ... is thus characterized in Dion. Hal. ...ων κρίσις v 5, ὁ δ' A. ἀτονώτερος μὲν ...ημ., ἐν δὲ τῇ λέξεων ἐκλογῇ πομ-... ἅμα καὶ δεινός· καὶ οὐ πάνυ μὲν ...τος, τῇ δὲ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως εὐχερείᾳ ...γγημένος· καὶ σφόδρα ἐναργὴς καὶ ... καὶ αὐξητικὸς καὶ πικρός, καὶ ἡδὺς μὲν αὐτόθεν ἐντυχόντι, σφοδρὸς δ' ἐξετασθείς (for other criticisms, see Blass *Att. Ber.* III B 161—6). *Introd.* p. xxx f.

§ 111. **contra Leptinem**, delivered B.C. 354 on behalf of Ctesippus, son of Chabrias, in opposition to the law proposed by Leptines whereby all immunities from public burdens were to be rescinded and made illegal for the future. Dion. Hal. ad Ammaeum i 4 ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν λόγος, χαριέστατος ἁπάντων τῶν λόγων καὶ γραφικώτατος (Ar. Rhet. iii 12 § 2 ἔστι δὲ λέξις γραφικὴ ἡ ἀκριβεστάτη, Demetr. § 193 γραφικὴ δὲ λέξις ἡ εὐανάγνωστος). Elsewhere, however, de Dem. 14, he quotes a passage from the 'Leptines', § 68 f. as an instance of the μέσος χαρακτήρ, and, after stating that a resemblance to the style of Lysias may be observed in 'many parts of the public speeches', he adds that the speech ὑπὲρ 'Αλοννήσου Or. vii (which, however, must be ascribed to Hegesippos, ib. 13) ὅλος ἐστὶν ἀκριβὴς καὶ λεπτὸς καὶ Λυσιακὸν χαρακτῆρα ἐκμέμακται εἰς ὄνυχα (*expressit ad unguem*).

totae graves. This characteristic holds good of all the four speeches generally known as the Philippics (Or. iv, vi, ix and x) whatever view may be taken of the authorship of the last of the four; but Dionysius reckons as many as twelve under that title, including even the speech πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου Or. xi, which is more in the style of Isocrates

Philippicae; multae variae, ut contra Aeschinem falsae legationis, ut contra eundem pro *se in* causa Ctesiphontis. iam illud medium quotiens volt adripit et a gravissimo discedens eo potissimum delabitur: clamores tamen tum movet et tum in dicendo
112 plurimum efficit, cum gravitatis locis utitur. sed ab hoc parumper abeamus, quandoquidem de genere, non de homine quaerimus. rei potius, id est, eloquentiae, vim et naturam explicemus. illud tamen, quod iam ante diximus, meminerimus, nihil nos praecipiendi causa esse dicturos atque ita potius acturos, ut existimatores videamur loqui, non magistri; in quo tamen longius progredimur, quod videmus non te haec solum esse lecturum, qui

1 *Aeschinen A.* 2 *se in* add. Jahn (KP). *Cthesiphontis A* et (*C* in rasura) *O.* 3 *volt* K: *vult* MOJPH. *adripit* KP[1]: *arr.* ceteri. *gravissimis A.* *descendens* coni. Schuetz (St). *discedens ad lenissimum delabitur* coni. Friedrich. 5 *gravitati aptis locis* Reid. 8 *nos* superscripto *non A.* 9 *ita: id* conicit Reid. 10 *existimatione* (non *existimatorie*) *A.* *magisterio A.* 11 *saepe progredimur A* (MO[1]H): *progredimur FPO* (O[2]KJP). *saepe progrediemur* fortasse recte Stangl.

and is generally regarded as spurious. If, as is probable, Cicero followed the same traditional reckoning as that which was adopted soon afterwards by Dionysius, we can readily understand his limitation '*quaedam* Philippicae'. This conjecture is confirmed by the letter to Atticus (II i § 3) in which he mentions the Philippics of Dem. side by side with his own proposed collection of *orationes consulares* which it appears are exactly *twelve* in number.

variae; similarly Dionys. Dem. 14 quotes as an example of the μέσος χαρακτήρ the passage on the traitors of Athens, in *de fals. leg.* § 258 δεῖ μὲν γὰρ—δεόμενον (Blass *Att. Ber.* III 321), and in the same chapter he ascribes to the oration on the Crown καλλίστῃ καὶ μετριωτάτῃ κατασκευῇ λέξεως. The variety of style in the latter has already been noticed in § 26.

contra Aeschinem. The speech κατ' Αἰσχίνου περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας belonging to B.C. 344, charging Aeschines with corrupt conduct in the discharge of his duties as one of the ambassadors sent to Philip in April 346.

falsae legationis. The use of the gen. corresponds exactly to the form of the title given in Plut. Dem. 15 ὁ κατ' Αἰσχ. τῆς παραπρεσβείας (without περί). For the gen. = *de* with abl., cf. de Nat. Deor. i 29 'Empedocles multa alia peccans in deorum opinione turpissime labitur', II Verr. iii 121 'coniecturam totius provinciae', ib. 106 'sed mihi Aetnensium brevis est ratio', pro Caec. 9 'iuris dubitatio'. For more exx. see Draeger, *Hist. Syntax* § 203. Cf. 46 universi generis orationem.

Ctesiphontis, 26, 133, the oration ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου, delivered in 330 in defence of Ctesiphon who after the battle of Chaeronea (338) had proposed that the services of Dem. to his country should be rewarded by the public presentation of a golden crown; a proposal which was attacked by Aeschines on technical and other grounds. P. xxvi.

delabitur, 'descends'. A gradual and almost imperceptible movement is here, as often, expressed by a metaphor from the gliding of a stream; de Or. iii 125, de Am. 76, ad Quint. fr. i 1 § 18 'ad praecipiendi rationem delapsa est oratio mea' (Nägelsbach *Stil.* § 132. 1).

gravitatis locis, 'the topics (§ 47) of the grand style', de Inv. ii 49, de Or. ii 248 'ex eisdem fere locis etiam graves sententias posse duci'.

§ 112. **ante**, 43. **existimatores**, 'critics' here contrasted with **magistri**, just as in 117 *iudex* is with *doctor*. Brut. 146 'magis existimator metuendus quam admirandus orator', 200 'intellegens dicendi existimator non assidens et attente audiens, sed uno conspectu et praeteriens de oratore saepe iudicat', 252 'huius generis acerrimo existimatore', 320 'existimator doctus et intellegens', 92 'si in existimantium arbitrium sua scripta non venerint', 239 'elegans in dicendo, in existimando admodum prudens', ib. 82, 122.

ea multo quam nos, qui quasi docere videamur, habeas notio
sed hunc librum, etiamsi minus nostra commendatione, tuo tam
nomine divolgari necesse est.

XXXII Esse igitur perfecte eloquentis puto non eam solum facul
5 tem habere, quae sit eius propria, fuse lateque dicendi, sed etia
vicinam eius atque finitimam dialecticorum scientiam adsumer
quamquam aliud videtur oratio esse, aliud disputatio, nec ide
loqui esse quod dicere; ac tamen utrumque in disserendo es
disputandi ratio et loquendi dialecticorum sit, oratorum aute
10 dicendi et ornandi. Zeno qui … le, a quo disciplina Stoic
rum est, manu demonstare sol … uid inter has artis interesse

1 *quasi docere FPO*, *ea docere A.* … *ur FPO* (MOKJP): *videmur A* (HS
3 *divolgari* K: *divulgari* MOJPHST cum … *cesse esse div.* Lambinus. *div. nec*
esse coni. Ernesti. 4 *solum FPO* … *tantum* Gu[3] (ST). 5 *etiam FP*
eam A. 6 *vicinam—scientiam* om. … *tque* MOKJP: *ac* Lambinus, et H cu
FPO (e silentio) et Vit. *adsumere* … ceteri. 8 *ac tamen F* et *A*, quo
probaverant Bake et Madvig de Fin. … 8 p. 429 (Klotz, KJPH): *attamen P*
(MO). 9 *sit FPO* et *A* (MO[2]JPH … tier, Bake (K): *est* O[2], qui putabat
scriptura *dialecticorumst* ortum esse *d.* … *sit* (ST). 10 *ornandi* cum codd
MOKH: *orandi* Jahn (P). 11 *artis* … ceteri.

sed...**divolgari**, in contrast to *te solum*. This treatise, says Cicero, must necessarily obtain a wide circulation, more because it is dedicated to *you* than because it commends itself as written by *me*.

§§ 113—121. *The perfect orator must be equipped with a knowledge of the subject-matter of* (1) *philosophy in its several branches of dialectics* (113—7), *ethics* (118) *and physics* (119); (2) *jurisprudence and history* (120); *and* (3) *the theory of rhetoric* (121).

fuse, 66. **vicinam atque finitimam.** The latter is the stronger word of the two, 'the neighbouring, aye indeed border-province of dialectic'. The **dialectici** are those philosophers who paid special attention to logic (ἡ διαλεκτική).

quamquam. This parenthesis explains how far the province of logic can justly be regarded as bordering on that of oratory proper. For although the subject with the exposition of which he is more especially concerned,—the *oratio perpetua* or the *dicere oratorie*—seems in its strictly special character to be severed from dialectical discussion and from a formally logical expression of thought (the *disputatio* or the *loqui dialectice*); yet, notwithstanding, they have a point of contact in that evolution of thought, common to the philosopher and the orator, which is properly termed *disserere*. But, at the same time, the undeniable distinction between the two must not be obliterated; both must maintain their strictly distinctive character (Piderit).

loqui, in the special sense of *dialectice loqui* = διαλέγεσθαι, contrasted with **dicere** as in § 114 *init.* Reid compares Fronto ed. Naber p. 146 'hoc indicat loqui te quam eloqui malle'. **in disserendo.** Brut. 118 'ut omnes fere Stoici prudentissimi *in disserendo* sint...idem traducti a *disputando* ad dicendum inopes reperiantur'; de Or. i. 9.—On dialectic in the higher sense of the term, see the note in Thomson's *Laws of Thought*, p. 57.

dialecticorum...**oratorum.** Acad. i 5 'praeceptis dialecticorum et oratorum etiam'.

Zeno, of Cittium in the island of Cyprus, the famous founder of the Stoic school; lived *circa* 350 to 260 B.C. (Zeller's *Stoics*, &c. p. 37 ff. of English ed.). **ille**, etc. either to distinguish him from others of the name (Piderit), or, more probably, simply as a tribute to his fame. **a quo**, de Fin. iv 7 'et Zeno et qui ab eo sunt', pro Murena 63 (in contrast to the Stoics) 'nostri illi a Platone et Aristotele' (οἱ ἀπὸ...); Quint. iv 2 § 31 'plerique scriptores, maxime qui sunt ab Isocrate'.

manu. Sextus Empiricus adversus mathematicos ii 7 Ζήνων ὁ Κιττιεὺς ἐρωτηθείς, ὅτῳ διαφέρει διαλεκτικὴ ῥητορικῆς, συστρέψας τὴν χεῖρα καὶ πάλιν ἐξαπλώσας ἔφη, τούτῳ· κατὰ μὲν τὴν συστροφὴν τὸ στρογγύλον καὶ βραχὺ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς τάττων ἰδίωμα, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐξαπλώσεως τῶν δακτύ-

cum compresserat digitos pugnumque fecerat, dialecticam
at eius modi esse, cum autem diduxerat et manum dilata-
t, palmae illius similem eloquentiam esse dicebat. atque
n ante hunc Aristoteles principio artis rhetoricae dicit illam
m quasi ex altera parte respondere dialecticae, ut hoc vide- 5
differant inter se, quod haec ratio dicendi latior sit, illa
endi contractior. volo igitur huic summo omnem, quae ad
ndum trahi possit, loquendi rationem esse notam; quae
em res, quod te his artibus eruditum minime fallit, duplicem
iit docendi viam; nam et ipse Aristoteles tradidit praecepta 10
ima disserendi et postea qui dialectici dicuntur spinosiora
ta pepererunt. ergo eum censeo, qui eloquentiae laude

deduxerat A. 7 *summo* secl. Bake (K). *ad disserendum tradi* Bake
ed. Ven.[1] et Ern.). 8 *posset FP.* 10 *habuit FPO* (OJPHSt): *habet A* (MK).
go FPO (MOKJP): *ego A* (HSt).

τὸ πλατὺ τῆς ῥητορικῆς δυνάμεως ὁμενος. De Fin. ii 17 'rhetorice, m, nos mavis quam dialectice dis-e. quasi vero, inquit, perpetua rhetorum solum, non etiam philo-rum sit. Zenonis est, inquam, hoc i, omnem vim loquendi (ut iam ante oteles) in duas tributam esse partes; ricam palmae, dialecticam pugni si-i esse dicebat, quod latius loque-r rhetores, dialectici autem compres-(Brut. 120). Quint. ii 20 § 7 'cum int genera orationis, altera *perpetua, rhetorice* dicitur, altera *concisa*, quae *tice*, quas quidem Zeno adeo con-t, ut hanc compressae in pugnum s, illam explicitae diceret similem, disputatrix virtus erit'. Acad. ii 'at scire negatis quemquam rem nisi sapientem; et hoc quidem gestu conficiebat. nam cum extensis s adversam manum ostenderat, *vi-* inquiebat, huiusmodi est; deinde paulum digitos contraxerat, *adsensus* modi; tum cum plane compresserat umque fecerat, *comprehensionem* (κα-ψιν) illam esse dicebat; cum autem m manum admoverat et illum pug-arte vehementerque compresserat, *tiam* talem esse dicebat, cuius com-n nisi sapientem esse neminem'. rus, origines, ii 23 'dialecticam et ricam Varro in novem disciplinarum tali similitudine definivit: dialectica etorica est quod in manu hominis *us astrictus* et *palma distensa*, illa *contrahens*, ista *distendens*'. (Pi-'s index. Cf. Zeller's *Stoics* p. 69, Reid on Acad. *l. c.*) *It will* be ob-served that the comparison of the closed and open hand is put to a different use in Acad. ii 145 from that in the other passages.

compresserat—fecerat, 'clenched his fist'. **diduxerat**, sc. *digitos*. **palmae illius**, 'that open palm'.

§ 114. **Aristoteles**. Rhet. i 1 ἡ ῥητορική ἐστιν ἀντίστροφος (the counter-part) τῇ διαλεκτικῇ (see Cope's note). The same definition is ascribed to the Stoics in Sopater's commentary on Hermogenes v 15 Walz.

quasi ex altera parte—The same rendering of ἀντίστροφος is given in Acad. i 33, with which cf. *quasi contrarium* in de Or. ii 279 (Reid).

duplicem—viam, 'has been taught in two different ways' namely (1) by Aristotle, the founder of logic, in his *Topica* and elsewhere, and (2) by the Stoics (Zeller *u. s.* chap. v).

spinosiora, de Fin. iii 3 'Stoicorum autem non ignoras quam sit subtile vel spinosum potius disserendi genus'. *Spinosiora* is contrasted with *uberius* in Tusc. Disp. i 16. The Peripatetics 'spinas partiendi et definiendi praetermittunt' (ib. iv 9), and the Stoic Panaetius, in contrast to others of the same school, 'nec acerbitatem sententiarum nec disserendi spinas probavit' (de Fin. iv 79); Acad. ii 112, de N. D. i 68, de Or. i 83, cf. ii 158, iii 66. **pepererunt**, for the metaphor, cf. 183 med., and *verba parere*, de Fin. iii 3, and de Or. ii 146.

§ 115. **censeo...esse**=*esse debere;* de Leg. ii 26 'delubra esse in urbibus censeo', Liv. ii 5 § 1, xlii 33 § 4, xlv 16 § 1, and

ducatur, non esse earum rerum omnino rudem, sed vel ill
qua vel hac Chrysippi disciplina institutum; noverit p
vim, naturam, genera verborum et simplicium et copula
deinde quot modis quidque dicatur; qua ratione verum fal
5 sit iudicetur; quid efficiatur e quoque, quid cuique cons
sit quidque contrarium; cumque ambigue multa dicantu
modo quidque eorum dividi explanarique oporteat. haec t
sunt oratori—saepe enim occurrunt—sed quia sua sponte
lidiora sunt, adhibendus erit in eis explicandis quidam or
10 nitor.

2 *institutus A*. 4 *falsum v*[illegible] *A*. 5 *e A*, *eo FPO*. *cuique FPO*. 6 *quidque* cod. [illegible]t Manutius; *quidve A*, *quodq*[illegible] *dicantur A* (MOKJP): *dicentur* HST cum [illegible] (e silentio). 7 *dividi: distin*[illegible] F. Nesemann (zur Textkritik des Brutus und des Orator 1882 p. 10); *dil*[illegible] *planari* coll. 124 Reid. 8 *quia* Ern. M et H cum *A*: *quo F*, *quod POM*; [illegible] Jahn (Klotz, KP). 9 *eis* KJP (*iis* O cum Eins.): *his* MH.

similarly with *placet* and *sententia est* (Nägelsbach *Stil.* § 98. 3, Madv. § 396 obs. 4). But, as Mr Nixon suggests, it is not necessary to supply *debere* in such passages as the above, any more than in Hor. Ep. i 2, 9 'censet belli praecidere causam' ('votes for cutting off'). *placet ire*, he adds, requires no such supplement; it is in fact the simple object of *censeo* expressed barely, just as after *statuo* we have the simple present, not the future.

illa, sc. Aristotelis. **Chrysippus** of Soli in Cilicia (B.C. 280—207). He succeeded Cleanthes as the head of the Stoic school, and brought it to its highest development. Hence the saying *εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος οὐκ ἂν ἦν Στοά* (Diog. Laert. vii § 183), and the allusive description in Acad. ii 75 'qui fulcire putatur porticum Stoicorum'. Among his numerous works was an 'art of rhetoric' which Cicero severely criticises as of so unpractical a character 'ut si quis obmutescere concupierit, nihil aliud legere debeat' (de Fin. iv 7); de Or. i. 50 'videmus eisdem de rebus ieiune quosdam et exiliter, ut eum quem acutissimum ferunt Chrysippum disputavisse'. Dion. Hal. de Comp. p. 31, c. 4 *τούτου* (Chr.) *οὔτ' ἄμεινον οὐδεὶς τὰς διαλεκτικὰς τέχνας ἠκρίβωσεν, οὔτε χείρονι ἁρμονίᾳ συνταχθέντας ἐξήνεγκε λόγους τῶν ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης ἀξιωθέντων* (v. Zeller *u. s.* pp. 45—48).

primum, the theory of the meaning, nature, and the various kinds of words. **vim**, 'force', in the weaker sense of the term. **simplicium...copulatorum**, words by themselves contrasted with words in combination; part. or. 16 'prima [illegible] simplicibus verbis, in coniunctis s[illegible] 18 (...'ne generibus, numeris, tem[illegible] personis casibus perturbetur oratio[illegible] ut in simplicibus verbis quod [illegible] Latinum sic in coniunctis quod [illegible] consequens vituperandum est'.

deinde, the theory of statem[illegible] opinion, including syntax; de Or[illegible] 'omne quod eloquimur sic, ut id [illegible] dicamus aut non esse, et si sim[illegible] dictum sit, suscipiunt dialectici, [illegible] cent, verumne sit an falsum, et si co[illegible] sit elatum et adiuncta sint alia, i[illegible] rectene adiuncta sint et verane [illegible] sit unius cuiusque rationis'. (See [illegible] ad loc.)

quid efficiatur, 'what deduction[illegible] be drawn'. This is subdivided in [illegible] following clauses, 'what is the con[illegible] of each' (§ 16) and 'what its con[illegible]

consequens, supra § 16; Tusc[illegible] v 21, 68, de Div. ii 150, de Leg[illegible] Brut. 152, de Off. ii 18, de Fin. Part. or. 7 (Reid on Acad. i 19).

ambigue, de Or. ii 111 '*ambig*[illegible] plura genera sunt, quae mihi vide[illegible] melius nosse, qui *dialectici* appell[illegible] i 140. The orator is specially co[illegible] in questions of ambiguity when in[illegible] ing legal definitions and the like the *pro Caecina*, already referre[illegible] § 102. *ambigue* = *ἀμφιβόλως*. C[illegible] on Acad. ii 91.

dividi, e.g. by means of proper[illegible] tuation. **sua sponte**, 'in themselv[illegible] 'of themselves'), without the inter[illegible] of external art (164, 175, 213). **squalidiora**, 'rather dull'. **nit**[illegible]

[q]uoniam in omnibus, quae ratione docentur et via, primum XXXII [vid]endum est quid quidque sit—nisi enim inter eos, qui [disceptant], convenit quid sit illud, de quo ambigitur, nec recte [disseri n]ec umquam ad exitum perveniri potest—explicanda est [v]erbis mens nostra de quaque re atque involutae rei notitia 5 [definiendo] aperienda est, si quidem est definitio oratio, quae quid [sit i]d de quo agitur, ostendit quam brevissime; tum, ut scis, [explicato] genere cuiusque rei videndum est quae sint eius generis [for]mae sive partes, ut in eas tribuatur omnis oratio. erit [igitur h]aec facultas in eo, quem volumus esse eloquentem, ut de- 10 [finire re]m possit neque id faciat tam presse et anguste, quam in [illis eru]ditissimis disputationibus fieri solet, sed cum explanatius [tum eti]am uberius, et ad commune iudicium popularemque intel[legentia]m accommodatius; idemque etiam, cum res postulabit, [genus u]niversum in species certas, ut nulla neque praetermittatur 15 [neque] redundet, partietur ac dividet. quando autem id faciat [aut quo]) modo, nihil ad hoc tempus, quoniam, ut supra dixi, [iudice]m esse me, non doctorem volo.

[discre]*ptant A* (HSt). *de quo FPO, quod A* (st). 4 *nec unquam FPO* [nec] *umquam* JPSt), *umquam nec A* (H). *pervenire potes A.* 5 *invo*[lutae ...] ner cum Erl. Gu² (st). *notio* coni. P. 8 *genere—eius*, propter subse[quentem ...]bum *generis*, om. *P.* 9 *ut* om. *FPO.* 10 *esse eloquentem* secl. [...] 11 *nec A* (st). *in* om. *FPO.* 14 *adc.* K. 16 *id faciat aut* [...] *A* (JH): *aut* (*et PM*) *quo modo id facias FPO; aut quo modo id faciat* (OKP).

'primum enim illa ipsa, quae [...]disserenda erant, polite apteque [...]tum definientes, tum partientes, [...]etiam, vos (Stoics) *squalidius*, [...]eripatetics and Academics) vides [...]*at* oratio'; cf. *horridus* (20).
ratione et via, 10. **quid quid**[que ...] de Or. i 209; de Rep. i 24 [...] eius rei, de qua quaeritur, si [...]uod sit conveniat, explicetur [...]retur eo nomine'. **ambigitur,** [de O]r. ii 104—113. **exitum,** 'issue', [...]le Or. i 92.
[...]**ae,** 102. Tusc. Disp. iv 53 'quae [...]um *definitionum* (of the Stoics) [...]*t* notionem nostram quam ha[...]nes de fortitudine tectam atque [...]'. **notitia,** 'notion', Acad. ii [...]e rerum quas Graeci tum *ἐννοίας* [...]*ἤψεις* vocant'. Elsewhere he [...] the same Greek terms by the [...] word *notio* (Top. 31). **definitio,** [...]189 'est definitio rerum earum [...] eius rei propriae, quam definire [...] brevis et circumscripta quaedam [...]'.
[...]xplained by the following abl. abs. **formae** = *species* (εἴδη); **partes**, 16, de Or. i 189 'partes sunt, quae generibus eis ex quibus manant, subiciuntur', ii 166 'et coniuncta quaeramus et genera et partes generibus subiectas', Topica 7 § 31 'in divisione formae sunt quas Graeci εἴδη vocant: nostri si qui haec forte tractant species appellant'. **tribuatur,** 16.

§ 117. **illis,** referring especially to the Stoics.

ad commune iudicium, de Or. ii 159 'haec nostra (= oratoris) oratio multitudinis est auribus accommodanda', ib. 299. Tusc. Disp. ii 3 'orationes, quas nos multitudinis iudicio probari volebamus (*popularis* est enim illa facultas, et effectus eloquentiae est audientium approbatio)'.

ut nulla—redundet, 'not one too few and not one too many'. For this metaphorical use of *redundare*, 'to be superfluous', cf. de Nat. Deor. i 60 'tuus autem deus non digito uno redundat' (Nägelsbach, *Stil.* § 103 *b*).

nihil ad hoc tempus, de Or. ii 5, iii 66. **supra,** § 112; **iudicem,** a critic, Hor. A. P. 386 'si quid tamen olim Scripseris, in Maeci descendat iudicis aures'. The bor-

... etiam nunc, non

10 habeat orator rem, de q

cogitet quibus verbis qu

quo grandior sit et quod

supra, ne physicorum q

fecto, cum se a caelestib

15 magnificentiusque et dicet

verit, nolo ignoret ne hae

1 *dialecticis FPO* (MOKJP): *a d.*
-es ceteri. 3 *morte FPO* (MO
4 *bonis rebus A*, *novis rebus FP*
(MOKJP): *et A* (HSt); *sed ieiunius agi*

7 *inquam FPO*: *unquam A.*
10 *orator* secl. Bake coll. §§ 97, 134
fecrixe A. 13 *phis corum A* ver
volo omnino; coni. Bake, 'ridiculum
(JK): *volo*: *omnia* cum codd. MOPHSt.
(O²KPH): *nolo ne FPO*; *volo ne* cum co

rowed word *criticus* is comparatively rare in Latin, but is nevertheless found in ad Fam. ix 10, Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 51, Suet. Gram. 14, and Quint. ii 1 § 4.

§ 118. **notos**, theoretically known. **tractatos**, practically treated. **locos**, 122, cf. 46, de Or. i 69 'qua re hic locus de vita et moribus totus est oratori perdiscend...

de morte, de Or. i 6... incideri...

egent causae forenses cotidie; quid est enim turpius quam
timarum et civilium controversiarum patrocinia suscipere,
ı sis legum et civilis iuris ignarus? cognoscat etiam rerum
:arum et memoriae veteris ordinem, maxime scilicet nostrae
tatis, sed etiam imperiosorum populorum et regum illus- 5
m; quem laborem nobis Attici nostri levavit labor, qui con-

cottidie J. 5 *etiam A*, *et FPO*. *inlustr.* KH. 6 *conservatis* codd. MOJPHSt: *coacervatis* Gulielmius, *observatis* Matthiae, *servatis* Bake (K).

ant of these human subjects *either*'. ' § 2230—1 (*b*). Madv. § 457 init. on Acad. i 5 p. 93.
ı **civile teneat.** The importance of knowledge to the orator is a favour-eme with Cicero. He makes Cras-lustrate it by several instances in de 166—184. In the part. orat. 100, ys of *ius civile*: 'cuius scientia neg-ab oratoribus plerisque nobis ad dum necessaria videtur'. Cicero :lf in his youth was the pupil first of ucius Scaevola the Augur, and next at accomplished jurist's cousin the fex Maximus of the same name, *'eritorum eloquentissimus* (de Or. i Brut. 145, 306, de Am. 1). In Brut. Brutus says to Cicero: 'videris tan-iuris civilis scire voluisse quantum esset oratori'. Cic. afterwards be-work 'de iure civili in artem redi-›': Quint. xii 3 § 10 'M. Tullius non ı inter agendum nunquam est desti-scientia iuris, sed etiam componere ı de eo coeperat'; the whole of the er from which this is quoted, is on opic *necessariam iuris civilis oratori iam*.
pius, de Or. i 184 'haec et horum a iura suae civitatis ignorantem... i...toto foro, praesidium clientibus... ;entem atque tendentem, nonne in s *flagitiosum* putandum est?' (ib. 173 ;nis est impudentiae'). **legitima**-(lawsuits) turning on the scope and retation of definite legal enact-; and especially on the conflict of **civilium**, involving the private of citizens. The two divisions bed by these epithets overlap one er, and are probably not intended exhaustive. There appears there-o be no occasion for attempting to ıst them sharply with one another, done by Göller, who makes them pond to *causae publicae*, and those *bus de iure privatorum disceptatur*. :hoice of the epithets has been ap-tly determined by the subsequent nouns **legum** and **civilis iuris** (de Or. i 18 'neque legum ac iuris civilis scientia neglegenda est'), where the former is the wider, and the latter the narrower term.

rerum gestarum. He must also know history with the chronological order of its events, and the continuity of its tradition. De Or. i 201 'monumenta rerum gestarum et vetustatis exempla oratori nota esse debere', ii 36 'historia vero *testis temporum*, lux veritatis, *vita memoriae*, magistra vitae, nuntia vetus-tatis, qua voce alia nisi oratoris immor-talitati commendatur?'

scilicet...sed, de Fin. v 5 'inaniter scilicet, sed commovit tamen' (Mayor).

imperiosorum, 'dominant' nations; in this sense, the word is very rare in Cicero. It is probably borrowed from Ennius, from whom it is avowedly quoted elsewhere; de Rep. i 3 '*urbes magnas atque imperiosas*, ut appellat Ennius, viculis et castellis praeferendas puto'.

Attici...labor. The *liber annalis* of Atticus, which was dedicated to Cicero and owed its origin to his treatise *de Re-publica*, as is acknowledged by Atticus in the Brutus 19 'eis (sc. de r. p. libris) nos-met ipsi ad veterum rerum nostrarum memoriam comprehendendam impulsi atque incensi sumus'. ib. 14, it is de-scribed by Brutus as a book 'quo iste omnem rerum nostrarum memoriam bre-viter et ut mihi quidem visum est per-diligenter complexus est'; cf. de Fin. ii 67. The fullest account of it is that given by Cornelius Nepos, vit. Att. 18 'moris etiam maiorum summus imitator fuit antiquitatisque amator, quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine exposuerit, quo magistra-tus ordinavit. nulla enim lex neque pax neque bellum neque res illustris est po-puli Romani, quae non in eo suo tempore sit notata, et quod difficillimum fuit, sic familiarum originem subtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere'.

Sic igitur instructus v
primum ipsa cognita. erit
10 in quo non aut res contr
vero aut de recto aut de n
contrario: nam si quando

1 *inlustre* KH. 2 *contigua*
memoria A (st), 'fortasse *a memoria*
KPH: *aff.* ceteri. 12 *nam con*
dam—solet—. Bake coll. de Or. ii

conservatis notatisque tempori 'with a strict observance and speci tion of dates', de Or. ii 329 'erit au perspicua narratio, si ordine tempo conservato, si non interrupte narrabitu **nihil cum**—'without, however, omitti any famous event'. **septingentoru** B.C. 753—53.

semper esse puerum. Possibly a rem niscence of the passage in the Timaeus Plato, in which the aged Egyptian prie says to Solon: Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ παῖδές ἐστε γέρων δὲ Ἕλλην οὐκ ἔστιν...νέοι ἐστὲ εἰπεῖν, τὰς ψυχὰς πάντες· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ ἐ αὐταῖς ἔχετε δι' ἀρχαίαν ἀκοὴν παλαιὰ δόξαν οὐδὲ μάθημα χρόνῳ πολιὸν οὐδὲν (22 B). Cicero was certainly familiar with the Timaeus, as has been already noticed in referring to his translation of that dialogue, in the note on § 10.

memoria, abl. An equival literal ...

ɔis, genus est quoddam ambigui, quod ex praeterito verbo fieri
:t, in quo, quod est ambiguorum proprium, res duas significari
:mus. cum tam pauca sint genera causarum, etiam argumento- XXXV
ı praecepta pauca sunt: traditi sunt, e quibus ea ducantur,
ılices loci: uni e rebus ipsis, alteri adsumpti. 5
Tractatio igitur rerum efficit admirabilem orationem; nam
ıe quidem res in perfacili cognitione versantur: quid enim iam
ıitur, quod quidem artis sit, nisi ordiri orationem, [in] quo aut

sint FPO: sunt A. 4 *pauca tradita sunt e quibus ducantur A.* *sumpti* KPH: *ass.* ceteri. 6 *admirabilem A* (KJPH): *admirabiliorem F* (MO), *abiliorem POM; mirabiliorem* Sch[2]. 7 *ipsae...res...versantur* cum codd. 'H: *ipsa...ars...versatur* coni. K. 8 *in* cum codd. MOHSt: secl. Sauppe (KJP). *quo FPO, qua A.*

ıt esse nisi ex ambiguo controversia. illud ipsum, quod scriptum a sen- a discrepat, genus quoddam habet gui; quod tum explicatur, cum ea ı, quae desunt, suggesta sunt; quibus :is defenditur sententiam scripti per- ıam fuisse'. **ex praeterito verbo**, n some word being unexpressed'. kind of ambiguity may in some ; be removed 'by supplying the ls omitted', for such must be the ıing of the phrase 'referendis prae- s verbis', which follows the passage quoted, as is clear from the text here from the context there: § 110 'verba *desunt*' and § 111 fin. 'cum idcirco ıid ambigitur, quod aut verbum aut a sint *praetermissa*'. **in quo**, 'in h case', not *in quo verbo*, but *in quo re ambigui*. **res duas**, de inv. ii 116 led above).

22. **tam pauca genera.** Only two *res* and (2) *verba*, divided into three two species respectively. Contrast this, de Or. ii 117 'isti quidem qui nt, cum causas in *plura* genera :runt, singulis generibus argumen- n copiam suggerunt'. From the e reduction of the number of the *ra causarum*, arises a corresponding lification of the theory of oratorical f or ἡ εὕρεσις, the *disciplina invenien- m argumentorum* (Top. § 2); and , as elsewhere, we have to do with the two leading divisions of proof,— nternal and the external' (Piderit).

aditi sunt, by the teachers of rhetoric the time of Aristotle downwards. **loca.** In Ar. Rhet. i 2 proofs are led into πίστεις ἄτεχνοι and ἔντεχνοι e's *Introd.* p. 150). Similarly the or of the Rhet. ad Alexandrum 7, δὲ δύο τρόποι τῶν πίστεων· γίγνονται αἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ δ' ἐπίθετοι τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις. De Or. ii 163...'omne quod sumatur in oratione aut ad probandum aut ad refel- lendum aut ex sua sumi vi atque natura aut adsumi foris'; *ib.* §§ 164—173. Top. 8 'ex eis locis in quibus argumenta inclusa sunt, alii in eo ipso, de quo agitur haerent, alii adsumuntur extrinsecus', part. orat. 5 (fides fit) 'argumentis quae ducuntur ex locis aut in re ipsa insitis aut adsumptis'; Quint. v. (Cf. Volkmann *Rhet.* § 16, p. 136.)

§§ 122—133. *On the formal treatment of the different parts of the speech* (122—5); *of θέσις and αὔξησις* (125—7); *of ἦθος and πάθος* (128—133).

tractatio, emphatic. The facts them- selves are easily ascertained; it is the way they are *handled* that wins admiration (§ 97). Similarly (as he proceeds to say) the details of the ordinary theory of rhetoric as to the successive parts of a speech are easy enough; it is the proper treatment of those parts that is *difficile dictu*.

versantur, a favourite verb with Cic., implying the element or sphere in which a person moves, the province or depart- ment to which a thing belongs. Instances of the various shades of meaning in which it is used are given in Nägelsbach *Stil.* § 109.

artis here used, like τέχνη, of the rhetorical art in particular. Among the earliest of the traditional precepts here referred to are those of Theodectes as preserved by the late rhetorician Lollianus (Rhetores Graeci vii p. 33 Walz): ἔργον ῥήτορος, ὥς φησι Θεοδέκτης, προοιμιάσασθαι πρὸς εὔνοιαν, διηγήσασθαι πρὸς πιθανότητα, πιστώσασθαι πρὸς πειθώ, ἐπιλογίσασθαι πρὸς ὀργὴν ἢ ἔλεον (quoted by Jahn; cf. Volkmann *Rhet.* p. 88). De Or. i 143.

...guias, difficile dictu c...

1 *ad discendum A; addicen*... 5 *iis A* (MOH), *eis* KJP: *his*... *sumantur'* H. ... in p[2] (Schenkl, st); ... 6 *peroration*... ceteri. 8 *hoc loco* post verba ... *perorationе* ... coniecit P (J). ... *tractentur A.*

326—30 (*narratio*), 331 (*argumen*...), 332 (*peroratio*).

ordiri. On the topics of the *exor*... see de Or. ii 315—25, cf. Volkm... *Rhet.* § 12. **concilietur**, Ar. Rhet. ... § 7 εὔνουν ποιῆσαι (τὸν ἀκροατήν); ... corresponding adj. is *benevolus*, ad Her... i 6; de inv. i 20, Top. 97, part. orat. ... Quint. iv 1 § 5 (Cope's *Introd.* p. 340). ... **gatur**, 'aroused' (*attentus*); Acad. ii ... 'cum ita esset *exorsus*, ad audiendum a... mos *ereximus*'; II Verr. i 28 'quo tempo... aures iudex erigeret animumque attende... ret?' pro Sulla 33 'erigite mentes, auresqu... vestras et me...dicentem attendite', Brut. 200 'erectos intuentes iudices ut aut doceri de re idque etiam voltu probare videantur', ib. 290, Macrob. Sat. i 3 § 1 'paratos ad audiendum erectosque'. **paret se ad discendum** (*docilis*), closely connected with the previous heading, de Inv. i 23. Both are included under Aristotle's προσεκτικός (l. c.).

rem...exponere, the *narratio* (de Or. i. 326—30), Dion. Hal. de Dem. ... καὶ τῆς σαφηνείας (*aperte*) καὶ ... (*breviter*) καὶ ...

quoniam autem non quem doceam quaero, sed quem
robabo primum eum, qui quid deceat videbit; haec
ntia maxime adhibenda eloquenti est, ut sit tempo-
iarumque moderator, nam nec semper nec apud omnis
omnis nec pro omnibus nec omnibus eodem modo 5
arbitror. is erit ergo eloquens, qui ad id, quodcumque XXXV
terit adcommodare orationem; quod cum statuerit, tum,
erit dicendum, ita dicet, nec satura ieiune nec grandia
item contra, sed erit rebus ipsis par et aequalis oratio.
erecunda, nondum elatis incensa verbis, sed acuta 10
el ad offensionem adversari vel ad commendationem
tiones credibiles nec historico sed prope cotidiano
plicatae dilucide; dein si tenuis causa est, tum etiam

FPO (MOKJP): *viderit A* (HSt). 4—5 *omnis* KH. 5 *nec pro
mnibus* om. *A*. *nec omnibus: nec cum omnibus* W. Friedrich coll. 130,
Or. i 207, ii 313, iii 211. 7 *adcommodare* K: *acc.* ceteri. 8 *quidque
que* H. 9 *sed erit FPO*, *egerit A*. *paret ea qualis A*. 10 *non-
H*): *non FPO* et *m* (MOKJP[1]St). 11 *adversari* J: *-ii* ceteri.
f. 13 *dilucidae F* et *A*. *deinde* (*dein* P) *si tenuis causa est* Vit. (OP),
causa erit J (K, St). *dein* (*AO*[2], *tum O*[1]) *si tenues causae O* et *A* (Ern.
es F[1], in marg. corr. *F*[2]; *divisines care* Eins[1], *divesire clare* Eins.[2]

quem doceam. Cic. re-
s that his main object in the
instruction in rhetoric but
117). He is not in quest of
uct, but a perfect orator to
mum, 'before all things'.
70; **moderator**, ib. **nec**
de Or. iii 210 'non omni
litori neque personae neque
iere orationis genus'. **nec**
ratoribus.
ch and varied theme'. The
be illustrated by the ex-
he substantive *satura* given
iarians, e.g. *lanx plena di-*
(see L and S, where the
tance of this metaphorical
iective is from Manilius 5,
('various'). It is here ap-
ntrasted with **ieiune** ('mea-
is commonly opposed to
iii 16).
cipia verecunda. Quint. iv
ium decebit et sententiarum
iis et vocis et vultus *modes-*
elatis—ib. 58 'ex praeceptis
et, ne quod insolens verbum,
ranslatum, ne aut ab obso-
aut poetica licentia sump-
io deprehendatur. **nondum**
unius, et custodit nos recens
ntentio; magis conciliatis
animis et iam calentibus haec libertas
feretur'; ad Herenn. i 7 § 11; de Inv.
i 25. **incensa**, 128, 132; cf. 26 *ardens*,
99 *inflammare*. **acuta sententiis**, de Or.
ii 315 'principia dicendi semper cum ad-
curata et *acuta* et instructa *sententiis*, apta
verbis, tum vero causarum propria esse
debet'. **offensionem**—Ar. Rhet. iii 14 § 12
(in the προοίμιον) ἢ διαβάλλειν ἢ ἀπολύ-
εσθαι ἀνάγκη, ib. c. 15 (περὶ διαβολῆς); ad
Her. i 8; de Inv. i 22; Quint. iv 1 § 6 ff.
narrationes credibiles. Top. 97 and
Quint. iv 2 § 52; elsewhere *veri similis*
(ad Her. i 14) or *probabilis* (de Inv. i 28,
part. orat. 32) = πιθανὸς (cf. Volkmann
Rhet. p. 117). **historico**, the ornate style
of the rhetorical historians of the school
of Isocrates, 37, 66 'historia...in qua nar-
ratur ornate'. **dilucide**, ad Her. i 15 'rem
dilucide narrabimus'. Quint. iv 2 § 36.
The *narratio* must be σαφής, *lucida*, *per-
spicua*, *manifesta*, *aperta* (Volkmann p.
113).
dein, in the third part of the speech, the
argumentatio. **tenue filum.** The meta-
phor from the spinning of a thread is often
applied to the composition of a speech,
de Or. ii 93 'paulo uberiore filo', iii 103
'haec formanda filo ipso et genere oratio-
nis', de Am. 25 'aliud quoddam filum ora-
tionis tuae' (cf. *subtilis*). *Here* however
the reference is not merely to the language,

quasi actuosae partes ... elegans ...
questione pono, quam, ...
alteram in augendis an...
αὔξησις est nominata, qua...

2 *tenebitur* cum codd. mor... 5 *adficiet* KΓ: *aff.* ceteri. ... *conatus A.* ... 7 ... *AP*[1]*O*[1], corr. *p*[2]*O*[2]. 9 *sic ut—excidat* ... cf. 106 et de Or. ii 218 '*aequabiliter* in... 13 *agendis* ...

but to the consecutive development of ... argument, and the metaphor of the thre... represents the unbroken continuity of th... speech. Something like this is to be notice... in Ar. Rhet. iii 14 § 6, where the prooemi... um is regarded as a *clue* to the rest of the speech (ὁ δοὺς ὥσπερ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιεῖ ἐχόμενον ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ λόγῳ). Similarly we speak of 'losing the thread' of a discourse. **in docendo** (= *probando*, de Or. ii 308, 'probandi et docendi causa').

§ 125. **vis**, 69. **reget et flectet**. Phil. i 35 'quid oratione te flectam', pro Cael. 13 'versare naturam suam...regere...torquere...flectere'; Verg. Aen. i 153 'Ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet'. **adficiet**, de Or. i 87 'uti ei qui audirent, sic adficerentur animis, ut eos adfici vellet orator'.

sed erit. Next in order we ... expect some remarks ... the *perorati*...

fusa esse debet, tamen in communibus locis maxime excellet; qui communes *sunt* appellati eo, quod videntur multarum eidem esse causarum, sed proprii singularum esse debebunt. at vero illa pars orationis, quae est de genere universo, totas causas saepe continet. quicquid est enim illud, in quo quasi certamen est con- 5 troversiae, quod Graece *κρινόμενον* dicitur, id ita dici placet, ut traducatur ad perpetuam quaestionem atque uti de universo genere dicatur, nisi cum de vero ambigetur, quod quaeri coniec- 127 tura solet. dicetur autem non Peripateticorum more,—est enim illorum exercitatio elegans iam inde ab Aristotele constituta—sed 10 aliquanto nervosius et ita de re communia dicentur, ut et pro reis multa leniter dicantur et in adversarios aspere. augendis

1 *debent...excellent* Bake. 2 *appellati FPO* et *A*; *sunt ap.* MJPH; *ap. sunt* OK. *eo sunt* St. *eo* om. *FPO*: fortasse *ideo* P. 3 *proprie A*. *ac FPO* et *A*. 7 *uti de* bene Stangl: *ut de FPO* (edd.); *ut inde A*. 8 *ambigetur FPO* (OKJP): *ambigitur A* (MH). 11 *propriis A*. 12 *aspera FPO*.

communes loci. De Or. iii 106 'loci qui quamquam proprii causarum et inhaerentes in earum nervis esse debent, tamen quia de universa re tractari solent, communes a veteribus nominati sunt'—(see note on § 47).

totas causas. All the principles involved in many concrete cases (or *ὑποθέσεις*) are included in the general abstract statement (or *θέσις*). **continet**, 'involves' (102, 187).

κρινόμενον, 'the point at issue', ad Her. i 26 'ex ratione defensionis et ex firmamento accusationis iudicii quaestio nascatur oportet, quam nos iudicationem, Graeci *κρινόμενον* appellant'. (De Inv. i 14 § 18 'controversia quam iudicationem appellamus'; Part. Orat. 104 'ex rationis et firmamenti conflictione et quasi concursu quaestio quaedam exoritur, quam disceptationem voco; in qua quid veniat in iudicium et de quo disceptatur quaeri solet'). Top. 95 'quae ex statu contentio efficitur, eam Graeci *κρινόμενον* vocant; mihi placet id *qua de re agitur* vocari'. Cf. Quint. iii 11 § 18 f. 'paulum in his secum etiam Cicero dissentit. nam in Rhetoricis [inv. l. c.]...Hermagoran est secutus; in Topicis [l. c.] ex statu effectam contentionem *κρινόμενον* existimat, idque Trebatio, qui erat iuris consultus, alludens *qua de re agitur* appellat'. Fortunat. Rhet. p. 39 'ex *αἰτίῳ* et *συνέχοντι* nascitur *κρινόμενον*, hoc est de quo iudicandum est'. It is characteristic of a language like Latin that has no article, to leave it out in quoting a term which in Greek would generally require it. Cf. Rufus in Spengel's *Rhet. Gr.* i 468 *συνιστᾶσι δὲ αἱ ὑποθέσεις ἐξ αἰτίου καὶ συνέχοντος καὶ κρινομένου· αἴτιον μὲν οὖν δι' ὃ ἡ κατηγορία, συνέχον δὲ δι' ὃ ἡ ἀπολογία, τὸ δὲ κρινόμενον τοῖς δικασταῖς καταλείπεται.* (Cf. Volkmann *Rhet.* § 9 p. 64 f.)

de vero. When the issue turns on a question of fact, there is less room for an abstract treatment of the case. Accordingly, such a treatment need not be adopted. This exception, however, is not allowed elsewhere: de Or. ii 135 (of the *constitutio coniecturalis*) 'in eis ipsis ubi de facto ambigitur,...argumenta et criminum et defensionis revocentur oportet ad genus et ad naturam universam'. **coniectura**, ad Her. i 11 § 18, de Inv. i 10 'cum facti controversia est, quoniam coniecturis causa firmatur, constitutio coniecturalis appellatur'. Quint. iii 6 § 30 'coniectura dicta est a coniecta, id est directione quadam rationis ad veritatem', and esp. vii 2 (Volkmann *Rhet.* § 5).

§ 127. **non Peripateticorum more.** Cicero has already alluded to the services Aristotle had rendered to rhetoric by training young men in the discussion of both sides of a question, not in the plain and dry manner of philosophers, but in the rich and full manner of rhetoricians (46). Here, however, he insists on a still more popular style (117), while he pays a passing compliment to the 'graceful and refined style of debate' which has been in vogue among philosophers ever since the days of Aristotle. **nervosius**, 62.

ita...aspere, i.e. 'while general topics will be applied to the special case, we

...commodatum; alteru
perturbantur animi et
10 illud superius come, iuc
paratum; hoc vehemens,

2 *et* om. *A*. 4 *imperando*
Sch. *enim A* (11): om. *FP*
6 *faciant* cum codd. Meyer
binus, Bake (KJ). 7 *naturam A*
dicundum A. *benivolentiam A*

an application will be duly limited by
practical aim of conciliating the cou
favour of the persons accused, and of
asperating it against their opponents'.

augendis...abiciendis, de Or. iii
'summa autem laus eloquentiae est am
plificare rem ornando, quod valet no
solum ad *augendum* aliquid et tollendu
altius dicendo, sed etiam ad extenuandu
atque *abiciendum*', ib. 102 abicit.

inter media argumenta, de Or. ii 311
(of *digressio*), esp. 312 'eae causae sunt a
augendum et ad ornandum gravissima
atque plenissimae, quae plurimos exitu
dant ad eiusmodi digressionem, ut e
locis uti liceat quibus animorum impetu
eorum qui audiunt aut impellantur au
reflectantur'. Brut. 82 (Ser. Galba) 'u
egrederetur a proposito ornandi causa,.
ut augeret rem, ut miserationibus, u
communibus locis uteretur'. (Volkman
p. 125 f.)

in perorando. *amplificatio* is on
the regular topics of th
Her. ii

untur; quod cum rapide fertur, sustineri nullo pacto potest. quo genere nos mediocres aut multo etiam minus, sed magno semper usi impetu saepe adversarios de statu omni deiecimus: nobis pro familiari reo summus orator non respondit Hortensius; a nobis homo audacissimus Catilina in senatu accusatus obmutuit; nobis privata in causa magna et gravi cum coepisset Curio pater respondere, subito adsedit, cum sibi venenis ereptam memoriam diceret. quid ego de miserationibus loquar? quibus eo sum usus pluribus, quod, etiam si plures dicebamus, perorationem mihi

2 *semper* delet Bake. 4 *re A*. 8 *miratíonibus A*. *sum usus*: *sumus A*. 9 *etiam* delet Bake.

eripiuntur, wrested out of the hands of our opponents. Quint. vi 1 § 35. **rapide fertur**, 97; 'and when it swiftly sweeps along, it is absolutely irresistible'.

§ 129. **mediocres**. Phil. ii 2 'non video...in hac mediocritate ingeni quid despicere possit Antonius'.

de statu—deiecimus, 'completely dislodged from their position'. The same metaphor occurs in Par. i § 15 (voluptas) 'quo est maior, eo magis mentem ex sua sede ac statu demovet ('throws it off its balance'), and Caecin. 42; so elsewhere in Cic. *de statu deducere, convellere; declinare*, or *recedere*. *Status* is literally the position taken up by a combatant to meet an attack; Claudius Quadrigarius ap. Gell. ix 13 § 16 'Manlius scutum scuto percussit atque statum Galli conturbavit...atque de loco hominem iterum deiecit', similarly *statu movere* in Liv. xxx 18 § 14 and 38 § 25. Hence also the rhetorical use of the term: Top. 93 'refutatio autem accusationis, in qua est depulsio criminis, quoniam Graece στάσις dicitur, appelletur Latine status: in quo primum insistit quasi ad repugnandum congressa defensio'; Quint. iii 6 § 3.

pro familiari reo, 'in defence of his friend', Verres. *reo* is strongly predicative = *cum reus esset*. In Divin. in Caecil. 23, Hortensius is called 'magnus ille defensor et amicus eius'. **non respondit**. 'Cicero...rested all his hopes of success on the weight of testimony alone. The king of the Forum—so Hortensius was called—was disarmed. His histrionic arts of dress, intonation, pathos and invective, found no place in dry cross-examinations. He was quite unprepared with counter-evidence, and after the first day, when he put a few petulant questions and offered some trivial objections *to the course pursued, he* abandoned the cause of Verres', W. B. Donne, in Smith's *Dict. Biog.* art. Verres.

Catilina—obmutuit. The reference is to the first speech against Catiline, delivered in his own presence. At the close of this powerful invective Catiline attempted to speak but was soon silenced by loud cries of 'Traitor!' and 'Parricide!' (Forsyth's *Cic.* p. 108); pro Murena 51 'frequenti senatu Catilinam excitavi atque cum de his rebus iussi si quid vellet... dicere. atque ille, ut semper fuit apertissimus, non se purgavit, sed indicavit atque induit'.

(C. Scribonius) **Curio** served under Sulla in the Mithridatic war, was consul in 76 and died in 53. Brut. 210—20, esp. 217 'memoria autem ita fuit nulla, ut aliquotiens, tria cum proposuisset, aut quartum adderet aut tertium quaereret; qui in iudicio privato vel maximo, cum ego pro Titinia Cottae peroravissem, ille contra me pro Ser. Naevio diceret, subito totam causam oblitus est idque veneficiis et cantionibus Titiniae factum esse dicebat. magna haec immemoris ingenii signa'. **pater** is added to distinguish him from his son Gaius, *tribunus plebis* in B.C. 50, *venali Curio lingua* (Lucan i 269) who, shortly before the *Orator* was written, met his end, as Caesar's *legatus*, in Africa. **adsedit** (from *adsido*) Rosc. Am. 22 'peroravit aliquando, adsedit; surrexi ego'. **cum...diceret**, 'saying, as he did' = 'on the ground that, as he said'. Roby § 1722 fin.

§ 130. **miserationibus**, 'pathetic appeals'; regarded by the rhetoricians as a regular part of the *peroratio*: Ar. Rhet. iii 19 § 3 (ἔλεος), de Inv. i §§ 98 (conquestio), 106 ff., Quint. vi 1 §§ 21—45. Volkmann *Rhet.* § 28 p. 222. **plures**, Brut. 207—9. **perorationem**, here in its more extended sense, the concluding

...urimus, ut al...

2 *adsequebar* KPH : *ass-* ceteri.
§ 108, st).
5 *quae aguntur* ...

speech. Brut. 190 (where Brutus ... Cic.) 'Hortensius...cum partiretur ... causas...perorandi locum, ubi plu... pollet oratio, semper tibi relinqu...' Instances of pathetic peroration m... found in the following speeches, in ... which Cicero spoke after the ... advocates on the same side:—pro S... pro Flacco, pro Sestio, pro Balbo, ... pro Milone. Cf. pro Planc. 83...'ne ... mea consuetudine aliquid de te... misericordiae causa dicerem......addidi... me idcirco mea lege exsilio ambitu... sanxisse, ut miserabiliores epilogos posse... dicere'. **dolore**, 'not by any speci... talent but by real *sympathy*'. Brut. 9... (of Galba) 'quem fortasse vis non ingeni... solum sed etiam animi et naturalis quidam... dolor dicentem incendebat'. Hor. A. P. 102 'si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi', inf. 132, 209.

The present passage is alluded to in the *Scholia Bobiensia* on pro Planc. 76: '(Tullius) in Oratore suo eandem affectuum movendorum sibi praestantiam vindicavit' (Heerdegen).

paenitet quanta sint=*quantula*; 'I only regret they are so slight'. Ter. Heaut. i 1, 20 'at enim me quantum hic operis fiat paenitet', Pl. Trin. ii 2, 40. De Off. i 2 'tam diu (discere) velle debebis, quoad te, quantum proficias, non paenitebit'. Att. i 20 § 3, xii 28 ...
sed ...

etiam filio parvo, plangore et lamentatione complerimus forum,) sed est faciendum etiam, ut irascatur iudex mitigetur, invideat faveat, contemnat admiretur, oderit diligat, cupiat satietate adficiatur, speret metuat, laetetur doleat; in qua varietate duriorum accusatio suppeditabit exempla, mitiorum defensiones meae. 5

132 nullo enim modo animus audientis aut incitari aut leniri potest, qui modus a me non temptatus sit: dicerem perfectum, si ita iudicarem, nec in veritate crimen arrogantiae extimescerem; sed, ut supra dixi, nulla me ingeni, sed magna vis animi inflammat, ut me ipse non teneam; nec umquam is, qui audit, incende- 10 retur, nisi ardens ad eum perveniret oratio. uterer exemplis

1 *complerimus* vulg. *compleremus FPO* et *A*. 2 *est faciendum etiam A* (MHSt): *etiam est faciendum FPO* (OKJP). 3 *satietate afficiatur FPO* (MOJ, *s. adf.* KP): *taedeat A* (H); *abhorreat* melius Stegmann (St). 4 *in qua FPO* (OKJP): *qua in A* (MHSt). 8 *adrogantiae* KP. *pertimescerem A*. 9 *ingeni* J: *-ii* cet. *inflammabat*...*tenerem*...*audiet*, *incendetur*...*perveniet* Bake. 10 *unquam* O. *audiret* cum codd. MOPH: *audit* coni. K (J).

irascatur—Dion. Hal. de Dem. 22 ὅταν δὲ Δημοσθένους τινὰ λάβω λόγων, ἐνθουσιῶ τε καὶ δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε ἄγομαι, πάθος ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου μεταλαμβάνων, ἀπιστῶν, ἀγωνιῶν, δεδιώς, καταφρονῶν μισῶν, ἐλεῶν, εὐνοῶν, ὀργιζόμενος, φθονῶν, ἅπαντα τὰ πάθη μεταλαμβάνων, ὅσα κρατεῖ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης κ.τ.λ. De Or. ii 185, 'mentes iudicum permovet impellitque, ut aut oderint aut diligant aut invideant aut salvum velint aut metuant aut sperent aut cupiant aut abhorreant aut laetentur aut maereant aut misereantur aut punire velint'. Brut. 188, 'gaudet dolet, ridet plorat, favet odit, contemnit invidet, ad misericordiam inducitur, ad pudendum, ad pigendum; irascitur, miratur, sperat timet.'

cupiat satietate adficiatur, 'to feel desire or disgust'. *cupiat*, however, is perhaps better understood of good will, the sense in which it is followed not by the acc., but the dative, as in Ep. ad Quint. fr. i 2 § 10 'ego Fundanio non cupio? non amicus sum?' It is so understood by Sorof in the corresponding passage of the de Or. *l.c.* 'aut cupiant aut abhorreant.' In the present passage it would differ but little from the preceding *faveat*.

Satietas here refers to the wearisome feeling of disgust at our opponents, which we inspire in the audience by the manner in which we describe their conduct (cf. Dem. *Conon* §§ 26, 27). The alternative reading *taedeat* involves a harsh combination of a personal and impersonal construction, and is probably due to a marginal explanation of the text.

doleat is added at the close to complete the parallelism with *laetatur*, although this emotion has already been referred to in *dolore* and *dolenter*, and in *miseratio* which is closely akin to it. *doleat*, possibly means 'to feel indignation'.

duriorum, 'in all this variety, the sterner emotions (e.g. *ira*, *odium*) may be exemplified from the prosecution of Verres' (103). *duriorum—mitiorum*. Adjectives are not only used substantivally in the nom. and acc. of the neuter plural, where the gender is clearly marked, but also (though less frequently) in the gen. and dat. where the gender is ambiguous, de Or. ii 111 'ambiguorum plura genera sunt', ib. 262 'gravium et iocorum', ad Att. ix 13 § 3 'ne quid ille superiorum meminisse me putaret' (Nägelsbach, *Stil.* § 24. 2).

§ 132. **incitari...leniri**, 63 *incitare* contrasted with *sedare*; de Or. i 53 'quis enim nescit maximam vim exsistere oratoris in hominum mentibus vel ad iram aut ad odium aut ad dolorem incitandis vel ab hisce eisdem permotionibus ad *lenitatem* misericordiamque revocandis?' *excitare* which is contrasted with *sedare*, ib. 202, is possibly avoided here, because it has just been used in a different sense.

supra, 130. **nec—incenderetur, nisi ardens—oratio**, de Or. ii 188...'ut mihi non solum tu incendere iudicem, sed ipse ardere videaris. (189) neque fieri potest, ut doleat is, qui audit, ut oderit, ut invideat, ut pertimescat aliquid, ut ad fletum misericordiamque deducatur, nisi omnes illi motus, quos orator adhibere volet

domesticis, nisi ea legisses; uterer alienis, vel Latin reperirem, vel Graecis, si deceret. sed Crassi perpauc ea iudiciorum, nihil Antoni, nihil Cottae, nihil Sulpic melius quam scripsit Hortensius. verum haec vis, qu
5 rimus, quanta sit, suspicemur, quoniam exemplum non aut si exempla sequimur, a Demosthene sumamus et qu petuae dictionis ex eo loco, unde in Ctesiphontis iudi factis, consiliis, meritis in rem publicam adgressus est profecto oratio in eam formam, quae est insita in men
10 tris, includi sic potest, ut maior eloquentia ne requirat

XXXIX Sed iam forma ipsa restat et χαρακτὴρ ille, qui d qualis esse debeat ex ipsis, quae supra dicta sunt potest; nam et singulorum verborum et collocatoru

3 *Antoni...Sulpici* J: -*ii* cet. *Sulpicio A*. 5 *suspicamur A*. *agg*. ceteri. 10 *ne requiratur quidem A* (HST): *non requiratur F* 11 *ipsa* om. *A*. 12 *esse debeat A* (Ern. H): *debeat esse FPO* (OKJ *FPO*, *his A*; *iis ipsis* Lamb. (MOST). 13 *verborum* om. *A*. *con*

iudici, in ipso oratore impressi esse atque inusti videbuntur'. ib. 190 'nulla mens est tam ad comprehendendam vim oratoris parata, quae possit incendi, nisi ipse inflammatus ad eam et ardens accesserit'. ib. 196 'ut in dicendo irasci, ut dolere, ut flere possitis'. Quint. vi 2 § 25 'summa ...est ut moveamur ipsi', ib. 28 'nec incendit nisi ignis'. Pseudo-Acro on Hor. A. P. 101 (quoted by Heerdegen) 'illud Ciceronis: ardeat orator, si vult iudicem incendere'. Cf. Churchill, 'But, spite of all the criticizing elves, Those who would make us feel, must feel themselves'; and Goethe's *Faust*, II iii 'Denn es musz von Herzen gehen, Was auf Herzen wirken soll'.

domesticis, from my own speeches, de Or. ii 38 (orator) 'nisi domesticis se instruxerit copiis, aliunde dicendi copiam petere non possit'. Quint. ix 3 § 73 'cur me prohibeat pudor uti domestico exemplo'. It is used differently (of Latin contrasted with Greek) in § 22. **si deceret**, Cic. does not consider it in good taste, as a point of literary propriety, to quote passages of Greek in a Latin treatise intended for the general public.

Crassi—iudiciorum. His published speeches belonged to the *genus deliberativum*, whereas it was in the forensic branch of oratory that there was special scope for appeal to the emotions. The most celebrated of his political orations were the *suasio legis Serviliae* B.C. 106 (Brut. 164) and *de colonia Narbonensi* (ib. 160). **perpauca**, ib. 163 'vellem...plura

Crasso libuisset scribere', de

dicebat melius quam scri tensius spoke better, i.q. wa to speak better, than he *h* than he shews himself in speeches which are still ext § 337). His oratory, as we where, depended largely for his graceful delivery (Brut. §

§ 133. **quaerimus**, 14. **sus** us be content with surmising', **sequimur**, 'look for', 4. 139. its 'unbroken', 'uninterrupt sion. **unde**, de Cor. §§ 291 294—305. The author of περὶ ὕψους 32 § 1, in quo characterises the superab metaphors descriptive of th Greece, as appropriate in a τὰ πάθη χειμάρρου δίκην ἐ **formam...includi**, 'coincides

§§ 134—139. *On the pre ment of oratorical ornament* verborum (134—5) *and th* sententiarum (136—9).

forma ipsa, i.e. the actu what is called the characteris perfect oratorical style (36). *n* **ex ipsis**. The weak demo which is often combined wit emphatic *ipse*, may be dro followed by a short relative fining the demonstrative pr **ipsis quae supra dicta sun** *supra dictis*; 180; de Or. quorum negotium est', ii 6 scripserunt', 208 'ipsis qu

attigimus, quibus sic abundabit, ut verbum ex ore nullum nisi aut elegans aut grave exeat, ex omnique genere frequentissimae tralationes erunt, quod eae propter similitudinem transferunt animos et referunt ac movent huc et illuc; qui motus cogitationis celeriter agitatus per se ipse delectat; et reliqua ex collocatione 5 verborum quae sumuntur quasi lumina, magnum adferunt ornatum orationi; sunt enim similia illis, quae in amplo ornatu scaenae aut fori appellantur insignia, non quia sola ornent, sed quod excellant.

1 *attingimus A.* 3 *relationes A.* *eae A*, *eas FP*, *esse O.* 5 *celeris agitatur A.* *coni.* K. 6 *adf.* KPH: *aff.* ceteri. 8 *scaenae* H et st cum *A*: *scenae* MOKJP; cf. § 86. *non quia A* et Quint. (HSt): *non quod FPO* (MOKJP).

Madvig, de Fin. ii 28 § 93 p. 298.—**supra**, 80. **nullum—exeat**, 125; Brut. 265 'exibat ex ore'.

frequentissimae tralationes, metaphors in the limited sense of the term which corresponds to its modern use. On the pleasure derived from metaphors, cf. de Or. iii 155 'verbi translatio instituta est inopiae causa, frequentata *delectationis*'; on the source of this pleasure, ib. 159 f. 'aliena multo magis, si sunt ratione translata, *delectant*. id accidere credo, vel quod ingenii specimen est quoddam transilire ante pedes posita et alia longe repetita sumere; vel quod is, qui audit, *alio ducitur cogitatione* neque tamen aberrat, quae maxima est *delectatio*; vel quod singulis verbis res ac totum simile conficitur; vel quod omnis translatio, quae quidem sumpta ratione est, ad sensus ipsos admovetur, maxime oculorum, qui est sensus acerrimus'. Aristotle traces the frequent use of metaphor to the pleasure derived from learning something; 'this is produced in the highest degree by metaphors, which bring remote members of the same genus into comparison with one another', and so suggest unexpected resemblances (Rhet. iii 10 § 2, with Cope's *Introd.* p. 378).

et reliqua. So far, we have had examples of the *lumina singulorum verborum* and none of words in collocation, although *quibus sic abundabit* refers to both kinds. The construction with *ut* would have been too cumbersome to keep up; Cic. accordingly drops it and begins a fresh sentence which is somewhat loosely connected with the one that precedes it (Jahn). **reliqua** is not confined to, but includes, amongst other figures of speech, metaphors in the wider sense of the term, so far as they are contained in more than a single word, e.g. 'allegories'. De Or. iii 166 'quod ex hoc genere' (from the metaphor which consists in the transference of a single word or expression) 'profluit, quod non est in uno verbo translato sed ex pluribus continuatis conectitur...' ib. 167 'non est in verbo modus hic sed...in continuatione verborum'.

insignia. These are the more marked and prominent decorations among the banners, trophies and works of painting and sculpture, used to adorn either the forum on festal occasions or the *proscenium* of a theatre. II Verr. i 58 'dices tua quoque signa et tabulas pictas ornamento urbi foroque populi Romani fuisse'; Vitruv. v 6 § 8 'tragicae (scaenae) deformantur columnis et fastigiis et signis reliquisque regalibus rebus'. The term is often applied to the distinguishing badges of office or the trophies of victory. For its metaphorical application to striking beauties of style, cf. de Or. ii 36 'formare orationem eamque variare et distinguere quasi quibusdam verborum sententiarumque *insignibus*'; iii 96 'ut porro conspersa sit (oratio) quasi verborum sententiarumque floribus, id non debet esse fusum aequabiliter per omnem orationem, sed ita distinctum, ut sint quasi in ornatu disposita quaedam *insignia* et lumina'; Brut. 275 'erant autem et verborum et sententiarum illa lumina, quae vocant Graeci σχήματα, quibus tamquam *insignibus* in ornatu distinguebatur omnis oratio'. For other cognate uses, cf. de Nat. Deor. i 100 where the sun, moon and stars are called *insignia*, as the brightest and most prominent forms in the heavens; it is also applied to standards &c as the 'shining points' of an army in march, Caes. B. G. vii 45, ii 21.

Eadem ratio est horum, quae sunt orationis lumi dam modo insignia: cum aut duplicantur iteranturqu leviter commutata ponuntur, aut ab eodem verbo duc oratio aut in idem conicitur aut utrumque, aut adiur

3 *leviter* Ernesti, Gesner ad Quint. ix 1 § 38, KJPST: *bis leviter* Pluy syne N. S. viii 367: *breviter FPO* et *A*, et Quint. (MOH). 4 *conici* codd. *Ab* (MOKJP), *coicitur FPO* et Quint. cod. *B*, *committitur* Quint *cluditur* Pluygers l. c. (H); *convertitur* Stangl.

§ 135. At this point begins an enumeration of the *figurae verborum et sententiarum* closely resembling that given in de iii 206 f.; Quintilian after quoting i §§ 26—36) the whole of that passage, its context, introduces his quotation 134—9, 'et reliqua—magnitudo', with the words: 'eadem sunt in Oratore plurima, non omnia tamen, et paulo magis distincta, quia post orationis et sententiarum figuras tertium quendam subiecit locum ad alias, ut ipse ait (§ 139), quasi virtutes dicendi pertinentem'; ib. 3 § 90 (figuras) 'multas in tertio de Oratore libro posuit quas in Oratore postea scripto transeundo videtur ipse damnasse'.

Definitions and illustrative examples of these rhetorical figures are to be found in the treatise ad Herennium iv §§ 19—46 (finished after 80 B.C.) and in Quint. ix 2 and 3. Among the minor Latin writers on this subject are Rutilius Lupus (probably of the time of Augustus and Tiberius), also Aquila Romanus, and Julius Rufinianus, all of whom are edited with the other *scriptores de figuris sententiarum et elocutionis* in pp. 1—70 of Halm's *Rhetores Latini Minores* (1863). Among the Greek writers may be mentioned Alexander Numenius (who belongs to the 2nd century A.D. and is the authority followed by Aquila Romanus), and also Phoebammon and Tiberius, in the fourth century. These are included in the *Rhetores Graeci* of Walz (vol. viii, 1835), and Spengel (vol. iii, 1854). In the following notes, references are given to all the above rhetoricians, wherever necessary. (Cf. Volkmann *Rhet.* §§ 47—49, pp. 389—430; Dzialas, *Rhetorum antiquorum de figuris doctrina*, 1869; and Straub, *de tropis et figuris quae inveniuntur in orationibus Dem. et Cic.* 1883.)

duplicantur, 'redoubled' immediately; **iterantur**, 'repeated' after a slight interval. De Or. iii 206 'geminatio verborum habet interdum vim, leporem alias'; ad Her. iv 28 § 38 'conduplicatio est cum ratione amplificationis aut commiserationis eiusdem unius aut plurium verborum iteratio, hoc modo: *tumultus Gracchi, Gracchi tumultu* *intestinos comparant*'. Ale (Walz) = iii 29 (Spengel) ὁ μὲν Καρκῖνος (*sic, al.* Κ λογίαν καλεῖ, ἔνιοι δὲ ἀνα ἐπανάληψιν. Aquila Rom *iteratio* to translate παλιλογ as an example p. Caecin. *inquit,...te reieci atque pr* the *adiectio* of Quint. who several varieties of it an examples: ix 3 § 28— p. 397. Dzialas p. 8, Strau

leviter commutata, 8 litterae', de Or. l. c. 'paullu verbum atque deflexum'; παρονομασία, a play on w γράμμα σκώμματα (Ar. Rh ad Her. iv 21 § 29 'ad accedit cum mutatione uni litterarum, ut ad res dissi verba accommodentur'; ' *mobiliorem* Cato' (de Or. ii 2 Lupus i § 3 'παρονομασία. ho aut demenda aut mutanda a aut contrahenda litera aut consuevit', Aquila Roman *immutatio*. Quint. ix 3 § 66- mann p. 407 f., Dzialas p p. 136).

ab eodem verbo ducit verbi crebra a primo repetitio part. orat. 21; ἐπαναφορά, ἐ 7), the *repetitio* of ad Her where (after several exampl adds: 'haec exornatio cum m tatis habet, tum gravitatis e plurimum; qua re videtur ac et ad ornandam et ad exauge nem'. Quint. ix 3 § 30 (as *adiectio*) 'ab isdem verbis pl instanter incipiunt: *nihilne praesidium Palatii, nihil u nihil timor populi, nihil conse omnium, nihil hic munitissi senatus locus, nihil horum moverunt*' (1 Cat. 1). (Volk Dzialas p. 8, Straub pp. 110

in idem conicitur, 'ei crebra...in extremum conve l. c.), ἀντιστροφή (Aquila

tum aut idem ad extremum refertur aut continenter unum
um non eadem sententia ponitur; aut cum similiter vel
nt verba vel desinunt; aut cum sunt contrariis relata con-

eadem Quint. (MOKJPst): *in eadem FPO* et *A* (H). 3 *cum sunt A* (KPH), *modis FPO* et Quint. (MO); *cum cumulatis* Mommsen, *cum cumulantur* Jst.

. i § 8), ad Her. iv 13 § 19 'per quam it ante, primum repetimus verbum postremum continenter revortimur, nodo: *Poenos populus Romanus a vicit, armis vicit, liberalitate* Quint. ix 3 § 30 'in iisdem desi- *quis eos postulavit? Appius. Quis vit? Appius* (pro Milone 59). quan- hoc exemplum ad aliud quoque a pertinet, cuius et initia inter se et iidem sunt'. (Volkmann p. 399, 113.)

umque, *complexio*, the combination *petitio* and *conversio; συμπλοκή*, *um* Aquila § 36; *κοινότης* Rutil. i § 9. vaguely described in de Or. l. c. as idem verba impetus et concursio'; qui sunt, qui foedera saepe ruperunt? aginienses. qui sunt, qui crudele gesserunt? Karthaginienses. qui qui Italiam deformaverunt? Kartha- ses. qui sunt, qui postulant ignosci? aginienses' (ad Her. iv 14 § 20). mann p. 400, Straub 113.)

ungitur idem. The *adiunctio* of r. iv 27 § 38 is identical with the *υγμένον* of Quint. ix 3 § 62, in 'unum ad verbum plures sententiae ntur', e.g. *vicit pudorem libido, ti- audacia, rationem amentia'* (Cluent. It is the *ἐπεζευγμένον* of the anony- rhetorician in Spengel's *Rh. Gr.* i 12, and may be the same as the *tio* of de Or. l. c. Here however dition of **idem iteratum** points to special variety of *geminatio*, com- with *repetitio* (*ἀναφορά*), where the is immediately repeated and also first in its clause, e.g. Milo 91 ate, excitate ipsum, si potestis, a is'. It is perhaps the same as lian's *ἐπίζευξις* in Spengel's *Rh. Gr.* where the instance given is *Θῆβαι θαι, πόλις ἀστυγείτων* κ.τ.λ. (from in. Ctes. 133). This figure would ffer essentially from that described 'ab eodem verbo ducitur' except *sepius* is there added while here a repetition alone is intended. (Cf. mann pp. 404—7.)

Nixon suggests identifying it with the *tio* of the *ad Herennium* l.c. (quoted), a work with which Cic. was spe- familiar. *He also proposes* either to place *iteratum* after *verbum*, where it is much wanted; or to understand it in the sense of 'supplied'; e.g. in the above example *vicit* is an *adiunctum* to the three following clauses and is repeated in sense with all of them. If *vicit* had been placed at the *end*, we should have had an instance of the *next* figure.

ad extremum refertur, a simpler form of the figure already described in the words *in idem conicitur* where *saepius* is implied from the previous clause. Piderit is probably right in defining it as an 'epiphoric form of *geminatio*' (e.g. *vivit, inquam, vivit* at the end of a sentence); but not in identifying it with *progressio* (de Or. l. c.) which he himself illustrates in his note on that passage by an example of what we now call climax. It is included in the vague *revocatio verbi* of de Or. l. c. For *refertur*, cf. 165. **eadem sententia**, 'in the same sense'.

Perhaps in this, and the preceding figure, Cic. (as suggested by Mr Nixon) may be thinking of *adiunctio* and *coniunctio* proper, combined with *geminatio*. Thus '*nihil* te movebunt preces, lacrimae *nihil?*' is an ex. of *ad extremum refertur;* '*nihil* te movebunt preces, *nihil* lacrimae?' of *adiunctum iteratum;* while both alike are instances of *geminatio*. But in both, the essential point of the figure is the supplying of a common term to two or more clauses as in § 145 *hominibus*.

continenter—'eiusdem verbi crebrius positi quaedam distinctio' (de Or. l. c.); ad Her. iv 14 § 20 (*traductio*) e.g. 'cum tu *hominem* appellas, qui si fuisset *homo*, numquam tam crudeliter *hominis* vitam petisset,' pro Rosc. Am. 5 'his de causis ego huic causae patronus exstiti'.

similiter...cadunt, 'quae cadunt similiter' (de Or. l.c.), *ὁμοιόπτωτον*. ad Her. iv 20 § 28 '*similiter cadens* exornatio appellatur, cum, in eadem constructione verborum, duo aut plura sunt verba quae similiter *eisdem casibus* efferuntur, hoc modo: hominem laudem egentem virtutis, abundantem felicitatis?', ib. § 38, (Volkmann p. 411.)

desinunt, 'similiter desinunt' (de Or. l.c.), *ὁμοιοτέλευτον*. ad Her. l. c. '*similiter desinens* est, cum, tametsi casus non insunt in verbis, tamen similes exitus

traria; aut cum gradatim sursum versus [red]itur;
demptis coniunctionibus dissolute plura dicuntur; aut c

1 *sursum* O², *susum* FA et in marg. O², *sursum* P. *versus* FPC Quint. A (MH), *versum* codd. Quint. BM (OKJT). *reditur* cum codd *et reditur* KSt; *retroque dicitur* Vollbehr (J); scripsi *itur*.

sunt, hoc pacto: turpiter audes facere, nequiter studes dicere; vivis invidiose, delinquis studiose, loqueris odiose'. While the last figure is by some confined to parallelism of case-endings, this is a wider term and includes all other parallelisms of termination. Some (as Rutili[illegible] ii § 14) distinguish ὁμοιοτέλευτον [illegible] ὁμοιόπτωτον mainly by the rhymi[illegible] being less strongly marked, *mini*[illegible] in the former than in the latter. [illegible]aub p. 140 f.

contrariis, 175, ἀντίθεσις, Quint. ix 3 § 81 '*contrapositum* vel ut quidam vocant *contentio* (ἀντίθετον dicitur) non uno fit modo: nam et...singula singulis opponuntur (Cluent. 15 *vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia*) et bina binis (ib. 4 *non nostri ingenii, vestri auxilii est*), et sententiae sententiis (ib. 5 *dominetur in contionibus, iaceat in iudiciis*), infr. 165—7. It corresponds to the *contentio* of ad Her. iv 15 § 21 which is not to be confounded with the *contrarium* of ib. § 25 (v. Kayser ad l.). (Volkmann p. 412, Straub p. 142 f.)

gradatim ... [red]itur, part. orat. 54 'quae ascendunt gradatim ab humilioribus [verbis] ad superiora', de Or. l. c. 'gradatio quaedam', ad Her. iv 25 § 34 '*gradatio* est in qua non ante ad consequens verbum descenditur quam ad superius conscensum est'. Quint. ix 3 § 54 f. '*gradatio* quae dicitur κλῖμαξ apertiorem habet artem et magis affectatam, ideoque esse rarior debet. est autem ipsa quoque adiectionis; repetit enim quae dicta sunt et priusquam ad aliud descendat, in prioribus resistit'; he then gives a rendering of the example often quoted by the rhetoricians from Dem. de Cor. § 179 οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μέν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μέν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ τοὺς Θηβαίους, and adds as a Latin instance: '*Africano virtutem industria, virtus gloriam, gloria aemulos comparavit*'. Aquila Rom. § 40 'κλῖμαξ quod Graeci vocant, *ascensus* nominetur a nobis. malo enim ascensum quam *scalam* et *gradiculos*, ut quidam, dicere. est autem figura perquam decora et a Demosthene commendata, in qua postremum quodque verbum, in priore membro aut parte aliqua elocutionis positum, in posteriorem rursum assumptum inicitur

atque ita *velut gradibus qu*[illegible] *titur oratio*...sic M. Tulliu[illegible] (61) *neque vero se populo so*[illegible] *senatui commisit, nec sena*[illegible] *etiam publicis praesidiis et* [illegible] *his tantum sed etiam eius* [illegible] *senatus totam rem publicam*[illegible] Isidor. Rhet. 21 § 4 'non[illegible] appellant'. The regular G[illegible] this is κλῖμαξ. Our own *cl*[illegible] loosely used, as the oppos[illegible] whereas κλῖμαξ always impli[illegible] pairs of clauses and not me[illegible] sion of single words or cla[illegible] in an ascending order of em[illegible] Volkmann p. 403 f., Straub [illegible]

sursum versus. *versus* [illegible] nastically joined with a c[illegible] itself—*sursum*, contr. from [illegible] as in Varro L. L. 9 § 65 'o[illegible] a duobus susum versus (all [illegible] from 2 upwards) multitudini[illegible] § 2175), Cato R. R. 33, 1; [illegible] sursum vorsum semper duci[illegible] 189 'Scorsus enim vorsus [illegible] augmina crescunt Et sursum [illegible] arbustaque sursum Crescunt', [illegible] iii 4, 123 (cf. Amph. v 1, 60 [illegible] sum'); Part. Orat. 24 'cum sen[illegible] directe, sicut natura ipsa tule[illegible] ordo et idem quasi sursum v[illegible] que dicitur'. This last exam[illegible] a figure of speech which [illegible] identified with the *commutat*[illegible] iv 28 § 39 'cum duae senten[illegible] discrepantes ex transiectione i[illegible] ut a priore posterior contrari[illegible] ficiscatur', e. g. *esse oportet*, [illegible] *vivere ut edas*, cf. Quint. ix 3 § [illegible] passage quoted above from Pa[illegible] has suggested the alteration '[illegible] *sum retroque*' ('when step by [illegible] ascend and then descend a[illegible] applies to another figure a[illegible] really suit the description [illegible] which we are led to expect [illegible] *gradatim*. The suggestion *it*[illegible] is open to the same objectio[illegible] factory sense may be gained [illegible] *reditur* into *itur*. *versus* ma[illegible] carelessly mistaken for the [illegible] *sursum* and this mistake ma[illegible] gested *reditur*.

dissolute, ἀσυνδέτως. ad H[illegible] 41 '*dissolutum* est quod con[illegible]

ereuntes, cur id faciamus, ostendimus; aut cum corrigimus et ipsos quasi reprehendentes; aut si est aliqua exclamatio dmirationis vel conquestionis; aut cum eiusdem nominis saepius commutantur.

ed sententiarum ornamenta maiora sunt; quibus quia fre- 5 issime Demosthenes utitur, sunt qui putent idcirco eius

xclamatio A et Quint.: *explanatio FPO.* 3 *conquestionis* codd. Eins. Erl. *questionis OP*[1] (MHSt), *quaestionis FP*[2]*A* et Quint. Cf. Brut. 142 'flebile quid- *questionibus* aptumque ad misericordiam commovendam', ubi Lambini con- n *conquestionibus* in textum recepit K. 6 *utitur A*, *utatur FPO* et codd. *BM*, cf. Reid de Sen. 2 p. 67 *cui qui pareat.* *putent A*, *putant FPO.*

m e medio sublatis separatis par- fertur'. Ar. Rhet. iii 12 § 4; Part. 1, Quint. ix 3 § 50 (*dissolutio*) 'apta id instantius dicimus, nam et sin- culcantur et quasi plura fiunt'; Romanus § 41 (solutum). It cor- ls to the figure called διάλυσις by s p. 77, and Alexander p. 32 (Volk- . 402; cf. Straub p. 119 and Nä- h *Stil.* § 200).

tereuntes— παράλειψις (Rhet. ad 7, 3; Tiber. p. 60, Aquila Rom. § 8), iii 207 *declinatio*; ad Her. iv 27 *occultatio* est, cum dicimus nos *ire* aut non scire aut nolle dicere d nunc maxime dicimus, hoc *nam de pueritia quidem tua, quam i omnium intemperantiae addix- erem, si hoc tempus idoneum pu- nunc consulto relinquo*', &c. Ex- may be found in II Verr. v 20, 99, de Leg. Agr. i 21, Cat. i 14 ann p. 427 f.). Cf. Straub p.

gimus—reprehendentes, de Or. *rehensio*, ad Her. iv 26 § 36 '*cor- st* quae tollit id, quod dictum est, o id, quod magis idoneum videtur, , hoc pacto:...*nam postquam isti t, atque adeo victi sunt; eam quo ictoriam appellem quae victoribus amitatis quam boni dederit?*' The etoricians give it a variety of : ἐπανόρθωσις (Pseudo-Ruf. § 17), ωσις (Tiber. p. 62), μετάνοια (Rut. § 16), ἐπιτίμησις and ὑπαλλαγή p. 40); cf. Quint. ix 2 § 60 'quasi *tia dicti*'. The usual examples n. de Cor. § 130 ὀψὲ γάρ ποτε, ὀψὲ χθὲς μὲν οὖν κ.τ.λ., pro Caelio §§ (Volkmann p. 422 f., Straub p.

matio, de Or. l. c., ad Her. iv 15 uae conficit significationem doloris gnationis alicuius per hominis aut t loci aut rei cuiuspiam compellatio- Quint. ix 3 § 97 criticises Cic. for placing it among the *figurae verborum*, 'quam sententiae potius puto; affectus enim est', ib. 2 §§ 27 and 38 (ἀποστροφή). Macrob. Sat. iv 6 § 17 '*exclamatio* quae apud Graecos ἐκφώνησις dicitur, movet πάθος'. This is sometimes identified with the **exc. admirationis,** while **exc. conquestionis** corresponds to σχετλιασμός (Ar. Rhet. ii 21 § 10). As examples we have Dem. Arist. § 61 εἶτ' οὐ δεινόν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, καὶ φανερῶς παράνομον, Cat. i 2 'o tempora! o mores!' (Volkmann p. 425 and Straub p. 90).

casus— πολύπτωτον (Alex. p. 34), de Or. l. c. 'quod in multis casibus ponitur'; ad Her. iv 22 § 30 'quod versatur in casuum commutatione aut unius aut plurium nominum'. Quint. ix 3 § 36 and Rutil. i § 10 quote from Charisius: *pater hic tuus—? patrem nunc appellas—? patris tui filius es—?*, pro Murena 12 (cases of *Asia*) and pro Quinctio 94 (of *Naevius*), Volkmann p. 400. Cf. Dzialas p. 11, Straub p. 130.

§ 136. On the **sententiarum ornamenta,** see ad Her. iv 35 § 47—55 § 68, de Or. iii 202—5, Quint. ix 2, Rutilius Lupus ii, Aquila Romanus §§ 1—16; also Volkmann's *Rhet.* § 49 pp. 416 ff.; H. Monse, *veterum rhetorum de sententiarum figuris doctrina*, pars prior (Breslau 1869).

Demosthenes, Brut. 140—1 'quo genere (*sc.* sententiarum ornamentis et conformationibus) quia praestat omnibus Demosthenes, idcirco a doctis oratorum est princeps iudicatus. Σχήματα enim quae vocant Graeci, ea maxime ornant orationem; eaque non tam in verbis pingendis habent pondus quam in illuminandis sententiis'. Good examples of ἐρώτησις, ὑποφορά, ἀποστροφή, προσωποποιΐα, διατύπωσις, παράλειψις, ἀποσιώπησις and αὐτοσχέδιον in the speeches of Dem. may be found in Blass, *Att. Ber.* iii p. 150—161. Cf. Straub p. 81 ff.

saepe etiam ut exte[illegible]

2 edicitur FPO. *omnes FPO, nisi aut omnes* [illegible] *modo* OPH et st cum codic[illegible] sed diserte scriptum est [illegible] *modis A.* *7 eadem et* [illegible] *FPO, unam rem A, in una* [illegible] *commoretur sententia* Quint. *eadem commoreturque sententi*[illegible] *saepe* illud quod subsequitur [illegible] *irrideat* Quint. (K); *rideat A.*

et vero—dicitur, 'and in fac[illegible] single topic is expressed by hi[illegible] some artificial treatment of the [illegible] in short, 'some figure of sense'. meaning of *conformatio*, cf. [illegible] quoted above, and Quint. ix 1 § 4 sicut nomine ipso patet, conformat[illegible] dam a communi et primum se [illegible] ratione', 2 § 1 'conformationes ve[illegible] ac sententiarum'. Dion. Hal. T[illegible] (of Dem.) τῷ μηδὲν ἁπλῶς ἀσχημ[illegible] ἐκφέρειν νόημα.

notetur locus, i.e. 'let us be [illegible] with simply pointing out the topic'. 7 'demonstrato et *notato loco* facilis [illegible] tio est', de Or. iii 210 'de ornatu orationis sunt omnes, si non patefac[illegible] certe commonstrati loci'. Mr Nixon fers to understand it of '*noting com*[illegible] *diously* the heads', comparing Suet. G[illegible] 5 '*notata*, non *perscripta* erat summa', Quint. i pro. § 7 'quantum *notando* con[illegible] qui potuerant' (of cypher, or short-han[illegible]

§ 137. **verset.** [illegible]

deflectatque sententiam; ut proponat quid dicturus
m transegerit iam aliquid, definiat; ut se ipse revocet;
lixit, iteret; ut argumentum ratione concludat; ut in-

oposito inseruit *aliquantum* Schenkl coll. 138 p. 147. *sententiam* secl.
3 *dixit FPO* et *A* (OKJP): *dixerit* Quint. (Schirach, H, st).

ι *sive ἐπικερτόμησις* of Julius
, who, however, somewhat
ly treats these and διασυρμός
ate species of εἰρωνεία. In
§ 54 and elsewhere, *illusio*
ense, being used as an equi-
ωνεία.
De Or. iii 203 'ab re digres-
m fuerit delectatio, tum redi-
ptus et concinnus esse debe-
x 2 § 56 'haec exempli gratia
m C. Varenus, is qui a fami-
na occisus est; hoc, quaeso,
enter attendite; et pro Mi-
spexit me illis quidem oculis,
olebat, cum omnibus omnia
= παρέκβασις (distinguished
γησις in Spengel's *Rhet. Gr.*
πλάνησις ('iudicis a re con-
avocatio' Julius Rufinianus,
es Cic. pro Cluent. §§ 1, 7,
Volkmann § 14.
§ 90 remarks that Cic. did
ression important enough to
il. Cic. de Inv. i 97 con-
sions unless in very excep-
stances. **deflectat,** 'gives a
c. 51 'res ad verba deflec-

de Or. l. c. '*propositio* quid
ad Her. iv 26 § 35 (a branch
'transitio vocatur quae cum
iter quid dictum sit, propo-
vi quid consequatur, hoc
arentem cuius modi fuerit
c parens qualis exstiterit
cf. de imp. Cn. Pomp. §§ 6,

y defines *propositio* as 'prima
ii', misunderstanding de Inv.
Quintilian's use in v 14 § 1
eid).
In ad Her. iv 25 § 35, we
the *figurae, definitio* 'quae
proprias amplectitur potes-
et absolute'; but a compari-
xt with de Or. l. c. shews
e here meant by Cic. is not
n the ordinary sense of the
rief and precise summing up
sion of a narrative or argu-
onding to *propositio* at its be-
nediately after the *propositio*
rus, we there have: '*ab eo*
m seiunctio'. With this use
of *definiat* is connected the rare sense of 'concluding', in which it is found in § 65 fin., and 175. The figure corresponds closely to *complexio* (ad Her. ii § 28) 'quae concludit breviter colligens partes orationis', cf. Brut. 302 (of Hortensius) 'collectiones eorum quae et essent dicta contra quaeque ipse dixisset'; it is only a subordinate species of *enumeratio* (ἀνακεφαλαίωσις), which in its fullest form is most appropriate to the epilogue: e.g. p. Mil. § 51, de imp. Cn. Pomp. 19, inf. § 203 (cf. Seyffert's *Scholae Latinae* 1 § 39).

revocet. De Or. l.c. *reditus ad propositionem.* The corresponding Greek to *reversio* vel *regressio* in Halm's *Rhet. Lat. min.* p. 53 is ἐπάνοδος, which however is there, and elsewhere, explained of reverting to a fuller explanation of what has already been briefly or obscurely stated (Quint. ix 3 § 36). '*longius evectus sum sed redeo ad propositum,* ἄφοδον vocant' (ib. § 87); it is also called μετάβασις Rutil. Lup. ii 1 fin. In Seyffert's *Scholae Latinae* 1 § 41, a distinction is drawn between *revocatio* and *reditus ad propositum,* the former being regarded as the means of breaking off from any statement that is either becoming too long, or beginning to wander too far from the point; while the latter is only appropriate after a digression, as a way of returning to the point of departure. For the first the commonest formula is *sed haec hactenus...autem;* for the second *sed redeo ad:* inf. 148.

iteret. De Or. l.c. *iteratio,* the emphatic repetition of a weighty thought. ἐπανάληψις, Rutilius Lup. i 11, the repetition of one or more words, (which is a *figura orationis* rather than *sententiae*); and Aquila Rom. 31 '*repetitio:* in hac ex plurium verborum continuatione repetita (vehementior elocutio videtur fieri)'; Julius Rufinianus 31 '*repetitio sententiae* propter aliam necessariam causam, non ut fit in figuris elocutionis:...*libenter, si esset integrum, profiterer idem...libenter, inquam, profiterer* (pro Rabir. § 18). Hermog. π. ἰδεῶν i 4 (II 282, 32 Sp), αἱ ἐπαναλήψεις μάλα χρήσιμοι πρὸς εὐκρίνειαν καὶ σαφήνειαν, e.g. Dem. Phil. ii §§ 3, 4, fals. leg. §§ 25—7.

argumentum ratione concludat, not 'to conclude an argument by giving a rea-

terrogando urgeat; ut rursus quasi ad interrogata si
spondeat; ut contra ac dicat accipi et sentiri velit; ut
quid potius aut quo modo dicat; ut dividat in partis;

1 *quasi* et *sibi ipse* om. *A*. 3 *ecquid A*. *partis* KH: -

son', but 'to complete your proof correctly, logically', in other words 'to use a syllogism'. De Or. l.c. 'rationis apta conclusio', where *apta* corresponds in sense to *ratione* in the present passage, while *rationis* is equivalent to *argumenti*; de Div. ii 25 'concludatur igitur ratio' ('let our conclusion be drawn'), de Fin. iii 27 'concluduntur igitur eorum argumenta sic' ('the conclusion is drawn from their arguments as follows'): ib. i 22 'quomodo efficiatur concludaturque ratio', § 122. ad Her. iv 30 § 41 'conclusio est quae brevi argumentatione ex eis quae ante dicta sunt aut facta, conficit quid necessario sequatur'.

interrogando, Quint. ix 2 § 7 'quotiens non sciscitandi gratia assumitur sed instandi: *quid enim ille tuus, Tubero, destrictus in acie Pharsalica gladius agebat*' (p. Lig. 3; *quousque tandem* etc. Cat. i 1). ἐρώτημα (ἐρώτησις) and πύσμα (or πεῦσις), Hermog. II 434 Sp τὸ κατὰ πεῦσιν σχῆμα ἀναντίρρητόν ἐστι, Aquila Rom. 11, 12 'ad interrogatum (*sc.* ἐρώτημα) una voce tantum responderi potest, vel a negante vel a confitente: quaesito (*sc.* πύσματι) autem occurri nisi pluribus non potest' (Alex. Numen. III 24 Sp). Cf. Seyffert's *Schol. Lat.* I § 45, and Straub p. 93 ff.

respondeat. De Or. l.c. 'rogatio, atque huic finitima percontatio *expositioque sententiae suae*'. ad Her. iv 23 § 33 'subiectio est cum interrogamus adversarios aut *quaerimus ipsi a nobis*, quid ab illis aut quid contra nos dici possit, deinde subicimus id quod oportet dici'. Quint. ix 2 § 11 'ipsi nosmet rogamus', ib. § 14 ff. [Longinus] π. ὕψους I 170 Sp, ἡ δὲ ἐρώτησις ἡ εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀπόκρισις μιμεῖται τοῦ πάθους τὸ ἐπίκαιρον. Cf. Seyffert's *Schol. Lat.* I §§ 46, 50, and Straub p. 97 ff.

contra—velit, de Or. l.c. 'illa quae maxime quasi irrepsit in hominum mentes, alia dicentis ac significantis *dissimulatio*', ib. ii 269, Quint. ix 2 § 44 ff. Aquila Rom. 7 'εἰρωνεία, simulatio, frequentissima apud oratores figura, ubi aliud verbis significamus, aliud re sentimus. a quo genere figurae prooemium pro Ligario sumptum est: *novum crimen, C. Caesar, et ante hunc diem inauditum* et cetera'. (Cf. Volkmann p. 369.)

dubitet, de Or. l.c. *dubitatio*, ad Her. iv 29 § 40 'cum qu... orator, utrum de duobus p... de pluribus potissimum dic... 2 § 19 'affert aliquam fide... *dubitatio*, cum simulamus... unde incipiendum, ubi desi... potissimum dicendum, an ... dum sit? cuiusmodi exemp... omnia, sed unum interim... *dem, quod ad me attinet. q... nescio. negem fuisse infami... rupti?* et cetera' (p. Cluent... Rom. 10, διαπόρησις, *addu...* Lupus ii 10 ἀπορία, Iul. R... διαπόρησις. The latter is... constant use by the Gk. r... pp. 358, 406, III pp. 24, 54... Sp. As examples we have... § 129 and the opening of the... also II Verr. iv 35 (Volkm... For further exx. see Straub...

dividat, ad Her. iv 40 § ... quae rem semovens ab re... solvit ratione subiecta, ho... *ego nunc tibi quicquam obici... es, non meruisti: sin impro... movebere*', which is compar... ad l. to the *complexio* of ... and the διλήμματον of He... 167 Walz. Rutil. Lup. i... hoc schema singulas res sep... nendo et suum cuique propri... magnam efficere utilitatem... consuevit'. *Rhet. Gr.* I 4... μέρη περιγραφὴ τῶν ὅλων π... figure meant by Cic. is perha... less elaborate than any of t... that is meant being probal... division of the various pa... subject. It must be disting... *distributio* inf. 138. (Cf. St...

ut aliquid relinquat, 'q... λειψις' says Iul. Victor p. 4... *Rhet. Lat. min.* This is id... the *occultatio* of ad Her. iv... it is not clear that Cic. r... figure in the present passag... plied in Piderit's note. In... the speaker pretends to pass... thing and does not really ... again, can we identify it wit... σις (as Monse does), for tha... better classed among the ... *tionis*. It appears best to ... directly suggested by the pr...

uat ac neglegat; ut ante praemuniat; ut in eo ipso, in quo
ıendatur, culpam in adversarium conferat; ut saepe cum
ui audiunt, non numquam etiam cum adversario quasi
ret; ut hominum sermones moresque describat; ut muta

FPO, *ut A* et Quint. 3 *eis* KJP, *iis A* (MOHSt); *his FPO*. 4 *mores ser*-
re Quint.

mplest form. Where the subject itself naturally into two parts, one h the speaker does not intend to th, he may deliberately state that omit that part; and in so doing he ther use any irony nor will he vir-reak his word, as is the case when ire used is παράλειψις. This in-tion can be exemplified from Dem. 60 ἃ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι ηγορεῖν ἐμὲ προὔλαβε καὶ κατεσχε ς, ἐάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων ὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐγώ, διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω. ly resembles the *figura orationis* described in § 135 'cum aliquid :untes, cur id faciamus ostendi-The most obvious verbs for the :tion of this figure are *mitto*, *praetermitto* and *praetereo* (exx. of hich are given in Seyffert's *Schol.* 43).

nuniat, de Or. iii 204 'praemu-ıd id quod aggrediare'; Quint. 17 'qualis Ciceronis contra Q. ım quod ad accusandum descende-semper defenderit' (div. in Q.). A somewhat different sense is o it in Iulius Rufinianus p. 46 who, after giving προϊπεργασία ταρασκευή as the Gk. for '*praemu*-ıa ante utimur ut confirmetur id ıbiecturi sumus', adds 'Cic. pro (§ 7) ante praemunit, licere homi-:cidere, et tum subicit occisum lium iure'. προδιόρθωσις, Rhet. 99, iii 14, 51, 62, 95, 161, 174, connected with προκατάληψις inf.; θεράπευσις Fortunatianus p. 127 ınd προθεραπεύειν. (Cf. Volkmann

rat, de Or. l. c. '*traiectio* in alium', . i 83 'culpam in alios contulisse' ramus p. Font. 18). This corre-:o one of the *status causarum* in ad 5 § 25 and Quint. vii 4 § 13, but re-the κατ' ἀντέγκλημα of Iulius Vic-31 Halm: 'cum in eum ipsum cuius arguimur culpam conferre cona-Quint. vii 4 § 8). As a figure, it is the varieties of μετάστασις Alex. ., *Rhet. Gr.* iii 26 Sp ὅταν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μεθιστῶμεν τὴν αἰτίαν...ἢ τὸν ἀντί-δικον εἰς αἰτίαν καθιστῶμεν, e.g. Dem. de Cor. § 22. This is more to the purpose than the instance sometimes given from Cat. 3 '*non est ista mea culpa sed tem-porum*', which is another variety of μετά-στασις and not a case of *culpa in adver-sarium collata*.

§ 138. **deliberet**, de Or. l. c. 'commu-nicatio, quae est cum iis ipsis apud quos dicas deliberatio'. Quint. ix 2 § 20 'cum aut ipsos adversarios consulimus...aut cum iudicibus ipsis deliberamus, quod est fre-quentissimum: *quid suadetis?* et *vos inter-rogo, quid tandem fieri oportuit?*' Iul. Rufinianus 10 'ἀνακοίνωσις communicatio est, cum aut ipsos adversarios consulimus aut cum iudicibus deliberamus' (e.g. in Caecil. 37, p. Quinct. 53 f.). (Cf. Volk-mann p. 423, and Straub p. 98).

describat, de Or. l. c. '*morum ac vitae imitatio* magnum quoddam ornamentum orationis et aptum ad animos conciliandos vel maxime, saepe autem ad commoven-dos', Top. 83 '*descriptio*, qualis sit avarus, qualis sit ostentator ceteraque eiusdem generis, in quibus natura et vita describi-tur'; ad Her. iv 49 § 63 '*notatio* est, cum alicuius natura certis describitur signis, quae, sicut notae quaedam, naturae sint attributa', cf. Quint. vi 2 § 17. = ἠθοποιία *Rhet. Gr.* iii 21; Rutil. Lup. i 21 quotes as an example of this, Lysias fragm. p. 213, no. 290 'rure rediens—comparatum', and Dem. fragm. p. 256, no. 65. In ἠθοποιία, the character is displayed by the conversation; similar to this is χαρακτηρισμός, which however is almost always confined to de-scriptions of personal appearance, Rutil. Lup. ii 7 'quem ad modum pictor colori-bus figuras describit, sic orator hoc sche-mate aut vitia aut virtutes eorum de quibus loquitur deformat'; as an example he quotes an elaborate description of a drunk-ard from Lycon. Ar. Rhet. iii 16 § 9 ἄλλα ἠθικὰ τὰ ἑπόμενα ἑκάστῳ ἤθει, οἷον ὅτι ἅμα λέγων ἐβάδιζεν· δηλοῖ γὰρ θρασύτητα καὶ ἀγροικίαν ἤθους (see Cope's *Introd.* p. 112 f.). (Cf. Volkmann, p. 417.) As instances in Dem. we have Or. ii §§ 15—20, xx (fals. leg.) § 361, xxi § 204; c. Steph. § 63, 77; in Cic., II Verr. ii 108, Cat. ii

ut aliud alii tribuens dispertiat; ut interpellatorem coërceat; ut aliquid reticere se dicat; ut denuntiet quid caveant; ut liberius quid audeat; ut irascatur etiam, ut obiurget aliquando; ut de-

1 ut interpellet; *ut interpellatorem coërceat* coni. M. *ut interpellatorem A* et *al.* O^2, Quint. et Iul. Victor: *ut interpellat oratorem* FPO^1. 2 *ut denuntiet A* et Quint.; *et d. FPO*. *caveant FA* et Iul. Victor, *caveat PO* et Quint. *et liberius FPO*. 3 *audeat ut FPO* et Quint.; *audeat quidem* (om. *ut*) *A*.

dispertiat, de Or. iii 203 *distributio;* ad Her. iv 35 § 47 'd. est cum in plures res aut personas negotia quaedam certa dispertiuntur, hoc modo: *qui vestrum, iudices, nomen senatus diligit, hunc oderit necesse est...qui equestrem locum splendidissimum cupit esse in civitate, is oplet istum maximas poenas dedisse*, &c.' e.g. p. Mil. 20 'luget senatus, maeret equester ordo, tota civitas confecta senio est' &c. Cat. ii 18—23, II Verr. iii 6. *διαίρεσις*, Rufinianus 23, 'cum fit rerum distributio'. The order of the figures in de Or. suggests its identity with *digestio*, but this has already been identified with *dividat in partis* in § 137, and *digestio* and *distributio* are both enumerated as separate figures in Quint. ix 2 § 2.

coërceat, de Or. ii 262 (L. Aelius Lamia) 'cum interpellaret odiose, *audiamus*, inquit, *pulchellum puerum*, Crassus. Quint. ix 2 § 2 'interpellatio, interpellantis coërcitio'; which gives additional probability to the conjecture that *ut interpellet* has dropt out before the present clause; cf. *interpellatio* (de Or. iii 205).

reticere. Rutil. Lupus ii 11 '*παρασιώπησις*: hoc est, cum aliquid nos reticere dicimus, et tamen tacitum intellegitur. et hoc utendum est, cum aut notam rem esse auditoribus arbitramur, aut suspicionem excitare maiorem reticendo possumus... Hyperidis: *cogis me iniuriae tuae causam proferre? nihil agis; non dicam; sed ipsum tempus eam patefaciet*'. The more common name for this figure is *παράλειψις*, Hermog. ii 430 Sp, *ἐν προσποιήσει δὲ παραλείψεως μνήμη τῶν πραγμάτων (κατὰ τρεῖς τρόπους) γίνεται*, Alex. Numen. iii pp. 23, 51, 60, e.g. Dem. de Cor. § 7, Meid. § 15. In this figure we really mention something while pretending to pass it over; whereas in *ἀποσιώπησις* (as usually understood) we really pass it over. Quint., however, ix 2 § 54, interprets *reticentia* in de Or. l. c. by *ἀποσιώπησις* and quotes as an example the prooemium of the *de Corona* § 3 *ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν...οὐ βούλομαι δὲ δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου*. In this, he is followed by Piderit; but the vague *reticentia* may well include both *παράλειψις* and *ἀποσιώπησις*, and the former may alone be intended by the more precise definition in the present passage (Monse, *de figuris* p. 34 f.).

denuntiet, omitted in de Or. unless we alter *commendatio* (which occupies the corresponding position in the series) into *comminatio*, cf. Rufinianus 17 '*ἀπειλή*, *comminatio* (Halm's emendation of *διαβολή*, criminatio) et quasi denuntiatio eorum, quae futura sunt'; 'orationis...tamquam armorum *comminatio*' de Or. iii 206 (but not as a figure). *καταπλήσσειν* occurs in Dem. p. 577 (*τὸν δῆμον*) and Ar. Rhet. iii 7 § 5 (*τοὺς ἀκροατάς*); but *κατάπληξις*, as the name of the corresponding figure, is found only in Quint. ix 3 § 103, where it is quoted from the rhetorician Celsus and translated by *minae*. *διαπειλή* (Piderit) does not occur. As exx. we have pro Rab. Post. 18 'rapientur homines in haec iudicia...nisi cavetis', ib. 15 'moneo et praedico, integra re causaque denuntio... dum potestis, dum licet, providete', p. Sex. Rosc. 153 'cavete...iudices, ne nova ...proscriptio instaurata esse videatur', p. Rab. perd. reo 33 'idem ego...clamo praedico *denuntio*...nobis a nostris cupiditatibus...a domesticis consiliis est *cavendum*', p. Mur. §§ 79 ff., Phil. i 26, vii 20, 25, 27. Part of the above passage of the *pro Murena* (§ 84 'de vestra salute sententiam feretis') is compared in Forsyth's *Hortensius* p. 169 to the favourite formula of a distinguished advocate of our own time: 'Gentlemen, you are none of you safe!'

liberius quid audeat, de Or. l.c. 'vox quaedam libera atque etiam effrenatio augendi causa'. ad Her. iv 36 § 48 '*licentia* est, cum apud eos quos vereri aut metuere debemus, tamen aliquid pro iure nostro dicimus, quod eos minime offendat, quo eos aut quos ei diligunt aliquo in errato vere reprehendere videamur', Quint. ix 2 § 27. *παρρησία* (Rutil. Lup. ii 18, Rufinianus 33); *ἐπιτίμησις* (Tiber. iii 60 Sp. e.g. Dem. fals. leg. p. 411 § 224, de Cor. p. 281 § 159); Hermog. ii 297 Sp, *ὁ γὰρ τραχὺς λόγος πικρός τε καὶ ἄγαν ἐπιτιμητικός...ἔννοιαι τοίνυν εἰσὶ τραχεῖαι πᾶσαι αἱ τῶν μειζόνων προσώπων ἐπιτίμησιν ἔχουσαι ἀπό τινος τῶν ἐλαττόνων προσώ-*

... ἀπαραμύθητος ... resort
τραχύτης, but prefers to ble
smoother forms of expression.
in Cic., we have pro Ligario 6 f.
non reformidem', p. Rab. per
'quin continetis vocem, indicem
vestrae, testem paucitatis', p. S
31 'certum est deliberatumque,
causam pertinere arbitror, om
modo dicere, verum etiam libe
dacter, libereque dicere'. (Cf. V
p. 425 and Straub p. 107 f.)

irascatur, de Or. l.c. *iracundi*
finianus 11 'ἀγανάκτησις indignati
fit maxime pronuntiatione'.

obiurget, de Or. l.c. *obiurgatio*,
μησις, 1 Cat. 13—18. De Or. ii 33
quattuor causis (acclamationes ad
populi) totidem medicinae oppon
tum *obiurgatio*, si est auctoritas; tu
monitio quasi lenior obiurgatio; tum
missio, si audierint, probaturos;
deprecatio, quod est infirmum, sed
numquam utile'.

deprecetur, de Or. ll. cc. *deprecatio*,
Her. i 14 § 24 (among the *constituti*
causae) 'deprecatio est cum et peccasse
et consulto fecisse reus confitetur et tam
postulat ut sui misereatur', ib. ii 17 § 2
Cic. Inv. ii 104, II Verr. v 2, p. Flac
26, p. Murena 58, pro Cluent. 8, 8
συγγνώμη (Herm. π. τῶν στάσεων ii 14
Sp), παραίτησις (Dion. Hal. de Thuc. 4
ἐχρῆν...τῷ κινδυνεύοντι τοὺς ταπεινοὺς κα
παραιτητικοὺς τῆς ὀργῆς ἀποδοῦναι λόγους).
Neither of the above Gk. terms is found
among the *figures* of the Gk. rhetorician

supplicet. De Or. ...

20 familiaris; atque alias etiam dicendi quasi virtutes sequetur: brevitatem, si res petet; saepe etiam rem dicendo subiciet oculis; saepe supra feret quam fieri possit; significatio saepe erit maior quam oratio; saepe hilaritas, saepe vitae naturarumque XLI

1 *in alias FPO.* *sequatur FPO.* 3 *fieri FPO* et Quint.; *superi A.* 4 *erit FPO* et Quint.; *re A.*

where it is combined with the next figure.

exsecretur, de Or. l.c. *exsecratio*. Rufinianus 15 'ἀρά, execratio. execratio oratoria apud Cic.: *o scelus! o portentum in ultimas terras exportandum!*' (II Verr. i 40).

fiat—familiaris, de Or. l.c. *commendatio* and *conciliatio*, Quint. ix 2 § 3.

§ 139. **quasi** apologises for the metaphorical phrase **virtutes sequetur**. Brut. 65 'omnes oratoriae virtutes in eis (Cato's speeches) reperientur': Quint. ix 1 § 36 commends the addition of this third group and after quoting the whole of §§ 134 (et reliqua—magnitudo)—139, adds this criticism (ix 2 § 2): 'omnia tamen illa, etiam quae sunt alterius modi (i.e. the second group, the *figurae sententiarum*) lumina, adeo sunt *virtutes* orationis, ut sine iis nulla intelligi fere possit oratio'. This metaphorical use of *virtus* is common in Quint. e.g. i 5 § 1 'omnis oratio tres habeat virtutes', viii pr. § 17, x 1 §§ 50, 109, xii 1 §§ 20, 24; 3 § 9; 10 §§ 26, 35.

sequetur, 'aim at', a slightly different sense to *exempla sequimur*, 'look for', (133).

brevitatem, de Or. iii 202 'distincte concisa brevitas'; ad Her. iv 54 § 68 'res ipsis tantum modo verbis necessariis expedita'...'habet paucis comprehensa brevitas multarum rerum expeditionem; qua re adhibenda saepe est, cum aut res non egent longae orationis, aut tempus non sinit commorari'. βραχυλογεῖν Rhet. ad Alex. 22 (cf. Quint. viii 3 § 82), βραχύτης καὶ συντομία Aristid. II 500 Sp. A special variety of this is called ἐπιτροχασμός *Rh. Gr.* II pp. 22, 50, 177 Sp., the *percursio* of de Or. iii 202.

subiciet oculis. De Or. iii 202 'rerum quasi gerantur sub aspectum paene subiectio', Part. Orat. 20; Ar. Rhet. iii 11 § 2 λέγω δὴ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ταῦτα ποιεῖν ὅσα ἐνεργοῦντα σημαίνει (with Cope's notes on pp. 111, 125); ad Her. iv 55 § 68 '*demonstratio* est, cum ita verbis res exprimitur, ut geri negotium aut res ante oculos esse videatur': Quint. ix 2 § 40 'ab aliis ὑποτύπωσις dicitur proposita quaedam forma rerum ita expressa verbis, ut cerni potius videantur quam audiri: *ipse inflammatus scelere et furore in forum venit, ardebant oculi, toto ex ore crudelitas eminebat* (II Verr. v 161). Nicol. Soph., *Rhet. Gr.* iii 476 Sp, ἔστι δὲ ὑποτύπωσις κεφάλαιον εἰς ὄψιν ἄγον τὸ γεγενημένον καὶ δι' ἐκφράσεως θεατὰς τῶν ἀτόπων ἐργαζόμενον ἡμᾶς, Apsines, ib. i 387 Sp. (Cf. Volkmann, p. 417.) It is also termed διατύπωσις ib. i 457, Tiber. iii pp. 79, 163. Cf. ἐνάργεια, *Rh. Gr.* i 439, Demetr. ib. iii 307 Sp; *Rhet. min. Lat.* p. 62 Halm, 'ἐνάργεια est figura, qua formam rerum et imaginem ita oratione substituimus, ut lectoris oculis praesentiaeque subiciamus'=*evidentia* Top. 97; Dion. Hal. de Lysia 7 (ἐνάργεια) δύναμίς τις ὑπὸ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἄγουσα τὰ λεγόμενα. *subiciet oculis* is equivalent to *repraesentabit*. Quint. iv 2 § 63, vi 2 § 32, viii 3 § 61. (Cf. Volkmann, p. 377.)

supra feret. De Or. iii 203 '*augendi* minuendive causa veritatis superlatio atque traiectio', Top. 45; ad Her. iv 33 § 44 'superlatio est oratio superans veritatem augendi minuendive causa'; esp. Quint. viii 6 §§ 68 ff. (hyperbole) est 'decens veri superiectio' e.g. Phil. ii 67, II Verr. v 145. ὑπερβολή, Ar. Rhet. iii 11 § 15, Rhet. ad Alex. 35, Apsin., *Rh. Gr.* i 405, ib. iii 198, 211, 237 Sp: Rufinianus 'ὑπ. aliis tropus videtur: ceterum fit, cum excedit veritatem sententia'. (Cf. Volkmann, p. 374 ff.)

significatio maior. De Or. iii 202 'plus ad intellegendum, quam dixeris, significatio'; ad Her. iv 53 § 67 'significatio est res, quae plus in suspicione relinquit quam positum est in oratione', Quint. viii 3 § 83 'vicina praedictae (*sc.* 'brevitati') sed amplior virtus est ἔμφασις, altiorem praebens intellectum quam quem verba per se ipsa declarant. eius duae sunt species: altera, quae plus significat quam dicit; altera, quae etiam id, quod non dicit', id. ix 2 § 3. ἔμφασις, Tiber., *Rh. Gr.* iii 65; Tryphon ib. 199, λέξις δι' ὑπονοίας αὔξουσα τὸ δηλούμενον.

hilaritas, (138 'in hilaritatem convertat') has already occurred among the *figurae sent.* There it refers to the exciting of merriment in the audience;

referta sunt omnia
censerent eius viri

3 *cont.* K. 5 **non**
sequuntur ceteri.

here, to cheerfulness of
brightness of style on th
orator; 128.

vitae—imitatio. De Or
ac vitae imitatio vel in perso
πάθη) vel sine illis' (**ἠθοποιία**,
We have already had someth
not entirely, identical, in 138
are to suppose that Cic. is
peating himself, we can onl
that he here intends to indi
forms of mimicry in voice or
silvam, 12.

§§ 140—148. *Before procee*
of the arrangement of words a
struction of sentences, Cicero ju
self for devoting his present leis
apparently unimportant topics.

§ 140. **collocata**, 'arranged
order'. **structa**, 'constructed af
conceived design' (20): the figu
of *struere* is softened down by th
getic *quasi*. **nexa**, 'skilfully jo
gether'; Quint. ix 4 § 22 'in omni
sitione tria sunt genera necessaria
iunctura, numerus'.

nprobante populo Romano, quanta de nullo, de artificio
teris tam multa mandare. quibus si nihil aliud re-
nisi me M. Bruto negare roganti noluisse, iusta esset
cum et amicissimo et praestantissimo viro et recta et
:tenti satis facere voluissem. sed si profitear,—quod s
ssem!—me studiosis dicendi praecepta et quasi vias,
loquentiam ferant, traditurum, quis tandem id iustus
stimator reprehendet? nam quis umquam dubitavit
publica nostra primas eloquentia tenuerit semper ur-

| *artificio FOP*[1]. 5 *profitear FPO* (MOKJP); *profiteatur A*: *profiterer*
. 6 aut *dicendi* secludere aut *discendi* scribere mavult St. *prae-*
4. 7 *ferant* K, *ferent* J (P): *ferrent* cum codd. MOHSt. *quid A*.
m Sauppe (KJ). *reprehendet* cod. Vit. (MOKJP): *reprehendat* maluit
enderet AFO (et *P* e silentio) (HSt). *dubitabit quod A*.

med the truth of his oath', o extolled the consulship of speech to the people, that m the greatest honours that n conferred, and called him his country' (Plut. Cic. 23; 121 'me...quem Q. Catulus, alii saepe *in senatu* patrem narant', ad Att. ix 10 § 3). ore his recall from exile in enate, on the motion of Pom- a resolution *rempublicam siliis esse conservatam* (post 6); cf. pro Sestio 126 (of the paid him in the theatre) 'ea anus non solum plausu, sed suo *comprobavit*'.

, referring mainly to the *De* :h was written nine years be-

ganti, 1, cf. 35. **recta**—

rofitear...quis reprehendet. d, Roby § 1574 (2).—Either *ent* is preferable to *ferrent*, well be defended as attracted of the purely parenthetical *utinam possem*.

above note was written, the l editions have revived Er- ling conjecture of *profiterer* The MSS recognise *profitear* he best of them are also in *rehenderet*, as against *repre- tear* and *reprehenderet* cannot a be right; and whether we *r...reprehendet*, or *profiterer ret*, we must depart, in either e authority of the MSS. *pro-* defensible on the ground that Cic., as remarked by Dr Reid, 'can well imagine himself making the profession'. The imperfects *ferrent* and *reprehenderent* are possibly corruptions caused by the tense of the preceding verb *possem*, which has nothing to do with the main construction of the sentence. *possem* does not refer back to *profiteri* but points forwards to *tradere*.

rerum existimator, p. Marc. 15 'ex quo nemo iam erit tam iniustus existimator rerum qui dubitet, &c.' *rerum*, which is superfluous in English, is often similarly used with substantives in Latin, esp. with abstract words such as *inopia*, *inscitia*, *ignoratio*, *repugnantia*, *inconsequentia*, *contemplatio* and *cognitio* (Nägelsbach, *Stil.* § 19. 1). The insertion of *harum* before *rerum* seems unnecessary.

existimator, which is opposed to *magister* in § 112, is a neutral word for 'critic', while *reprehensor* (Acad. ii 7) is an 'unfavourable critic' (Reid).

primas (18), de Off. ii 65 'iuris civilis summo semper in honore fuit cognitio atque interpretatio; ib. 66 'atque huic arti finitima est dicendi facultas et gratior et ornatior. quid enim eloquentia praestabilius vel admiratione audientium vel spe indigentium vel eorum qui defensi sunt gratia?...huic ergo a maioribus nostris est in toga dignitatis principatus datus'. (In the passage just quoted, we should perhaps alter *spe indigentium* into *ope indigentium*, cf. de Fin. ii 118 'cum opem indigentibus salutemque ferres'.) Brut. 151 (of Servius Sulpicius) 'videtur mihi in secunda arte (jurisprudence) primus esse maluisse quam in prima (oratory) secundus' (p. Mur. 29).

banis pacatis rebus, secundas iuris scientia? c
gratiae, gloriae, praesidi plurimum esset, in altera pr
cautionumque praeceptio, quae quidem ipsa aux
quentia saepe peteret, ea vero repugnante vix suas
5 que defenderet. cur igitur ius civile docere semper
hominumque clarissimorum discipulis floruerunt d
cendum si quis acuat aut adiuvet in eo iuventutem

1 *pacatisque FPO* et *A* et *m* (MOKJIt): *pacatis* P et Stangl:
rebus cod. *l*. 2 *praesidi*... ceteri. *praescriptionum*
a Poggio scriptus (OKJP): *p*... *ionum FPO* et *A* (Ern. et MHSt).
ceteri. 6 *domus floruerunt* ... 7 *aut—eo* secl. Hoerner.

urbanis is put first for emphasis, —'provided *Rome* be tranquil'. Rome, it is true, is the only city where eloquence and jurisprudence attain to a full development, and are permitted to exercise all their lawful influence,—there is the forum, the senate, the seat of empire and of law; but even there, all this continues only in the time of peace,—*pacatis rebus*; 'silent enim leges inter arma' (Mil. 10) and *eloquentia obmutescit*, Brut. 22, 6, 330 ff. (Piderit). For the sense cf. de Or. i 30 'haec una res (eloquentia) in omni libero populo maximeque in *pacatis* tranquillisque civitatibus semper floruit; ii 35 (usus dicendi) 'in omni pacata et libera civitate dominatur'; Brut. 45 'pacis est comes otiique socia eloquentia'. Similarly, of jurisprudence, p. Mur. 30.

praescriptionum, 'preliminary provisoes', special legal clauses limiting the subject-matter of a suit. The praetor's edict recited the general *formulae* appropriate to the several kinds of suits; the suitor selected the one appropriate to his own case and prefixed to it any limiting clauses that were required. Gaius iv 132 'praescriptiones autem appellatas esse ab eo, quod ante formulas praescribuntur, plus quam manifestum est'. As an example of these *praescriptiones* we have the *vetus atque usitata exceptio* EA RES AGATVR CVIVS REI DIES FVIT which is mentioned in Gaius iv 131 and alluded to in de Or. i 168. This particular *praescriptio* was in the interest of the plaintiff demanding payment of a sum due to him. It enabled him to limit his suit absolutely to a claim for the sum which was actually due. Otherwise, he would be prevented from suing at a subsequent time for any similar payment, as the defendant would meet him with an *exceptio rei in iudicium deductae*, contending that when a decree had once been made the case could not be re-opened (Gaius iv ...

cautionum, clauses ... damage; p. Q. Rosc. 35 ... Brut. 18 'non solvam nis... amplius eo nomine nemi... sit, petiturum'; p. Mur. ... tui consultores, ille ne u... piantur', ib. 19, de Inv. ... 'quaedam, quae perspi... exceptionibus caveri', II ... dibus et praediis popul... Off. ii 65, ad Fam. vi 7 ... 'instruction in', cf. 'le... ceptio' (de Nat. Deor. ii...

quae quidem—defend... 29 'vestra responsa atqu... tuntur saepe dicendo et ... oratoris firma esse non p...

§ 142. **ius civile—do...** of jurisprudence was obt... intercourse with distingu... Or. i 200 'domus iuri... oraculum civitatis; te... Q. Mucii ianua et vest... Am. i 'eram deductus a...

For a similar practice ... oratory (**ad dicendum,** ... xii 11 § 5 'frequentab... optimi iuvenes more ve... dicendi viam velut ex o... ib. 6 'quid porro est ... docere quod optime sc... Caelium deductum a pa... tetur; sic Pansam, Hirti... in morem praeceptoris ... dicens audiensque'. It ... in which the *Orator* wa... Cicero writes to Paetus, ... § 7 'Hirtium et Dol... discipulos habeo', and t... vii 33 § 2 'et Cassius t... noster...studiis isdem te... aequissimis utuntur aurib... rhetoribus 1, Seneca con... See Introd. p. liii.

nam si vitiosum est dicere ornate, pellatur omnino e civitate eloquentia; sin ea non modo eos ornat, penes quos est, sed etiam universam rem publicam, cur aut discere turpe est, quod scire honestum est; aut, quod nosse pulcherrimum est, id non gloriosum est docere? 'at alterum factitatum est, alterum novum.' XLI fateor: sed utriusque rei causa est: alteros enim respondentis 6 audire sat erat, ut ei qui docerent, nullum sibi ad eam rem tempus ipsi seponerent, sed eodem tempore et discentibus satis facerent et consulentibus; alteri, cum domesticum tempus in cognoscendis componendisque causis, forense in agendis, relicum 10 in se ipsis reficiendis omne consumerent, quem habebant instituendi aut docendi locum? atque haud scio an plerique nostrorum oratorum ingenio plus valuerint quam doctrina: itaque illi dicere melius quam praecipere, nos contra fortasse possumus. 'at dignitatem docere non habet.' certe, si quasi in ludo; sed si 15

3 *universam: iuvat* (non in margine sed in ipso textu) *eversam A*, *iuvat universam* H. 4 *nosse: posse A.* *gloriosum* (om. *est*) *A.* 6 *respondentis* K: *-es* ceteri. 7 *audires at A.* *et ut A.* *ei* KJP, *ii* Laur. 50, 31 (MOHSt), *hi FOP*, om. *A.* *doceret A.* 8 *ipsi* om. *FPO.* *discentibus id est studiosis ut satis faceret A.* 10 *forensibus et agendis A.* *relicum A*: *reliquum* edd. 11 *sese A.* *omnē A.* 12 *nostrum FPO.* 13 *contra atque nos ingenio A.* 14 *possumus melius docere* J. *at AP²*, *ad FOP¹*. 15 *docere A*, *melius docere FOP¹* (*melius* expunxit *P²*). *si quasi AP²*, *sequasi F*, *se quasi OP¹*.

On the combination of the two coordinate propositions (**pulchrum fuit** and **vituperetur**) where in English we should make the first subordinate to the second, see Madv. § 438. A sharp contrast is here produced by mere juxta-position without any expressed grammatical connective (Roby § 1027 *b*). Cf. § 109.

dicere ornate. Cicero is writing with a conscious reference to his own style of oratory, which, in the opinion of some of his contemporaries, was ornamental to an excessive degree. *Introd.* p. lx.

discere turpe—Seneca, Controv. ii pro. § 5 'minime probabili more turpe erat docere quod honestum erat discere'. For the chiasmus, cf. Nägelsbach *Stil.* § 167. 1.

This is a good example of the argument from relatives, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα, Ar. Rhet. ii 23 § 3 (Cope).

§ 143. **at** introduces the opponent's objection (Roby § 1623). **fateor: sed,** 31.

respondentis. One of the principal duties of the *iurisconsultus* was *consulentibus respondere;* de Or. i 212 'ad respondendum et ad agendum et ad cavendum peritus'; two of these three duties are also mentioned in p. Mur. 19, with the addition of another: 'hanc urbanam militiam respondendi, scribendi, cavendi', ib. 22. Brut. 306 'ego autem iuris civilis studio multum operae dabam Q. Scaevolae Q. F., qui quamquam nemini se ad docendum dabat, tamen *consulentibus respondendo* studiosos audiendi docebat'.

ipsi, 'on their own part', as contrasted with their pupils.

domesticum, contrasted with **forense**, ad Fam. v 8 fin. 'in omnibus, publicis privatis, forensibus domesticis...negotiis'; so *domi* contrasted with *in foro* Quint. v 7 § 11, xi 1 § 47, xii 8 § 13. **cognoscendis**—, 'studying', de Or. ii 29 'quascunque causas erit tractaturus...diligenter penitusque cognoscat'; Brut. 87 (diem) 'totum in consideranda componendaque causa posuisse'.

haud scio an expresses in Cic. a modest affirmative; in post-Augustan writers, mere ignorance or doubt (Madv. § 453, Roby § 2256).

doctrina, not learning in general, but the special study of the theory of rhetoric.

§ 144. **si** sc. *doceas*. **in ludo.** For a similar expression of contempt for the

... in p², nen...
interpunctionis huius ...
facere : cur nolis? 11. ...
endo excidisse arbitrat...
catur, collato Acad. ii ...
archetypo erat *cum*) *A* ...
cum codd. Vit. Eins. ...
tribuit Reid qui *cur* et ...
Laur. 50, 31 (edd.): *dice*...
(OKJPSt): *si possis* p² et ...
meliores A (OKJPHSt): *me*...

narrow scholastic type of ...
rhetoric, cf. de Or. ii 100 ...
non praecipitur; faciles eni...
pueros deferuntur', ib. 117, ...
percontando. So Quintili...
scribing his model teacher ...
'interrogantibus libenter ...
interrogantes percontetur ultro' ...
de Fin. ii 2 (of Socrates). On ...
vation of *percontari* ('to pro...
question strictly'), from *contus*, ...
sen, *Aussprache*, I² p. 36 note.
aliquid is constructed with do...
meliores sc. *aliquos*. **cur nolis.** ...
rhetorical repetition of *cur*, cf. de ...
131 'quid est igitur *cur*, cum dom...
omnium una eaque communis, cu...
animi hominum semper fuerint futur...
sint, *cur* ei...perspicere non possi...
The construction in the text is, howev...
so awkward that there is room for s...
pecting a more or less extensive inte...
lation.
Dr Reid poi...
of ...

'at ius profitentur etiam qui nesciunt; eloquentiam autem illi
qui consecuti sunt, tamen ea se valere dissimulant'. propterea
l prudentia hominibus grata est, lingua suspecta: num igitur
latere eloquentia potest aut id, quod dissimulat, effugit aut
periculum ne quis putet in magna arte et gloriosa turpe esse 5
re alios id, quod ipsi fuerit honestissimum discere? ac fortasse
i tectiores; ego semper me didicisse prae me tuli: qui enim
em, cum et afuissem domo adulescens et horum studiorum

at cum codd. MOPHSt; *ac* Jahn (K); *et* Bake. '*at—dissimulant*'. *propterea* H.
eloquentiam A (Lamb. H): *eloquentia FPO* (MOKJPSt). *illi ipsi* codd. et
'fortasse *illam ipsam*' H. 2 *ea A* (Lamb. H): om. *FPO* (MOKJPSt).
ui dissimulat Bake. *dissimulatur* coni. Ernesti (St). 7 *tectiores P.*
rn. (MOKPSt): *quid* JH cum codd. *Quid enim? cum et afuissem adulescens...*
imularem me didicisse coni. Nixon. 8 *possem* om. J. *cum et FPO* (MOKJPSt):
f (H). *afuissem FO*[2] (MOKP[2]H), *abfuissem P* (St), *affuissem O*[1], *adfuissem A.*
em (Mommsen) *Moloni* (Teuffel) J; *assiduissime fuissem cum Molone* P[1].
A (MKP[2]HSt): om. *FPO* Vit. Eins. (OJ).

15. **at**, a further consideration cal-
d to deter one from coming for-
as a teacher of eloquence. About
ng jurisprudence, *no* hesitation was
here were even those who enrolled
elves in the profession without
ing or caring anything about *ius*,
led only they were recognised as
ging to the body of jurists. With
rofession of oratory it was very
ent; no one cared to be known as a
it of oratory, and in order to escape
istrust of the multitude, men even
t to suppress every appearance of
na (Piderit).
fitentur = ἐπαγγέλλονται, Ovid A.
531; in Pisonem 71. **dissimulant**,
. ii 4 'Antonius autem probabiliorem
populo orationem fore censebat suam,
nino didicisse numquam putaretur';
53. Quint. ii 17 § 6 'dissimulator
uit' (Antonius), ib. xii 9 § 5. **pru-
a**, practical knowledge, especially
rudentia. Brut. 102 (Mucius augur)
orum in numero non fuit, iuris civilis
gentia atque omni prudentiae ge-
praestitit', ib. 112, de Or. i 256
lentiam iuris publici', ib. 165 fin.
a, Quint. i pro. § 13 'lingua esse
t in quaestu institutumque eloquen-
onis male uti'.
m igitur. Here used to controvert
posing opinion; examples are given
eyffert's *Scholae Latinae* i § 64.
i. This, as is implied here and else-
e, is impossible; 'omnis dicendi
in medio posita communi quodam
a atque in hominum ore et sermone
tur' (de Or. i 12). **id quod dissimulat**

viz. *doctrina*. 'Does that which oratory
endeavours to conceal, really escape
notice?' Dr Reid, however, thinks the
ellipse of *homines* harsh, and suggests
that *id quod dissimulat* is loosely regarded
as a *charge* = 'the allegation of learning';
so that *effugit* would, in this case, have
eloquentia for its subject.

§ 146. **tectiores**, 'more cautious', de
Or. ii 296 'unum te in dicendo mihi videri
tectissimum propriumque hoc esse laudis
tuae nihil a te umquam esse dictum, quod
obesset ei, pro quo diceres', Phil. xiii 6
'sapientia cautioribus utitur consiliis, in
posterum providet, est omni ratione *tec-
tior*'.

didicisse. 'I have always openly
avowed that I have been a student', p.
Archia 12 'ego vero fateor me his studiis
esse deditum &c.' For the absolute use
of *discere*, cf. Brut. 249 (Marcellus) 'et
didicit et omissis ceteris studiis unum id
egit seseque cotidianis commentationibus
acerrime exercuit'.

afuissem domo adulescens. Instead
of staying at home at the outset of his
public career, Cicero ran the risk of being
lost for a while to the public view at a
critical time of his life, by going abroad
to resume and to complete his oratorical
education. He had thus in a marked
manner declared himself a student. Cf.
Acad. ii 3 'peregrinata afuit ab oculis
et fori et curiae'.—It appears unnecessary
to accept any of the emendations that
introduce in this clause the name of his
instructor Molo. *Affuissem Moloni*, as
Dr Reid remarks, could hardly mean
operam dedissem Moloni.

docentur.
nam omnium ma
lectat, radices sti

1 *maria A* (MKPHSt)
dissimularem FPO (J).
fine, omissis *erat cur, A.*
Jahn (P): *probarem* cum co
Stangl. 8 *dimetiendis A*
FPO. 10 *id: illud* con
sunt [*est id—dicitur*], corrig
11 *arbor A.*

maria. The pl. is used for
emphasis. Plaut. Trin. 1087
maxima vectus'. De Fin. ii 11
torical reference to Xerxes) 'cum
ambulavisset'.

domus, e.g. the Stoic Diodot
lived for many years in Cicero's
and died there in B.C. 59 (ad Att. ii
Acad. ii 115 'quem a puero audiv
mecum vixit tot annos, qui habitat
me, quem et admiror et diligo', ad
xiii 16 § 4.

For the general sense Dr Reid c
pares Epictetus frag. 47 (Dübner)
βοῶν ἀγέλης πειρῶ φίλων ἀγέλας ἐπαγε
ζεσθαί σου τῇ οἰκίᾳ.

improbarem, sc. *me didicisse.*
§ 147. **de verbis componendis**, sc. i
§§ 149—152; **syllabis**, e.g. in his trea
ment of *numerus* in §§ 191 ff
dimetiendis, 38, 18
'dimetiendis
syll

me autem sive pervolgatissimus ille versus, qui vetat

artem pudere proloqui, quam factites,

lare non sinit, quin delecter, sive tuum studium hoc a me
ı expressit, tamen eis, quos aliquid reprehensuros suspi-
espondendum fuit. quodsi ea, quae dixi, non ita essent, 5
nen se tam durum agrestemque praeberet, qui hanc mihi
et veniam, ut cum meae forenses artes et actiones publicae
sent, non me aut desidiae, quod facere non possum, aut
ae, cui resisto, potius quam litteris dederem? quae quidem
a in iudicia atque in curiam deducebant, nunc oblectant 10
ıec vero talibus modo rebus, qualis hic liber continet, sed
tiam gravioribus et maioribus; quae si erunt perfectae,

lgatissimus A (H coll. Tusc. Disp. iv 36 'ita pervolgatum illud, ut iam ocum obtineret', et de Div. ii 12 'Graecus volgaris in hanc sententiam : *pervagatissimus FPO* (MOKJP). *vetat A, vel ad F, vel ad O, vel P.* *ui A.* 3 *quin* cum codd. MOJP[1]H: *qui* Madvig adv. crit. ii 190 (P[2]st): ılt H coll. ad Quint. fr. iii 2 § 2 'cognosce nunc hominis audaciam et re publica perdita delectare'; *quin* e *quan* (pro *quantum*) corruptum esse Reid. *quid delectet* proposuit Ernesti; *quin delecter* secl. K. *'reprehensuros' aliquid'* transpositionis notis appositis *A*. 6 *tamen se tam* *O: tamen' tam durum' se' A*, transpositionis notas collator primus imprudens ipsum Orellium insciens decepit. *tamen tam se durum* st. 8 *me* om. *me* in margine *O*[3]. 9 *desiderē A*.

hesitation among the fragments tragedy, now classes it with the *fabulae palliatae* (l. 30). the line as follows: *artem ne loqui quam factites*. He adds *imicus est*, an opinion which at probability from its resem- he *sententiae* of Publilius Syrus. *profiteri, non dissimulare.* **fac-** used of the regular duties of a ofession: Quint. vii 2 § 26 n factitasse'. So *facere* is used , like our 'practise', of medi- drus i 14, 2).
lecter. This involves an ap- ıprecedented construction after which we should expect to be y *me delectari*; but Cic. has *quis ignorat* (p. Flacc. 64, cf. 7 § 8), *non obscurum est* and *test*, while Livy has *negare non* Madvig's correction *qui de- to delecter*, where *qui* is the old also occurs in *quicum*) is hard e. *qui* appears in Cic. to be *quicum*, and to the adverbial equivalent for *quomodo*, which hardly suit here.
re...tamen, de Or. ii 10, de Roby § 1567); similarly **at...** he next sentence.

With the whole of this passage cf. Reid's Introd. to Acad. p. 22, 23, and the quotations there given.

§ 148. **quis**, &c. The same thought occurs in a letter written to Varro in the same year; ad Fam. ix 6 § 5 'quis enim hoc non dederit nobis, ut, cum opera nostra patria sive non possit uti sive nolit, ad eam vitam revertamur, quam multi docti homines, fortasse non recte, sed tamen multi etiam rei publicae prae- ponendum putaverunt?' **durum agres- temque**, p. Archia 17 'quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit?' **concidissent** 'had collapsed', imp. Pomp. 19 'ruere illa non possunt, ut haec non eodem labefacta motu concidant'.

oblectant domi, p. Archia 16 (of the pleasures of literature) 'delectant domi'.

talibus, e.g. the *Brutus* written shortly before, and possibly the *partitiones ora- toriae*.

maioribus. In the same year we find Cicero writing to Curio, from Rome: 'abdo me in bibliothecam, itaque opera efficio tanta, quanta fortasse tu senties; intellexi enim ex tuo sermone quodam, cum meam *maestitiam* (cf. 'maestitiae cui resisto') et desperationem accusares domi tuae, discere te ex meis libris animum meum desiderare' (ad Fam. vii 28 § 2).

corrus etiam (om. *A*) *inclusas et* ... *nostris* [*et externis etiam*] *inclus*... 3 *conl.* K. *ut aut FPO* (...

Similarly, to Varro (ib. ix 1 § ... me, postea quam in urbem ... redisse cum veteribus amicis, id ... libris nostris, in gratiam'. Cice... after Caesar's victory at Pharsalia ... described by Plutarch: 'After this ... constitution was changed to a mon... Cicero detaching himself from ... affairs applied himself to philosoph... such young men as were disposed ... occupation was to compose philoso... dialogues and to translate and to tr... into the Roman language every diale... or physical term' (c. 40)...He al... tended 'to comprehend in one work ... history of his country and to com... with it much of Greek affairs' (c. ... Among the works assigned to the ... after the publication of the *Orator*, ... the *Hortensius* ('de universa philoso... quanto opere et expetenda esset et ... lenda' Tusc. Disp. iii 6), the *Academ*... and the *de Finibus*; while early in ... year 44 B.C. he completed the *Tuscu*... *Disputations*, and in the course of ... same year the *de Natura Deorum*, the ... *Divinatione* and the *de Officiis*, besides t... *de Senectute* and *de Amicitia*, and the ... *Fato* and *de Gloria*.—Cf. de Div. ii 1—...

§§ 149—162. *On the proper collocati... of words, in accordance with the laws ... euphony.*

§ 149. **collocabuntur igitur.** Wit... these words Cic. resumes ...

illud primum videamus quale sit, quod vel maxime diligentiam; est enim quasi structura quaedam, nec id operose; nam esset cum infinitus tum puerilis labor; l Lucilium scite exagitat in Albucio Scaevola:

' *FPO*, *qualis A*. 2 *est enim FPO* (MOKJP): *ut fiat A* (Lamb. Ern. st); *nec tamen fiat* Hoerner cum cod. Erl.; *est enim ut fiat* H. 'ante *est* : videtur *id*' H. *id* om. *A*. 3 *fiat A* (st); scribendum fortasse in *A* supra irrepsit et *est enim* exstrusit. illud vero *ut fiat* e notula *vel* rgine adscripta ortum fuisse censet Reid. *esse A*.

in orbe inclusa currat oratio', onys. Hal. de Isocr. 3 τῷ οιόδου, de comp. 19 ad fin. id his followers) ἐστι περ' ριόδου κύκλος, ib. 22 ἵνα ὁ ρωθῇ, de Isocr. 2 περιόδῳ ᾽εριλαμβάνειν τὰ νοήματα πει-δεῖ. **concinnitas**, 81, 83, 5 'ornata sententiarum con-n *concinnus* cf. 20 ad fin.

requirement relates to the ition of words in accordance ws of oratorical rhythm.)—**cadat**, 'that the period teness may have a neat and idence'. *comprehensio*, one renderings of περίοδος men-04; cf. 198, 199, 208, 212, 5; Brut. 34, 96, 140, 162, ix 4 §§ 115, 121. **apte** Quint. ix 4 § 32. For *apte* or *cadere* cf. 194, 222, 223,).

um sc. the *iunctura ver-* **ctura**, a metaphor borrowed ing together of separate bits building; here applied to the ination of one word with ice *quasi*). Brut. 33 'ante erborum *quasi structura* et numerum conclusio nulla . iii 171 'collocationis est t *struere* verba sic ut neve concursus neve hiulcus sit, nodo coagmentatus et levis', tione levi et *structa* et ter-nt. ix 4 § 27 'non ad pedes sa sunt, ideoque ex loco in locum, ut iungantur, quo axime. sicut in *structura* ium etiam ipsa enormitas applicari et in quo possit icissimus tamen sermo est, ordo et *apta iunctura* et cum opportune cadens contigit'. h overmuch nicety', with an degenerates into περιεργία. ral sense, cf. Quint. ix 4 *tus*) 'nescio negligentia in tudo sit peior'.

apud Lucilium—Scaevola. De Or. i 72 (addressing Scaevola) 'C. Lucilius... homo tibi subiratus...sed tamen et doctus et perurbanus'. On Lucilius see Sellar's *Roman Poets of the Republic*, pp. 163—178. **scite exagitat**, 'cleverly quizzes', de Or. ii 238 'eaque (vitia) *belle agitata* ridentur, ib. 229, 251, Brut. 109 '*facete agitavit*...C. Gracchum'. *exagitare* occurs in § 26, de Or. iii 16 'hanc dicendi exercitationem exagitarent atque contemnerent'; and *exagitator* in 42. In de Or. iii 171 the same quotation is introduced with the words: 'in quo lepide soceri mei (*sc.* Scaevola) persona lusit is, qui elegantissime id facere potuit, Lucilius'.

(T.) **Albucius**, Brut. 131 'doctus etiam Graecis T. Albucius, vel potius plane Graecus'; de Fin. i 8 f. 'nisi qui se plane Graecum dici velit, ut a Scaevola est praetore salutatus Athenis Albucius; quem quidem locum cum multa venustate et omni sale idem Lucilius, apud quem praeclare Scaevola: *Graecum te, Albuci, quam Romanum atque Sabinum* | ...*maluisti dici; Graece ergo praetor Athenis*, | *id quod maluisti, te, cum ad me accedis*' *saluto:* | χαῖρε, *inquam, Tite; lictores, turma omnis' cohorsque:* | χαῖρε, *Tite! hinc hostis mi Albucius, hinc inimicus*'.

Albucius was so irritated by Scaevola's ridicule of his Greek affectations that, on Scaevola's return from Asia, he accused him *de pecuniis repetundis*, but without success (Brut. 102, de Or. ii 281).

(Q. Mucius Q. F.) **Scaevola**, Augur; the friend and son-in-law of Laelius and the father-in-law of the orator Crassus. Born about 157 B.C., in 121 he went as praetor to Asia, was elected consul in 117 and died after 88. He is one of the interlocutors in the *de Oratore*, the *de Re Publica* and the *de Amicitia*. He was one of the Hellenizing 'Scipionic circle'; but the fact that he is chosen by Lucilius as the mouthpiece for his satire against Albucius, is enough to show that he did not carry this tendency to an extreme (Wilkins' *Introd.* to de Or. i p. 21).

1 *lexis FPO* et *A.*
cōposite O, composui et Noı
3 *tam minuta haec FPC*
cum cod. Erl.
MOII, fortasse recte defend
non de facilitate ipsius com
hanc viam FPO (MKJP), *fo*
gen. or. 15 'quasi formulaı
intellegendo FO, intelligendo
A. 6 *primis FPO, prim*

quam lepide—vermiculato
'Oh! the neatly fitted phras
cunningly combined,
Like the little cubes in paven
mosaic intertwined'.
The same two lines are quoted
iii 171, and referred to in Brut
M. Calidius) 'nullum nisi loco
et tamquam in vermiculato em
ut ait Lucilius, structum verbum
cf. Quint. ix 4 § 113. The Gree
λέξεις, and possibly also the L
form of ἔμβλημα, are used to giv
point to the satire against the Gr
Roman. **tesserulae**, the small cu
tesserae composing a *pavimentum*
latum (Suet. Caes. 46); Pliny, N
xxxv § 187, Mart. x 33; this dimin
of *tessera* is not found elsewhere in
sense in which Lucilius uses it, the
form being *tessella* (Juv. xi 132;
N. H. xxxvii § 144, xvii § 120).
arte, 'skilfully', 'cunningly'; B
118 'ut omnes fere Stoici prudentiss
in disserendo sint et id *arte* faciant si
que architecti paene verborum
iii 5 'capillum

gravesve sententiae, tamen, si inconditis verbis efferuntur, offendunt auris, quarum est iudicium superbissimum; quod quidem Latina lingua sic observat, nemo ut tam rusticus sit qui vocalis

1 *gravesque A.* *inconditis FO* (MOKJPst), *in conditis P*: *incondite positis* fortasse recte *A* (H). 2 *auris* K: *-es* ceteri. 3 *qui* edd. Ald., Ern., Schuetz, O[12]KJPst: *quin* cum codd. Victorius (var. lect. xii 17 ed. 1554), Lambinus, Turnebus (viii 3), MH. *quin nolit* fortasse e *quin velit* et *qui nolit* in unum conflatis ortum fuisse existimat Postgate. *vocalis* HK: *-es* ceteri.

oratio', ib. 36 'nonnunquam hiulca etiam decent faciuntque ampliora quaedam, ut *pulchra oratione acta*'. **asperas** 'too rough', owing to the combination of the harsher kinds of consonants: ib. 37 'consonantes quoque, earumque praecipue quae sunt asperiores, in commissura verborum rixantur, ut si S ultima cum X proxima confligat; quarum tristior etiam si binae colliduntur, stridor est, ut *ars studiorum*'; de Or. iii 172 'verba extrema cum consequentibus primis ita iungentur, ut neve *aspere* concurrant, neve vastius diducantur'; inf. 158 and 164, asperitas.

suaves graves've, 62, 168, 182.

inconditis, rude, uncouth, 173, 233, de Or. iii 173, Isocrates instituisse fertur ut *inconditam* antiquorum dicendi consuetudinem...numeris astringeret', Brut. 242 '*incondito* genere dicendi'; Livy iv 20 § 2 carmina *incondita*.

superbissimum, 'most fastidious'; Hor. Sat. ii 6, 86 'cupiens varia fastidia cena Vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo'; ad Herenn. iv 32 'aurium sensum fastidiosissimum', Opt. gen. or. 12 audiendi fastidium, and de Nat. Deor. ii 146.

vocalis...coniungere, 'to blend vowels together' by *synaloepha*, instead of allowing them to stand apart, *diductae*, with a *hiatus* between them. *coniungere* is the opposite of *distrahere* (152). This passage with its subsequent context is (with the exception of Lucilius) the earliest evidence now extant on the subject of Latin pronunciation. It leads us to infer that the Latin language, in its pure and unadulterated form, could not endure a *hiatus*; that even rude and illiterate peasants habitually avoided it by blending together the consecutive vowels, instead of sounding them separately. Greek, on the other hand, was less intolerant of *hiatus* than Latin. Quint. ix 4 § 36, after speaking of *hiatus* and of its strict avoidance by Isocrates and Theopompus and its toleration by Demosthenes and Cicero, adds: 'nam et coeuntes litterae, quae συναλοιφαί dicuntur, etiam leviorem faciunt orationem, quam si omnia verba *suo fine cludantur*'. On *synaloepha* see further in Corssen's *Aussprache* ii[2] 770—793 esp. 771 f. The retention of the manuscript reading *quin* would make it necessary to refer *vocalis coniungere* (less satisfactorily) to the mere juxtaposition of vowels as contrasted with their combination with one another. The sense would then be: 'no one is so unlettered as not to be unwilling to put vowels in juxtaposition with one another'. Similarly Heerdegen, p. xxxiv: 'omnes non solum urbani sed etiam rustici nolunt unam vocalem post alteram ita deinceps pronuntiare, ut integer suus cuique sonus sit, i.e. nolunt effici hiatum'.

"Ellis, *Hints on Quant. pron. of Latin* p. 126, discusses 'these extremely important remarks'. He reads *quin*, however, which gives a different sense from the one he all along assumes the words to bear (see p. 55). In p. 42 he puts in the caveat: 'if Cic. is not exaggerating'.—After saying on p. 79 note, 'there is nothing so unscientific in historical investigations of pronunciation as the confusion of periods', he seems to fall himself into the error he condemns, by arguing on p. 126 from Augustan poets (quoted from Ramsay) in support of Cicero's statement *saepe hiabant* as applied to the old poets. He does not seem to quote Quintil. ix 4 § 33, the most important passage on hiatus after this in the Orator, yet he quotes a less important passage xi 3 § 33.—It is to be noticed that neither Cic. nor Quintilian, nor most of the commentators on them, distinguish clearly between true hiatus, where the first vowel is fully pronounced and, after a slight pause, the second (if Cicero's words are correct here and in §§ 150, 152, this was impossible in the spoken Latin of his time), and difficult cases of συναλοιφή, e.g. the succession of ā + ā or ō + ō or ae + ae, to which Quintil. seems to allude in ix 4 § 33. The phrase *hiulcas voces* probably refers to the same thing. In Quint. ix 4 § 37 it might seem at first sight as though συναλοιφαί and *hiulca* were contrasted, so that *hiulca* there would denote what I have called true *hiatus*. But if the whole passage in

...ure of the
... the *concursus vocaliu*
avoided. Quintilian clearl
the succession of different
pulcrā ōratione is less diffi
succession of the same long v
(so the Greeks disliked, e
Ussing (*Introd. to Plautus*, V
seems to misunderstand the v
tam rusticus etc.', as though t
that the *rustics* DID avoid runi
together in pronunciation. S
means that the most provincia
in his talk runs the vowels toget
there been a sharp contrast i
spect between rustic and polish
Cic. must have drawn pointed att
it. Corssen II 670 defines hiatus
but is wrong on II 780 where he say
ing Or. 77) that Cic. uses the term
only of pure and true hiatus in th
which Corssen gives it. In § 77
blaming those who so slavishly
the Greeks as to avoid all concur
of vowels, whether with συναλοιφ
without. Corssen on συναλοιφή in II
is excellent. He disagrees with the in
pretation Ellis gives (p. 60) of the pass
from Quintilian relating to final *m* bel
a vowel" (Reid).

§ 151. **In quo**, a general reference
the subject of the previous context, cf.
and de Or. iii 171. **quidam**, certai
Greek rhetoricians between the times o
Theopompus and Cicero.

Theopompum. Th...
who liv...

eius Isocrates: at non Thucydides, ne ille quidem haud paulo maior scriptor Plato nec solum in eis sermonibus, qui διάλογοι dicuntur, ubi etiam de industria id faciendum fuit, sed in populari oratione, qua mos est Athenis laudari in contione eos, qui sint in proeliis interfecti; [quae sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut 5 scis, illo die recitari necesse sit.] in ea est crebra ista vocalium

1 *Isocrates fecerat A* et in marg. *al. O*² (H); de Or. iii *id...facere* (codd. mutili ant.) *possit* confert Stroebel. 2 *eis* JP, *iis A* (OHSt); *his FPO* (MK). 4 *oratione* om. *FPO*. *sint FPO* et *A* (MOKJP¹H): *sunt* codd. Erl. Eins., Laur. 50, 31 (P²); 'malis *sunt*' K, idem probant Hoerner et St. 5 *quae—necesse sit* secl. Bake (K) 'quis hoc umquam fando audivit? aut quis fieri potuisse credat? taceo quod *quotannis* in proeliis interfectos esse sumit: et quod certum diem quo funus istud celebraretur ponit. nisi forte quis suspicetur eiusmodi recitationem in Academia usurpari solitam fuisse ab eo qui scholam obtineret. sunt ista reddenda annotatori satis ridiculo' (Bake). 5 *ea FPO*. 6 *sit A*, *est FPO*. *vocalium* Manutius (Lambinus, KPHSt): *vocum* cum codd. MOJ.

συμπλοκῇ τῶν καλουμένων φωνηέντων, ἃ τὴν ἀκρόασιν οὐκ ἀνέχεται καὶ τὸν λόγον οὐχ ὁμοίως συνυφαίνειν ἔοικεν, οὔτε λείως τε καὶ ἀπταίστως εἰς τὴν ἀκοὴν παρίησιν. Demetr. π. ἑρμ. § 68 (*Rh. Gr.* iii 277 Sp), *περὶ δὲ συγκρούσεως φωνηέντων ὑπέλαβον ἄλλοι ἄλλως. Ἰσοκράτης μὲν γὰρ ἐφυλάττετο συμπλήσσειν αὐτά, καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἄλλοι δέ τινες ὡς ἔτυχε συνέκρουσαν καὶ παντάπασι· δεῖ δὲ οὔτε ἠχώδη ποιεῖν τὴν σύνθεσιν, ἀτεχνῶς αὐτὰ συμπλήσσοντα καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε· διασπασμῷ γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ διαρρίψει ἔοικεν, οὔτε μὴν παντελῶς φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν γραμμάτων· λειοτέρα μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἔσται ἴσως ἡ σύνθεσις, ἀμουσοτέρα δὲ καὶ κωφὴ ἀτεχνῶς, πολλὴν εὐφωνίαν ἀφαιρεθεῖσα τὴν γινομένην ἐκ τῆς συγκρούσεως* (cf. Benseler u. s. p. 6, Blass *Att. Ber.* ii 130—135, Jebb's *Att. Or.* ii 66).

Thucydides. Demetr. π. ἑρμ. § 72, *ἐν δὲ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ χαρακτῆρι σύγκρουσις παραλαμβάνοιτ' ἂν πρέπουσα...ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ μὴ ἤπειρος εἶναι τὸ Θουκυδίδειον* (vi 1). *συγκρούονται καὶ δίφθογγοι, ταύτην κατῴκησαν μὲν Κερκυραῖοι· οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο* (i 24).

ne...quidem, 'nor even'; frequently used without a conjunction. In such passages it may perhaps be better understood as simply equivalent to *οὐδέ*, 'nor', without implying any comparison or gradation. See Madvig, de Fin. exc. iii, and Reid on Acad. i. 5.

Plato, 62. **de industria**, i.e. where he purposely imitated the *non ingrata neglegentia* (77) of ordinary conversation.

in populari oratione. In a public speech, ostensibly intended for delivery before an audience quick to appreciate the minutest points of style, we might have expected Plato to have avoided *hiatus* if he had set any value on such avoidance. The reference is to the *Menexenus*, of which Dion. Halic. de Dem. 23, says: *κράτιστος δὴ πάντων τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων ὁ Μενέξενος, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον διέρχεται λόγον.* It was to all appearance written as a parody of the funeral orations of contemporary rhetoricians.

In the Laws, Timaeus, Kritias, Phaedrus, Philebus, Sophistes and Politicus, instances of *hiatus* are much less frequent than in the Symposium and the Republic. Most of the former group are undoubtedly late dialogues, and it has been suggested that by the time they were written the practice of Isocrates in this respect had gradually established a standard for prose composition. This consideration, so far as it goes, is in favour of assigning a late date to the Phaedrus (Blass *Att. Ber.* ii 425—428). Cf. § 42.

mos est. Thuc. ii 34 *τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἀποθανόντων.* Dem. Lept. § 141 *μόνοι τῶν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ποιεῖσθε καὶ λόγους ἐπιταφίους ἐν οἷς κοσμεῖτε τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα.* These funeral orations probably took their origin from the times of the Persian invasion (Grote H. G. iv 170); though Diog. Laert. 1 ii § 55 vaguely writes of the honours instituted by Solon for those who had fallen in war: *συνέστειλε δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς...τῶν ἐν πολέμοις τελευτησάντων, ὧν καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς δημοσίᾳ δεῖν τρέφεσθαι καὶ παιδεύεσθαι.* A list of the Greek funeral orations now extant is given in my note on Isocr. Paneg. § 74.

qui sint, Madvig § 369.

quae sic—necesse sit. The whole of this sentence is open to grave suspicion. It seems hardly credible that the degene-

citizens of
Cicero devoted
year to a public re
enus of Plato. Su
be pointless in the
seems in any case a
fanning the expiring
illo die, which some
that well-known anni
plained by anything tha
Westermann (*Quaest. D*
states that some suppos
to the celebration of the
μέσεια. The sentence, how
stands was probably not wri
but is to be ascribed to so
who mistook the meaning
mediately previous sentence
that the Athenian custom ref
not the holding of funeral o
the public recitation of the *Me*

crebra vocalium concursio, c.
236 E προστάττει ἀποδοῦναι,
ὄντι ἐν πατρίδι οἰκοῦντας, c ἐστι
χώρα καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
σθαι, D ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ,
πᾶσα γῆ ἀνεδίδου καὶ ἔφυε ζῷα παν
...ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἡμετέρα θηρίων μὲν
ἄγονος καὶ καθαρὰ ἐφάνη.

magna ex parte——**Demosth**
Quint. ix 4 § 36 'at *Demosthenes* et
cero *modice* respexerunt ad hanc parte
Dionys. Hal. Dem. 43 (on Olynth. ii
ἐν τούτοις γὰρ δὴ τὰ φωνήεντα πολλα
συγκρουόμενα δῆλά ἐστι. Several how
ever of the instances given by Dionys
would have been tolerated even by
crates, or may easily be remo
Hiatus is really
siderable

vos, qui accolitis Histrum fluvium atque algidam...

et ibidem:

quam numquam vobis Grai atque barbari...

ut Ennius saepe:

Scipio invicte... 5

et semel quidem nos:

hoc motu radiantis Etesiae in vada ponti...

1 *algidam FPO*, *ęgidā A*. 3 *graię F*, *grati A*. 4 *ut Ennius: Salve, Scipio invicte* coniecit Klotz. *saepe A* (HSt): *semel FPO* (MOKP); neutrum admisit J. 6 *et quidem nos FPO* et *A* (MOK). *et quidem nos semel* Bergk, neue Jahrb. f. Philol. lxxxiii 636 (J); *atque item nos* Seyffert, Zeitschrift f. d. Gymnasialwesen 1861 p. 70 (PSt); *et semel quidem nos* scripsit H.

78 rēm agas. Incert. 49 me (Rib. med).—The ablative vowel is elided in Trabea 2; Aquilius 5, Caecilius 1, 15, 22, 28, 45, 79, 92, 103, 106, 116, 138, 143, 146, 150, 180, 194, 214, 249, 258, 269; also 178 (intro); 204 (postremo). So Turpilius 28, 74, 96, 139, 142, 159, 162, 178; Incert. 34, 43, 58, 64, 82.—So far as the comic fragments go there is little or nothing to bear out Cic.'s statement, *saepe hiabant*. In the two passages quoted Naevius prob. wrote *quis* or *ques* (nom. plur.) and *Grais* (nom. plur.). In the passages from Ennius and the Aratea we have simply imitations of the Greek (Reid).

(Cn.) **Naevius**, a younger contemporary of Livius Andronicus, B.C. 273—204; well-known, not only for his comedies, but also for his great national epic poem, written in Saturnian verse, on the first Punic war. The latter is thus referred to in Brut. 75 'tamen Naevii illius, quem in vatibus et Faunis adnumerat Ennius, bellum Punicum quasi Myronis opus delectat', de Or. iii 45 'Laelium...sic audio, ut Plautum mihi aut Naevium videar audire'. Sellar's *Poets of the Republic* p. 58 ff.

vos, qui accolitis. In Ribbeck's *Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta* i² p. 14 the line is printed thus: 'vos qués adcolitis Hístrum fluuium atque álgidam', with the following critical note: '*ques* vel *queis* vel *quis* Ritschelius nou. exc. Plaut. i p. 113, *qui* libri. Dubitauerat de hiatu (quem et G. Hermannus epit. d. m. 35 et Lachmannus in Lucr. iii 374 p. 162 tolerauissent) idem Ritschelius iam in prolegg. Trin. p. 199 sqq. ubi *Graii nobis* proposuit. Saturnios haberi posse ipse in proecdosi monui. Miratur hiatum Bergkius symb. ad Gramm. Lat. i 110'. The testimony of Cicero's quotation is clearly against this endeavour to remove the *hiatus*; it proves, at any rate, that the text of Naevius in Cicero's time contained marked instances of this exceptional collocation. **atque algidam.** The next line is lost; it possibly contained *Scythiam* or *Thraciam*. It has been proposed (by Klussmann) to read *adalgidum*, a rare adj. found in Fronto Ep. ad M. Caes. ii 9.

Grai atque. Here, as before, Ribbeck l.c. follows Ritschl (*nov. exc. Plaut.* l.c.) in removing the *hiatus* by printing *Graieis atque*.

Scipio invicte, *Fragm. Annal.* ix l. 321 ('huic loco vindicatum a Th. Hugio'. Cf. Ritschl, prol. Trin. p. cxcviii, Lachmann on Lucr. vi 743) Vahlen p. 48. This is not by any means the only passage in which Ennius indulges in *hiatus*; we have an obvious instance in the well-known epitaph which was written by himself: 'aspicite, o cives, senis Enni imagini' formam'. Hence *saepe*, the reading of the *codices mutili*, is nearer the fact than *semel*, which is best corrected by transferring it to the next line.

hoc motu—ponti. From Cicero's rendering of the Φαινόμενα καὶ διοσημεῖα of Aratus. The original passage is as follows: (151) Ἠελίου τὰ πρῶτα συνερχομένοιο Λέοντι, | τῆμος καὶ κελάδοντες Ἐτησίαι εὐρέϊ πόντῳ | ἀθρόοι ἐμπίπτουσιν. The license of allowing a *hiatus* after *Etesiae* was doubtless suggested by the original. In Lucr. vi 716 we have 'qui etesiae esse feruntur', but elsewhere the *hiatus* is avoided by a circumlocution, ib. v 742, vi 730, 'etesia flabra aquilonum'. It will be observed that in Cicero's first pair of examples we have a true hiatus in which the second vowel has no influence

...manu 2, *duo A*...
cod. Vit. (MOKJ...
duellium in marg.
nos primus Teuffel

on the quantity of
the second pair the
is shortened.

"In the extant fr...
there is no other lin...
quotes, therefore it is
when Grotius makes li...
Prognostica: 'a Borea
Borea et ab Austro'.
fragm. de suo consulatu
(*after* elision) face to fac...
'inque Academia umbr...
Lycio'. Still there is no
'et semel quidem'. *Et q*...
mon enough" (Reid).

§ 153. **multi' modis.**
tion of the enclitic plural for...
a preceding adjective led to
tion of the preceding *is*, a...
modis, *mirīs modis*, *miserīs m*...
modis, and subsequently to the
out of the *s* as in *multi-modis*, ...
(Plaut. Enn. Pacuv. Lucr.); Corss...
ii² 655. We even have *omni mod*...
on a false analogy by Lucr. (i 683 ...
where).—Cic. is possibly thinkin...
line in Pacuvius (l. 307 in Ri...
Trag. Rom. fragm.) 'ó multimodis ...
et dubium et prosperum con...

vas' argenteis ...
regular ...

lati essent semper 'Duellii'. quin etiam verba saepe con-
ntur non usus causa, sed aurium; quo modo enim vester
la' Ala factus est nisi fuga litterae vastioris? quam

'uelli H; *duellj A.* 2 *usus FPO* et *A*: *versus* cod. Erl., *veritatis* Hoerner.
ala FPO: *auxilia mala A.* *fuga M*, *fuge* F^1P, *fugae* F^2, *fuget O.*
A. *quam FPO*: *cum A.*

49 'C. Duillius...qui primus rem am prospere mari gessit trium- ie navalem de Poenis meruit'. :tory was commemorated by the ent of the *forum* with the *rostra* captured ships, and the *columna* : to which they were attached bore nscription. A restored version of cribed on a stone of Parian marble, obably composed by some anti- in the time of Claudius, was a the *forum* in 1565, and may still in the Palace of the Conservatori Capitol. Plin. N. H. xxxiv 5, 20 columna) C. Duillio qui primus a triumphum egit de Poenis quae m nunc in foro'; Quint. i 7 § 12 s veteribus D plurimis in verbis m ultimum. quod manifestum est c columna rostrata quae est Duellio posita'. (The inscr. may be found nmsen's *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* i 195; Vordsworth's *Fragments and Speci-* *f Early Latin* pp. 170, 412 ff. and *Remnants of Early Latin* n. 150.) form *Duilius* alone is recognised *Fasti Capitolini* (B.C. 399, 260), and lurks in the corrupt reading Αἴβιοι 'bius i 22, 23. *Duellius* prevails but *Duilius* reappears in imperial Both forms are found in Livy nsen in *C. I. L.* i p. 39 note).

ne text *Duillium*, *Billium*, or even r, *Bilius*, are more likely than *um*, *Bellium*. Quintil. read our : hastily. Cic. evidently did not : the name with *duellum* or he not have interposed *duis*' (Reid).

r. Servilia, the mother of Brutus, l among her ancestors C. Servilius the famous *magister equitum* of 39 (Liv. iv 13). Plut. Brut. 1 α δὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἀνέφερε τὸ γένος εἰς Σερβίλιον, ὃς Μαιλίου Σπορίου κα κατασκευαζόμενου ... ἐγχειρίδιον ὑπὸ μάλης (*sub ala*) προῆλθεν...καὶ ντα πατάξας ἀπέκτεινε. On a ued by the partisans of Brutus the campaign that ended at i, we find the names of L. Junius and C. Servilius Ahala.

a Ala. The ordinary spelling of per name was *Ahala* (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* i 465 BRVTVS|AHALA on a denarius about 58 B.C.; and Cic. Cat. i 3, Mil. 8, de Sen. 56). In the *Fasti Consulares Capitolini* we have AHALA as a consul's name B.C. 478, 365, 362 and as *tribunus militum* in B.C. 408, 407, 402; but AXILLA as *tribunus militum* in 418. In the *chronographus* of A.D. 354 the name of the consul of B.C. 365, 362 and 342 is spelt HAALA in the first two years and HALA in the third.

ā-la stands for *ax-la, *ax-ul-a, and is connected with the Old High German *ah-sa-la* (cf. the modern German *Achsel*). These Latin and Old German words are referred by Corssen to an original form **ag-sa-la*, which passed regularly into **ag-su-la*, **axu-la*, and thence into **ax-la*; the *x* was then dropped and the first vowel lengthened to compensate for its loss. From the form **ax-u-la*, again, by the addition of the diminutive termination *-la*, we get *axi-l-la*, like *furci-l-la* from *furc-u-la*. The original form **ag-sa-la* is itself a diminutive from *ag-sa*, like *furcula* from *furca*, and may be traced to the root *ag-* 'to swing', 'to drive', from which *axis* is also derived. Curtius traces *a-la* from a supposed form **ac-la*, but the latter is not a combination to which Latin shews any repugnance, and it is therefore difficult to see why it should change into *ala* (Corssen i² 641).

"This passage seems to prove that in Cicero's time the pronunciation was *Ala*. *Ahala* must have been the older form. But Cicero overlooks it here, either because he was ignorant of its existence, which is unlikely, or because the form did not square with his derivation. There is *nothing* to show that the proper names are connected with the common ones. Plutarch's ὑπὸ μάλης, if it is to be regarded at all (and the other writers know nothing of it), is a later attempt at etymologising. *Ahala* can have nothing to do with a root AG: it must come from AGH. It will be a formation with -āla like *Messala*. For its Latin connexions see Curtius no. 611, under root ἀχ (*ἄχος*), Sanskrit *ah*, Latin *n(e)-ig-are*, *a(h)-i-o*, *ad-agium* &c. The form Axilla might come from acs. Cf. axare (nominare).

...**vastioris**, 'excep...
harshly sounding le...
'nec aspere (locutu...
non rustice, non hi...
aequabiliter et lenit...
aspere concurrant, n...
cantur', ad Her. iv ...
crebras vocalium conc...
tam atque hiantem ora...
The consonants X and S...
Quintilian as *asperiores* ...
on § 150).

maxillis. The word i...
Augustan. *māla* and *ma*...
an original form **māg-s*...
root MAG which appears ...
μάγειρος. Thus the *māla* ...
which *cibos depsit ac subigit*...
Demin. p. 98 quoted by Co...
and Curtius, *Gk. Etym.* no. 4...

taxillis. *taxillus* occurs i...
of 'a small die' in Pompon...
cian iii 36 p. 615 Putsch (com...
190 Ribbeck), and in Vitruviu...
tax-i-l-lu-s and *ta-lu-s* point to a...
form **tāc-su-lo-*, from a root ...
join'.

vexillo, this is best explaine...
diminutive of *velum*, though Cic...
tually regards it as the earlier form...
latter. He uses the word in Phil. ...
v 29, ad Att. x 15 § 2, Leg. Agr. ...
velum is from the root VAR 'to c...
according to Corssen i² 450, wh...
the connexion ...
connexion with ...

-e' pro 'non quire', 'malle' pro 'magis velle', 'nolle' pro
-elle', 'dein' etiam saepe et 'exin' pro 'deinde' et 'exinde'
-s. quid, illud non olet unde sit, quod dicitur 'cum illis',
autem 'nobis' non dicitur, sed 'nobiscum'? quia si ita
-ur, obscenius concurrerent litterae, ut etiam modo, nisi 5

-n *A*, *deinde FP*, *deinde O*. *exim F*, *ex A*. *deinde* vulgo: *inde*
A. *et exinde* codd. m 1 et Vit. (MOKJPSt): *et pro exinde FPO* (H).
3 *volet A*. *illius A*. 5 *obscenius* KJP cum *A*, *obscoenius* O,
-s MH et St (sed eidem in § 88 *subobsceno*).

-so is found in Pl. Bacch. iv 4, 61; Enn. Ann. 324, Pl. Pseud. iv 3, 6; -imus in Rud. ii 1, 15; cf. *faxis*, -sis and many other less common -umerated and discussed in Roby 625. Cicero's derivation, as ob-y Mr Nixon, proves that *capsis* as an imperative.

This colloquial form is found not Plautus and Terence, but also in Att. vi 1 § 17, iv 5 § 1 (ain tu?); 8, ad Fam. ix 21 § 1 and de Leg. (ain tandem...?).

-e. *non quire* is used by Ennius, Ipse sibi sapiens prodesse nón quit, -m sapit', and *non queo* is the in- form of the first person singular -o. *nequire*, though a shorter -t of *non quire*, is not actually from it; as the negative *ne* is -n *non* (Corssen i² p. 786), the e steps by which the latter word d being *ne-oinom*, *ne-ocnum*, *n-non* (ib. ii 594). Reasons for this have been suggested by -n in the *Journal of Philology*

The common Plautine forms nd *mavelim* mark the transition *magis volo* &c. and *malo* &c. ner occurs in Ter. Eun. v 7, 1 *agis vellem* evenire'.

is for *ne-*volle* [for *vol(e)re*], of *non velle* is a later equivalent. d *nevolt* are repeatedly found in

nd **exin** are from *de-im* and *ex-im*, ean *de eo* and *ex eo* respectively, *im* coming from *is* and indicating from a place. While *deim*, how- not actually found, *exim* is in use; for exx. see Lachmann on 159 and Ritschl's *Opusc. Phil.* ii .

-n treats *deinde* and *exinde* as from *dein-die*, *exin-die* (ii² 855) dropping of *i* after *d*; and *dein* as formed by the loss of the final would soon be followed by that of the preceding *d* (ib. 604). He regards *exim* as a different word from *exin* (cf. ib. 718). *dein* occurs in § 213, *exin* de N.D. ii 101, and both in Tac. An ii 16; *exinde*, *exin* and *exim* are not found in Ter. Caes. or Quint.

nobiscum. Cicero assumes that the form *nobiscum* was preferred because the pronunciation of *cum* followed by *nobis* would have led to an indelicate combination of sounds; and that on the analogy of *nobiscum*, the forms *vobiscum*, *mecum* and *tecum* came into use. This passage and a similar passage of Pliny are referred to by Priscian xii 28 p. 949 P 'quomodo igitur, si dicam *propter te* et *te propter* idem significo et *cum quibus* et *quibus cum*, sic *cum me* et *mecum*. nam antiquissimi utrumque dicebant, sed in plurali primae personae cacemphati causa solebant per anastrophen dicere *nobiscum* pro *cum nobis*. itaque propter hoc reliquarum quoque personarum ablativos similiter praepostere coeperunt teste Plinio qui hoc in II sermonis dubii ostendit et Cicerone qui de oratore his utitur verbis: noluimus *cum me* et *cum te* dicere, ne eadem conputatione adiungendum esset *cum nobis*, sed potius *mecum* et *tecum* et *secum* diximus. *cum* praepositione, quae facit obscenum, assidue postposita'. The true origin of these forms is, however, to be found in the tendency to place prepositions after the word they govern, and to combine them, as enclitics, with the preceding word; and this tendency, so far from being confined to *cum*, also exists in the case of *ad*, *per*, *in*, *tenus*, *propter* and *circa* (Corssen ii² 851—2).

obscenius concurrerent. Quint. viii 3 § 44 'vel hoc vitium sit, quod κακέμφατον vocatur: sive mala consuetudine in obscenum sermo detortus est...sive iunctura deformiter sonat, ut si *cum hominibus notis loqui* nos dicimus, nisi hoc ipsum *hominibus* medium sit, in praefanda videmur incidere; quia ultima prioris syllabae littera, quae exprimi nisi labris coeuntibus non potest, aut intersistere nos

..., id est, quae
verbis duobus, ex ult
sequentis syllaba defo
efficiunt'. Cic. ad F
22 § 2 'quid, quod vol
te volumus convenir
est?' There is an artic
in the *Rheinisches Mus*
(1835) 1 Ritter, *ubertr*
Römer vor gewissen
Wortverbindungen.—The
that a nasal consonant,
in pronunciation assimilat
nasal of the next word.

§ 155. **a quibusdam.**
among Cicero's contempora
tained that in points of
proper standard was to be
following common custom o
with its anomalous irregular
deducing from a number of
stances some general rule, wh
dividual examples, with a vi
ducing the number of exceptio
The first is the principle of ἀνωμ
second that of ἀναλογία: Varro
x 1 'cum ab his ratio, quae ab
dine oriretur, vocaretur *analogia*,
pars vocaretur *anomalia*'; Quint.
'rationem praestat praecipue ano
Gellius ii 25 'ἀνωμαλία est inaeq
declinationum, consuetudinem seq
One of the earliest methodical treat
the subject was that of C
de analogia

[de]um fidem' 'deorum' aiunt. id, credo, illi nesciebant, an dabat [h]anc licentiam consuetudo? itaque idem poëta, qui inusitatius [co]ntraxerat:

patris mei, meûm factûm pudet

[p]ro 'meorum factorum'; et 5

texitur: exitiûm examen rapit...

[p]ro 'exitiorum', non dicit 'liberûm', ut plerique loquimur, cum [cu]pidos liberum' aut 'in liberum loco' dicimus, sed ut isti [v]olunt:

[n]eque tuum umquam in gremium extollas liberorum ex te genus! 10

1 *fi dẽ A.* *id credo illi* Schuetz, Bake coll. § 160 (JP): *ita credo hoc illi FPO* [..]t *A* (MOKHSt); *itaque illud credo* Erl.[2]. 2 *hoc A.* *consuetudo licentiam A* (St). [.]8 *locũ A.* 10 *tuñ A* (MO[2]JP), *tuom* Bothe (HSt): *tu FPO* (O[2]K).

deum Consentum et non *deorum Consentium*.)

The ending *-um* (apparently similar to the Umbrian and Oscan forms, and the Greek *-ων*) was perhaps the original Italian form, except in the pronouns. It was gradually superseded in Latin by *-orum* which is common in inscriptions of the second century B.C. and later (Roby § 365, where the instances in which the old form survived in and after Cicero's time are classified). The two suffixes have a different origin. The original form of the first was *-am* which became *-om* before the separate existence of the Greek and Latin languages: *-om* continued in use in Latin (after *u* and *v*) to the third century B.C., (e.g. SOVOM for *suorum C. I. L.* i 588, DVOMVIR ib. 1107, 1341,) during which *-um* begins to prevail (cf. Bücheler *Lat. decl.* § 192 Havet). The other termination *-rum* stands for the original *-sam*. There is an instance of the genitive suffix *-rum* added to a stem in O in OLOROM on the *columna rostrata* (*C. I. L.* i 195); DVONORO is found on one of the tombs of the Scipios about 500 A.U.C. (ib. 32); EORVM in the SCTVM *de Bacchanalibus* as well as SOCIVM (ib. 200, Liv. xxi 17 § 2 &c.). Cf. Bücheler *u. s.* §§ 209, 221.

id, that the regular gen. pl. was *deorum*. **credo**, ironical, as in 169. **illi**, the *antiqui* who used the pl. *deum*. **an**—'or, rather, was not this license in itself granted by *usage*?' the very principle for which the analogists contend.

poeta, Ennius. The first quotation is from the *Alexander*, l. 81 of the *tragoediarum reliquiae* in Vahlen's ed., 'uírgines aequális uereor, pátris mei meum factúm pudet'; the context is quoted in de Div. i 66, where that of the next quotation is also preserved:

'iámque mari magnó classis cita
téxitur: exitium éxamen rapit:
ádueniet, fera uéliuolantibus
náuibus complebít manus litora'.

liberum. This form is found in II Verr. i 77 'neque me tui neque tuorum liberum...misereri potest', ib. v 109 de liberum caritate, ib. §§ 23, 118 a conspectu liberum, Cluent. 195 peccata liberum, ib. 171 a liberum Poenis, ib. 200 ex victoria liberum. *liberorum*, on the other hand, in Cat. iv 18 de...liberorum anima, Flacc. 95 in complexu liberorum, Sulla 18 'in conspectu...liberorum meorum', Milo 100 fortunas l. m., II Verr. iii 91 and iv 78 tuo liberorumque tuorum, Sest. 46, II Verr. i 68 and 76 pudicitiam liberorum, Phil. ix 17 sepulcrum liberorum...eius, also p. Dom. 96, Flacc. 106. LEIBERVM occurs as a gen. pl. in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* i 1008, 5. The two forms are found in two successive lines of Pl. Mostell. 120 f. 'primúmdum paréntes fabrí *liberúm* sunt. | ei fundamentúm substruónt *liberórum*.' (Cf. Neue's *Formenlehre* i p. 111.) **in liberum loco**, de Or. ii 200. **isti**, i.e. 'your strict and pedantic analogists'.

neque—genus. This line is ascribed to the *Phoenix* of Ennius by Bergk (*Rheinisches Museum* 1835 p. 73). It is a rendering of part of the curse invoked by Phoenix in Hom. Il. ix 455: μήποτε γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι φίλον υἱὸν ἐξ ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα. (Vahlen, Enn. Trag. rel. 346.)

et idem:

namque Aesculapi liberorum...

at ille alter in Chryse non solum:

cives, antiqui amici maiorum meûm.

5 quod erat usitatum, sed durius etiam:

consiliûm socii, auguriûm atque extûm inte

idemque pergit:

postquam prodigiûm horriferûm, portentûm

quae non sane sunt in [illegible]nibus neutris usitata: nec

10 tam libenter 'armûm [illegible]ium', etsi est apud eund

nilne ad [illegible]le iudicio armûm accidit

quam centuriam, ut ce[illegible]soriae tabulae locuntur,

2 *Aesculapi FPO*, *excola* sequente trium litterarum spatio *A*. *Chryse FP*[u], *Cryse OP*[b], *chryse A*. 6 *sociû A*. *exitium* *FPO* et *A*. *pavor A* et P^bO^b (OKJP), *pavox* FP^aO^a, *pavos* vulg. (*nibus neutriq. A*, 'fortasse *omnibus nominibus neutris*' H. *no*

10 *iam A*. 11 *id te* (om. *de*) *P*. *iudicium A*. *accedit A*. ceteri. *fabrum et procum* (eodem ac supra loco) *FPO* (MOKJP) *A* (H). *quam, ut censoriae tabulae loquuntur, centuriam fabrum*

idem. Ennius in the *Achilles*, a tragedy founded on one by Aristarchus bearing the same name. Eurypylus, who is wounded in battle near the Grecian ships, there says to Patroclus: 'namque Aésculapi liberorum saúcii opplent pórticus'. The line is quoted in full with its context in Tusc. Disp. ii 38. The passage was first ascribed to the *Achilles* by Bergk *ind. lect. Marb. aest.* 1844 p. viii (Vahlen *u. s.* 16).

ille alter, Pacuvius, whose *Chryses* was founded on that of Sophocles. In that play, Orestes and Iphigeneia, who are shipwrecked on the shore of the Troad in their flight from Thoas king of the Tauri, receive shelter from Chryses, the priest of Apollo. The three lines quoted by Cicero are printed as one consecutive passage in Ribbeck's *fragm. trag. Rom.* p. 87 [2]. Cf. Welcker's *Gr. Trag.* i 210–5.

maiorum meum is also found in Pl. Trin. iii 2, 30, Cas. ii 6, 66, Pseud. ii 1, 6, Pers. iii 1, 62, Stich. ii 1, 31 (Neue *u. s.* i p. 135).

non in omnibus neutris. We also have *somnium* as gen. pl. in a fragment of a tragedy quoted in de Div. i 42 and *oppidum* ad Fam. iv 5 § 4, where we can hardly be wrong in supposing that the prose of Sulpicius has imbedded in it a quotation from a lost tragedy: 'unó loco tot óppidum cadávera | proiécta iaceant'.

talentum is frequently times *stadium*, Plin. N. *verbum* Pl. Bacch. iv 8, Truc. ii 8, 14 and *nugae* Poen. iii 3, 88 (Neue *u.*

'Most of the genitiv in Cicero's time, had merce, as *sestertium*, (Reid).

nilne—accidit. The by Ribbeck *u. s.* p. 81 *iudicium* of Pacuvius, w to the ὅπλων κρίσις, the Aeschylean trilogy on A index, however, it is sug probability, that it belon which corresponds to th third play in the above may have formed part of to Telamon asking him not heard the news from the contest for the arn and of the fatal madness had been seized in con it would come from the the fragment: 'nihilne fando?' (l. 318 Ribbeck).

§ 156. **censoriae tab** the census of Servius T division of the Roman classes and into centuries i 43 'additae huic (*sc.* pri *fabrum centuriae*, quae si

ım' audeo dicere, non 'fabrorum' aut 'procorum'. planeque
ım virorum iudicium' aut 'trium virorum capitalium' aut
n virorum stlitibus iudicandis' dico numquam. atqui dixit
s:

video sepulcra duo duorum corporum. 5

ue

mulier una duûm virûm.

'erum sit intellego; sed alias ita loquor, ut concessum est,
: vel 'pro deûm' dico vel 'pro deorum', alias ut necesse
ım 'trium virûm', non 'virorum', cum 'sestertiûm, num- 10
, non 'sestertiorum, nummorum', quod in his consuetudo

ıdio FPO. *aut A* (HSt): *et FPO* (MOKJP). *plane*, 'in margine add. *quoq.*
l. 2 *capitaliū AF²*, *capitolium F¹PO¹*, *capitalium O²*. 3 *stlitibus* Muretus,
. xii c. 20: *litibus FPO* et *A*. *non nunc quam A*. *atqui* MOKJP: *quid*
i FPO, *et quid...?* scripsit H; *qui* St. 5 *sepulcrum a duorum A*: *sepulcra*
rum FPO, *dua* in margine P²: *duo* (OKJPH): *dua* (M et Stangl). 6 *idemque*
dēq. A, *idem quae* Turnebus adv. viii c. 3 coll. ad Fam. ix 22 § 1.
codd.: *duom* H. *virorum* Ribbeck (P²). 9 *hoc vel FPO*, *hoc A*.
) MOK cum *O¹* et *O*. 10 *virorum cum FPO* (MOKJP): *v. et A* (HSt).
rum cod. Erl. (HSt), *sestertiū A*, om. *FPO* (MOKJP).

rent: datum munus ut machinas
ferrent'. In the *Corp. Inscr.*
1124 we have PRAEF·FABRVM.
d form survived especially in
such as *praefectus fabrum*, *colle-*
brum. **procum**, the citizens of
class (*classici*) were the *proci*
) or *principes*. Festus p. 249
patricium in descriptione clas-
iam fecit Serv. Tullius significat
s; ei enim sunt principes'. (Cf.
s. i p. 112.)
...**numquam**, 'absolutely...ne-
. in Caecil. 55 'plane nihil sapit'.
unnecessarily proposes *plene*.
m virorum, &c. The forms
rum and *triumvirum*, which are
arly preferred by Cic., are not
his extant speeches. *decemvirum*
Leg. Agr. ii 39 x virum dicioni,
ognitio x virum, and 84 x virum
ıus, de Rep. ii 61; also in Varro
§ 85, Liv. iii 40 § 12, xxvii 8 § 4
dvig's text has *decemvir* in both
decemvirorum in Livy alone,
t is very frequent.—In *C. I. L.*
e have N·CLVVIVS·M·F·DVVM·
. 577 (in lege Puteolana) DVVM
(twice), ib. (in lege agraria) 200
VIRVM, ib. 198 (in lege repetun-
TRIVM VIRVM, ib. (in inscr. anti-
) 1107, 1149, 1341 DVOM VIR
(Cf. Neue *u. s.* i p. 110.)
llum, entrusted with the charge
s and executions; frequently
mentioned in Livy, in Cic. only in one of
the amusing letters to Trebatius, ad.
Fam. vii 13 § 2. The old form **stlitibus**
for *litibus* preserves the first letter of the
root STAR found in *sterno* (cf. stlocus).
But this root is very doubtful. Prof.
Postgate compares the Old High German
strit (Germ. *streit*), and the English *strife*.
The *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* form-
ed, as representatives of the praetor, a
standing tribunal for deciding cases in-
volving rights of freedom or citizenship,
Caec. 97, Suet. Aug. 36.

video—Accius *ex incertis fabulis* 655,
ed. Ribbeck, who compares a passage in
II Verr. v 94 which is possibly a remi-
niscence of this line: 'ut *duo sepulchra*
duorum praetorum inproborum duabus in
provinciis constituerentur'.

duum virum, Accius l. 656. The con-
text, especially *idemque* (not *idem* or *at*
idem), is in favour of Ribbeck's emenda-
tion *virorum*; but even so, we get two
different forms *duorum* and *duum* attested
by the same author.

verum, grammatically correct accord-
ing to the law of analogy, 157, 158. Dr
Reid observes it is here a rendering of
ἔτυμον, and compares *veriloquium*=ἐτυ-
μολογία in Top. 35.

hoc, the following. On Cicero's use of
pro deum and **pro deorum**, see note on
§ 155 init.

sestertium nummum. The short
forms were retained in the names of weights

XLVII varia non est. quid, quod sic loqui, 'nosse, iudic 'novisse' iubent et 'iudicavisse'? quasi vero nesci genere et plenum verbum recte dici et imminu itaque utrumque Terentius,

5 eho, tu cognatum tuum non noras?

post idem:

Stilponem, inquam, no

'siet' plenum est, 'sit' imminutum; licet utare ut ibidem:

10 quam cara sint, [illegible]ae post carenda intell quamque attinen[illegible] magni dominatus sier

1 *nosse iudicasse PO; nos seiudicasse A, nos eiudicas si F.* 5 *eho F* et in marg. O², *eoh* PO¹, *eo A.* *cognatum* codd (Stangl). *tuom* B(st). 6 *idem FPO, ibidem A.* 7 *Stilponem Stilponem* codd. Ter. (MO); *stilionem F, Stilbonem POM, stiliponi A; est noveras FPO¹* et cod. Ter. A, *est* expunxit O². 8 *si et F O², sin A; sient* scripsit B. *est* om. O, *sit A.* *sit: sien sin A; sint* scripsit B. 9 *ergo* * *ibidem* J, poetae nome catus. 10 *quae quam sint cara* Ribbeck (st), *quam cara sint cara sint quae* (O¹KJPH). *carenda* Lachmann (KJP); *carent carendi A.* 11 *quaq. A, quam quem FPO.* *scient FPO* et

and measures (chiefly Greek) in combination with numerals, cf. *denarium, talentum, medimnum, stadium* (Roby § 365 *a*). SESTERTIVM occurs in *C. I. L.* i 1409 l. 5.

§ 157. **vetant**, sc. *quidam* (155). **nosse novisse.** In Cicero's speeches, *nosse* is found in 15 places, *novisse* only once: II Verr. v 165 'non qui *novisse* Gavium sed se *vidisse* dicerent', where its presence is due to the rhythm of the sentence. *norat* and *noverat* are both used 4 times in the speeches; *norunt* 6 times, *noverunt* twice (imp. Pomp. 66 and Phil. vii 14); *noris, noritis, norint* and *norunt* 9 times altogether, *noverit* only once (Lig. 34). In all, we have at least 74 exx. of the short form, against 8 of the long. (See also Neue *u. s.* ii 414.)

iudicasse...iudicavisse. The only instance of *iudicavisse* which I can find in the speeches of Cic. is Phil. xi 11 (there are also a few instances of *iudicavistis* and *iudicavissent*); *iudicasse* is far more common. Cf. Quint. i 6 § 17 (of the strict analogists) 'his permittamus et *audivisse* et *scivisse*...dicere'. That the contracted forms of such verbs were fully established in the earliest period of Latin is proved by the evidence of inscriptions, the following (amongst others) being found more than once in those collected in the first vol. of the *Corpus*: *coerarunt, locarunt, probarunt,* and *terminarunt*

(Hübner's *ind. gramm* 601). Cf. Neue *u. s.* on Acad. ii 77.

noras, Ter. Phormi however our texts have *natum*, which occurs ib. ib. 43.

siet. In *sies, siet,* '[illegible] haps only the older for suffix *-is, -it.* But comp *syam*' (Roby § 590). T in regular use in inscrip times of the Gracchi a war, after which the sh into regular use. In C as well as in Plautus, ' other Roman dramatists is the more common, [illegible] used whenever it is me venient (Corssen ii² 351

ibidem, 'in one and t[illegible] The lines are not to be tant play of Terence, a unknown. They are pl uncertain fragments of by Ribbeck.

cara. It will be obse *carus* and *caritas* are us sense of 'dearness' as 'dearth', *careo* is appl alone (cf. Corssen i² 403

carenda, which is due of Lachmann's, assumes

[...]c vero reprehenderim:

scripsere alii rem;

[...]t] 'scripserunt' esse verius sentio, sed consuetudini auribus [...]dulgenti libenter obsequor.

isdem campus habet 5

[...]nquit Ennius, et

in templis isdem;

[...]t 'eisdem' erat verius, nec tamen probavit, ut opimius: male

[...] 1 *reprehenderem A.* 2 *alirē F.* 3 *et FPO* et *A* (H), *etsi* Lambinus; om. [...] Quint. MOKJPSt. *sentius A.* *consuetudine aurium A.* 4 *lubenter* [...] *lubentius A.* 5 *isdem* cod. Erl. (Goeller, Ritschl, KJPH): *idem FPO* et *A* (MO). [...] *in templis isdem* (MOKJP): *in templis:* EIDEM PROBAVIT; H(St) (*in t. idem probavit* *FPO*, *in t. idem probabit A*), '*in templis isdem*' *probavit* MO. 8 *at FO* (MOKPHSt), [...] *P*, *ad A*: om. J. *eisdem A* (MOKJP): *isdem FPO* (HSt). *probavit* huc transposuit Goeller (KJP): (post *tamen*) *eisdem A* (OH), *isdem FPO.* *ut* om. *A.* *optimius FPO.* [...] *sonabat isdem*, explicationem verborum 'peccare suavitatis causa', in margine

[...] acc. in the active. This constr. is found in ante-classical Latin, Ter. Eun. ii 2, 18 'tandem non ego illam caream', Pl. Curc. i 2, 49, Poen. iv 1, 4; cf. Ovid Her. i 50 'virque mihi dempto fine *carendus* abest'. **attinendi**, for the more usual *retinendi*, cf. Tac. Ann. iv 5 'ripam Danuvii attinebant'.

scripsere alii rem, from the Annals of Ennius. For the context see note on § 171.

scripsere, to which Cic. says he has no objection, is not found in his extant speeches, while *scripserunt* occurs twice (II Verr. iv 145 and Caecin. 51). Quint. i 5 § 42 (of the forms *scripsere* and *legere*) 'evitandae asperitatis gratia mollitum est, ut apud veteres pro *male mereris*, *male merere*', ib. § 44 'quid? non Livius circa initia statim primi libri, *tenuere*, inquit, *arcem Sabini?* et mox, *in adversum Romani subiere?* sed quem potius ego quam M. Tullium sequor, qui in Oratore, *non reprehendo*, inquit, *scripsere; scripserunt esse verius sentio?*'

The termination *-ere* for *-erunt* is found in some of the earliest inscriptions, and is not uncommon in Plautus and Terence, *rare in Cicero* and Caesar, but frequent in dactylic poets and Livy' (Roby § 578). Among the exx. collected by Hübner, in the index to the *C. I. L.* i p. 601, are *censuere*, *coeravere*, *fecere* and *probavere*.

'There is hardly a sound example of *-ere* in the perfect in any really good MS of Cic. (see Neue ii 390 ff.);—and similarly in the case of Caesar' (Reid).

Ennius, *Ann. l. 468 Vahlen* 'isdem campus habet textrinum nauibus longis', Servius on Aen. xi 326 'loca in quibus naues fiunt Graece ναυπήγια, Latine *textrina* dicuntur. Ennius dicit: idem (*sic*) e.q.s.' **isdem** is found as nom. sing. in Pl. Amph. iii 2, 64 'verum éadem si isdem púrigas, patiúnda sunt', where *isdem* has been preserved by the *codex Ursinianus*. EISDEM is found in inscriptions, e.g. *C. I. L.* i 1468 (middle of second cent. B.C., in Dalmatia) Q·VIBIVS·L·F | DIANAE·V·S | EISDEM·ARAM· | D·S·F·C·; ib. 576 (on a tessellated pavement of the same time at Terracina): *SER* · *SVLPICIVS* · SER · F · GALBA · COS · PAVIMENTVM · *FACIENDVM LOCAVIT* · EISDEMQVE · PROBAVIT ·; and thrice in the *lex Puteolana parieti faciendo* (ib. 577).

in templis isdem, placed first among the *incertorum librorum reliquiae* in Vahlen's Ennius p. 174. In the *lex Iulia municipalis* (*C. I. L.* i 206) we have *isdemque diebus* in l. 3, and *in iisdem diebus* (probably by mistake) in l. 5.

Heerdegen's conjecture is extremely plausible; but it seems more characteristic of Cicero to quote from a Roman poet than to refer to a Latin inscription.

opimius, 'too broad', Quint. ix 4 § 36 'longae per se et velut *opimae* syllabae'; cf. 25.

male sonabat isdem. If we here retain *iisdem*, then we must understand Cicero to be dealing with the three separate forms *isdem*, *eisdem* and *iisdem*, all of which could be used for the dat. and abl. pl. of *idem*, and the first of them for the nom. sing. also (this is the view of Göller who is followed by Piderit).

sonabat 'isdem'; impetratum est a consuetudine,
suavitatis causa liceret. et 'posmeridianas quadrigas'

adscriptam, in textum irrepsisse existimat Reid. 1 *sonat* PO^1. *isde*
KJH), *eisdem A*, *iisdem* cum codd. Vit. Eins. Erl. (Goeller, r).
Velius Longus (KJHtst). *pomeridianas* $FOP^{1}A$ (MO), *pomtridiana*
dianus' 'quadrigas' quam 'postmeridianus', 'quadriiugas' Fleckeise
p. 48 (r^1). *post meridianas F.* *quadriiugas* add. Doederlein, Reden
posmeridianus quadrigas quam postmeridianus quadriiugas Halmi
meridianas quam postmeridianas et quadrigas quam quadriiugas conici

This view is opposed by Ritschl (ind. schol. Bonn. 1855–6 p. viii [...] *Opuscula Philologica* iv 320), who insi[sts th]at two forms only are in question: [*isde*]*m* and *eisdem*. Of the third form [he re]marks: 'male sonabat *iisdem*, sed ta[m m]ale, ut ne reprobandi quidem causs[a dicend]a esset. certum est enim labanti de[mu]m latinitati *ii iis iisdem* forma[s] deberi, Ciceronis autem saeculo tam ignotas fuisse, ut ne in mentem quidem il[li] venire posset, dedita opera vitatas a quoquam dicere' (cf. Proleg. ad Trin. p. xcvii). The fact that Cicero himself did not use the forms in *ii* is proved by our best MSS; and in the older inscriptions we have three forms: *eeis* (in the *Ep. ad Teuranos de bacchanalibus* B.C. 186), *ieis* (23 times in inscriptions of the time of Cicero), and *eieis* (twice in an *epistula praetoris ad Tiburtes* circa B.C. 154?); but never *iis*.

On Ritschl's view, the general drift of Cicero's criticism is that *isdem* was used by Ennius not only as a nom. sing. but also as an abl. pl., that the stricter form *eisdem* struck the poet as too broad and that he had therefore dropped it in favour of *isdem*.

In Cicero's time, however, the nom. sing. and pl. masc. were the same: *idem*. Caesar, according to the grammarian Charisius, approved of the form *idem* for the nom. sing., and *isdem* for the pl., 'sed consuetudo hoc non servat' (p. 110 Keil). (Cf. Neue *u. s.* ii 143 f.)

Heerdegen, in his recent critical ed. p. xxxv, remarks: 'mihi quidem videtur Cicero omnibus illis locis, ubi codices tradunt vel *idem* (*eidem*) vel *isdem* (*eisdem*), cogitasse tantum modo de variis formis solius nominativi masc. sing.' This view, which is accepted by Dr Reid, is probably correct. The latter also observes that 'in the ordinary spoken language the *ei* of *eisdem* was no doubt a diphthong, and the distinction between *eisdem* and *isdem* merely depended on the pronunciation of the first vowel sound'.

impetratum—liceret. [...]
dem campus, quod dixit [...]
idem, quod Ciceronis aet[...]
solum. verius erat *eisdem* [...]
Ennio visum *isdem*. e[...]
probavit': illud constan[...]
'consuetudo impetravit'" [...]
Philol. iv 321).

The text is quoted in [...]
gulae, v p. 517, 4 K., with [...]
suetudine, cf. Anecd. H[...]
(Heerdegen).

posmeridianas. Velius [...]
'sequenda est non num[...]
eruditorum virorum, qui [...]
lenitatis causa omiserunt, [...]
ut verbis ipsius utamur [...]
quoque quadrigas, inquit, [...]
erim quam postmeridiana[...]
earlier editions the man[...]
pomeridianas quadrigas i[...]
first word being regarde[...]
of the second. In defenc[...]
appeals to the use of *merid*[...]
tores) in Suet. Claud. 34[...]
that the expression refe[...]
horse chariots of the *ludi* [...]
were sometimes held in [...]
(In August. confess. viii [...]
censes are expressly calle[...]
pomeridianum: 'cum im[...]
diano circensium spectac[...]
But unless Cic. is quoting [...]
some other writer it is [...]
why *quadrigas* need be add[...]
of fact the words *libentiu*[...]
gest that the words are [...]
But why should he add [...]
the word was not added [...]
he might just as well have [...]
dianum tempus quam [...]
libentius dixerim'. (In d[...]
texts have 'pomeridianum [...]
121 'pomeridiano sessio'.— [...]
iii 7 'postm. tempus'.) To [...]
rigas from being merely o[...]
necessary to add *quadriiu*[...]
cond half of the sentence.

'*posmeridianus* is not for [...]
but is compounded with [...]

meridianas quadriiugas' libentius dixerim, et 'mehercule' quam 'mehercules'. 'non scire' quidem barbarum iam videtur, 'nescire' dulcius. ipsum 'meridiem', cur non 'medidiem'? credo, quod erat insuavius. insuavissima praepositio est 'af', quae nunc

1 *lubentius A.* *et* om. *A.* *mercule quam merculis A.* 2 *videatur A.* *ne scire A.* 3 *meridie A.* *medi em A*, in fine versus intercidit *di.* *insuavius una* codd. (Klotz, K); *insuavius Una A*; *insuavius. una* (MO), † *una* H: *insuavius. insuavissuma* Jahn (P). *absona praep.* Hellmuth (St). *af quae* Bergmann (H); *ea quae F*, *eaque PO*, *ab quae A* (HSt); *af eaque* primus emendavit Friedrich (KJP); *abs eaque* Lamb. Ern. MO.

-ne, Umbrian *pus*. Cf. *po(s)-sino* (*pono*); *posimerium* Fest. Paul. Diac. p. 248 Mueller: see also Curtius, *Studien* i *b* 164. *post* is a secondary formation' (Postgate).

quadriiugas. Ennius, quoted in Tusc. Disp. i 105, has *curru quadriiugo*, and in Ann. 158 (Vahlen) 'irarum...effunde *quadriiugos*'. In Pacuvius 399 Ribbeck, as quoted by Isidore, 'volucri currit axe *quadrigis*' is possibly a mistake for *quadriiugis*.—There are a good many exx. of *bi-iug-us* and similar forms in Neue.

mehercule...mehercules The original form of the oath having been *ita me Hercules adiuvet*, *mehercules* is more correct than *mehercule* which was sanctioned by ordinary usage. In the speeches of Cic. *mehercule* occurs 32 times; *mehercules* only 5 (Rosc. Am. 58, 141, II Verr. i 133, Font. 36, Piso 68), also in ad Fam. x 18 § 3. (Cf. *mage* from *magis*.) Dr Reid suggests that *hercule* is here the voc. of the old Roman god, *Herculus*.

non scire...nescire, cf. note on 154 '*nequire* pro *non quire*'. In the speeches of Cic. *non scire* is not found. videtur... dulcius, 158 'dulcius visum est'.

ipsum, referring to the word *postmeridianus* mentioned a few lines before. meridiem. Priscian iv 34 p. 635 P (137 Hertz), after saying that *timeo* makes *timidus*; and *valeo*, *validus*, 'excipitur alternitatis causa, quam Graeci ἐπαλληλότητα vocant, unum *pando*, *pandus*, ne, si *pandidus* dicamus, male sonet alterna D in utraque continua syllaba, quod in multis solent tam Graeci quam nos evitare'...'eiusdem vitii causa non dicimus ab eo quod est *mane*, *manunine* sed *matutine*;...praeterea *meridies* pro *medidies* a medio die'. Varro L. L. vi 4 '*meridies* ab eo quod *medius dies*; D antiqui, non R in hoc dicebant, ut Praeneste incisum in solario vidi'. Quint. i 6 § 30 (etymologia) 'nonnunquam etiam barbara ab emendatis conatur discernere, ut cum *Triquetram* dici Siciliam an *Triquedram*, *meridiem* an *medidiem* oporteat quaeritur, aliaque quae consuetudini serviunt'. In the case of *medidies*, the change into *meridies* is an instance of 'dissimilation', and the second syllable is lengthened to compensate for the loss of the third syllable of *medius dies*. As instances of the change from D to R, before a vowel, we have *Ladinum* (on old coins) becoming *Larinum*, and *Sidicinum*, *Siricinum* (Corssen i² p. 239); cf. *audio* and *auris*. Instances before a consonant, esp. *v* and *f*, are much more common (ib. 238, 240; Roby § 160 p. 50).

'As to *Ladinum*, I believe the explanation ordinarily given is wrong. It requires proof that the coins with VADINEI and VADINOD are necessarily older than all the others which show the R. This proof cannot be given; indeed the contrary is probable; we have coins with Greek inscrs. almost certainly older with r. I would explain the D in VAD by the influence of the Oscan alphabet where D = R' (Reid).

'The more correct account of *meridies* is that it is a 'hysterogen' word. *medii die* (both locatives, cf. *die quinti* in Plautus) became *medidie* 'in the middle of the day'. This was changed into *meridie* and hence was formed a nominative *meridies*' (Postgate).

§ 158. insuavissima. Owing to its containing the *insuavissima littera* F (163). The manuscripts have *una*. This is accounted for by the accidental dropping of *insuaviss-* in consequence of the preceding *insuavius*, the remaining syllables *ima* becoming unintelligible would readily be altered into *una*. This emendation may be accepted as completely satisfactory. The alternative proposal, to transfer *una* to the end of the previous sentence, would involve that sentence ending with the ending of a hexameter line, *insuavius una*, which Cic. would probably have avoided. Cf. note on 217.

af. Velius Longus p. 2224 P 'nunc ad praepositiones transeamus—atque incipia-

tantum in accepti tabulis manet, ac ne his quidem
reliquo sermone mutata est: nam 'amovit' dicimus
'abstulit', ut iam nescias 'a'ne verum sit an 'ab', 'a
etiam 'abfugit' turpe visum est et 'abfer' noluerunt,
5 **'aufer' maluerunt? quae praepositio praeter haec du**
alio in verbo reperietur. 'noti' erant et 'navi' et '

1 *accepti* FPO¹, *al. acceptis* in margine O². *acceptis* A. *ac ne his*
aeneis A, *ne his* FPO (o²KJP), *et ne his?* Hand. 2 *nam* om. A.
abicit A. 3 *a'ne* Schuetz (JPH), *anne* FPO et A, *abne* MOK.
abais A, *abs* FPO (MOK); '*ab*' *an* '*abs*' Schuetz (JPST). *quit sit* A
MOKJP: *aufugit, quod abfugit* [illegible] H, *afugit quoda fugit* A, *afugit*
turpe FPO, *forte* A. MOKJP: *afer* FO et A (H), *afer*
add. Sch. (JPST), *abfugit et* [illegible] 5 *aufer maluerunt* om. A.

mus ab illa quam Cicero in Or[illegible] notavit. varia enim *est* consuetudo [illegible] od est AB et A et ABS et AV, ut cum dicimus *a me*, deinde *ab illo*, deinde *abstulit*, deinde *aufert*, quod sane tantum in duobus verbis usurpatum est, *aufert* et *aufugit*. adicit his praepositionibus et illam quae scribitur per F litteram, quam ab antiquis usitatam ait maxime in rationibus et in accepti tabulis. nam quotiens acceptam pecuniam referebant, non dicebant *a Longo* sed *af Longo*. et ait religionem hanc scribendi apud paucissimos remansisse saeculo suo'. Priscian i 46, p. 560 P, 'habebat autem haec F littera hunc sonum, quem nunc habet V loco consonantis posita, unde antiqui *af* pro *ab* scribere solebant'. It was the above passages that led to the restoration of the preposition *af* which is omitted by the MSS. AF is found only before consonants, chiefly in republican inscriptions, e.g. AF CAPVA, AF LVCO, AF LVCRETIA, AF MVRO, AF SOLO (*C. I. L.* i 551, 587, 1055, 1143, 1161); also in the *epistula ad Tiburtes*, belonging to the end of the 6th cent. of Rome, AF VOBEIS (ib. 201).—Corssen (i 152—7) holds AF, AB and AV to be all three of distinct origin (Roby § 97).

in accepti tabulis, 'in account books of receipts'; much as in the present day we retain in our accounts such stereotyped forms as 'By' in the sense of 'From', and such old abbreviations as *Dr* and *Cr* and even contractions of Latin origin as *£ s. d.*—The full phrase, including the credit and debit side of the account, is *tabulae* (or *codices*) *accepti et expensi*. Cf. de Or. ii 97 (with Wilkins' note).

ne...quidem. The proposal to prefix *et* is not necessary (cf. 151); but its absence in the MSS could easily be accounted for by its absorption in the last syllable of *manet*. The *codices mutili* point, how-

ever, to *ac*, which, on the
abs, used in compound
and before *te* in *abs te* (d
148, 204; ii 40, 203, 20
and Terence *absque* is ofte
Quint. i 5 § 69 'frequente
sitiones quoque composit
pit: inde *abstulit*, *aufug*
praepositio sit *ab* sola'.

quid, si etiam—Aul. (
'in eo libro Cicero, cum
haec *aufugio* et *aufero* co
esse ex praepositione *ab* et
et *fero*, sed eam praepositio
vox pronuntiatu auditeque
mutatamque esse in *au*
tumque esse dici *aufugio*
abfugio et *abfero*, cum ha
dixisset, tum postea ibiden
particula ita scribsit: Hae
positio—repperietur', cf. M
Paris. p. 600, 17 and id. Ex
637, 20 in Keil's *Gr. Lat.*
turpe, 'harsh', or rather
pbr. The combination *bf*
been generally avoided in (
quae praepositio, sc. AV
noti...navi...nari. Cice
in, when prefixed to thes
changed for euphony into
original forms were really *g*
root *gno*), and *gnavi* and *gn*
It is observed by Priscian,
the old form of *nosco* is *g*
senatusconsultum de Bacc
have *gnoscier*, VBEI FACILVM
POTISIT; the MSS of Cicero h
II Ver. iii 53, imp. Pomp.
in Plaut. Rudens i 3. 28 we h
in the *Orator* itself (15), and
gnarus. In the face of thes
bold assertion on the part o
accurate editors as Jahn and
that the original forms *gnav*
(as well as *gnotus*) were out

cum 'in' praeponi oporteret, dulcius visum est 'ignoti, ignavi, ignari' dicere, quam ut veritas postulabat. 'ex usu' dicunt et 'e re publica', quod in altero vocalis excipiebat, in altero esset asperitas, nisi litteram sustulisses: ut 'exegit, edixit'. 'refecit, rettulit, reddidit': adiuncti verbi prima littera praepositionem commutavit, ut 'subegit, summutavit, sustulit'. 5

XLVI Quid, in verbis iunctis quam scite 'insipientem' non 'insapientem', 'inicum' non 'inaecum', 'tricipitem' non 'tricapitem', 'concisum' non 'concaesum'! ex quo quidam 'pertisum'

1 *ignotos, ignavos, ignaros* H et St cum *A*. 2 *quam ut A, quam et FPO*[1], *al. ut* in margine *O*[2]. *et* om. *A*. *e A, ex F, ex PO*. 4 *ut FPO, et A*. *edixit* om. *A*. *item refecit* Schenkl (st). *rettulit AO, retulit F, retullit P*. 5 *adiuncti* cum codd. MOKHSt: *ubi a.* Jahn, *ita a.* Piderit. *prima littera praepositionem* coni. Maioragius (Lamb. Ern. KJPHSt): *primam litteram praepositio* codd. (MO). *cōmutat A*. 6 *submutavit P, tum mutavit A, summovit* ed. Ven. 2. 7 *invenies insipientem* Hoerner cum cod. Erl. coll. 158 *reperietur*. 8 *inicum F*[1], *q* superscr. *F*[2], *initium P*[1]: *iniquum A*: *iniquum* edd. *inaccum F*[1]*P*[1], corr. *F*[2]*P*[2]: *inaequum* edd. 9 *concaesum FPO, c̄cissum A, concessum* Nonius. *pertusum P, pertaesum A, percessum* Nonius.

cannot suppose that Cic. was ignorant of these forms; but he erroneously treats *ignotus, ignavus* and *ignarus* as negatives derived from *notus, navus* and *narus*, although of these three the first alone was in his own time commoner than the form in *gn*. He apparently regarded *notus, navus* and *narus* as the original forms (*navus* being found in Ennius, Ann. 183, 413 Vahlen); and, after deriving from these the negatives *ignotus, ignavus* and *ignarus*, wrongly regarded *gnotus, gnavus* and *gnarus* as formed on false analogy from compounds in which *g* was inserted (as he supposed) for euphonic reasons alone.

veritas, 'strict analogy', which (as Cic. implies) required *in-notus*; but here, as elsewhere, the anomaly is only apparent, *ignotus* being formed by strict analogy from *gnotus*.

ex...e. The primary form of both is *ec*, which is found before *f* in compounds only, especially in old laws and the early poets, e.g. in *ec-fari* and *ec-ferre*. The form *e* is found in four instances only in inscriptions of the prae-augustan time; *ex* is the form preferred, before consonants as well as vowels, and is the only form in the Monumentum Ancyranum (Corssen i 154—5). Dr. Reid observes that the use of *ec* before *f* is indicated in a large number of passages in the MSS of Cicero.

e re publica; the constant form when the words are used as a single phrase, meaning 'in the interest of the state'. *ex re publica*, however, occurs occasionally, in other senses, Rab. Post. 23, ad Quint. f. iii 9 § 2 (Neue *u. s.* ii 538).

refecit, rettulit, reddidit. Cicero probably regards *re-* as the normal form of the prefix; and *ret-* and *red-* as special variations, due to the following *t* and *d*. But *red-* has an independent existence, as is seen in *red-ire, red-arguere*, and is, indeed, the original form. *Re-ttulit* stands for *re-te-tulit*; like *re-pperit, re-ppulit* in Plautus (Corssen ii 467), cf. Roby § 160. 7.

These examples are explained by the subsequent sentence. They would be more in place either after *ut* or *sustulit*. They happen to give a complete sense, 'repaired, brought back, restored', and may possibly be a quotation.

summutavit, a somewhat rare word, possibly suggested to Cicero himself by the preceding *com-mutavit*. Those who prefer the conjecture *summovit* suppose that the first compound of *mutavit* led the transcriber to write the second by mistake, instead of copying the more obvious word *summovit*. Here the *m* of the simple verb causes the assimilation of the preceding consonant. **sustulit** is for *subs-tulit*, where the *b* falls away as in *sus-cipio, sus-cito, sus-pendo, sus-tineo*.

§ 159. **iunctis**, 68. **scite**, 'nicely', 'tastefully', 'elegantly'.

insipientem. After a prefix, a radical *a* before a single consonant (other than *r*) is here, as often, weakened into *i* (Corssen ii 414 ff., Roby § 204 *d*); similarly **tricipitem.**

inicum. Here, as often, *ae* is changed into *i* in a root syllable after a prefix (Roby § 262. 2); similarly **concisum.**

ex quo, on the analogy of *concisum*.

quidam, the analogists already referred

etiam volunt, quod eadem consuetudo non proba
hoc elegantius, quod non fit natura, sed quoc
'indoctus' dicimus brevi prima littera, 'insanus'
humanus' brevi, 'infelix' longa; et, ne multis, qu
5 eae primae litterae sunt, quae in 'sapiente' atqu
ducte dicitur, in ceteris omnibus breviter. itemqu
consuevit, concrepuit, confecit': consule veritatem
refer ad auris, probabunt. quaere, cur ita sit:

2 *quoddam P.* 3 ... , *inclitus* in marg. *P*[2] et
prima AO[1]*F*[2]*P*[m], *parma* ... *inhumanus FOP*[m], *inu*
in sanus A. 5 *quae* ... er cum cod. Erl. *fe*
ii 17 § 2; *infelice A, in felici* ... st. 6 *dicitur 'in'*, *in*
FPO et *A*, *dicuntur* in marg. ... ius. 7 *confecit FPO* et
8 *auris* KH: *-es* ceteri. *qua*... *quaere, cur? ita se dicem*
(MOKJP): *quaere cur ita sit: dic*... *iuvare* H e Gellio; *quaere*
iuvare st.

to in § 155. pertisum. Festus p. 217 '*redergnisse* per E litteram Scipio Africanus Pauli F. dicitur enuntiasse, ut idem etiam *pertisum*. cuius meminit Lucilius, cum ait: quo facetior videare et scire plus quam ceteri | *pertisum* hominem non *pertaesum* dicere'.

natura, φύσει...instituto, θέσει.—This passage, *Quid vero* to the end of the §. is quoted by Aulus Gellius ii 17 § 2 with the remark 'manifesta quidem ratio suavitatis est in his vocibus, de quibus Cicero locutus est', cf. ib. iv 17 § 6 cōnstituit; Diomedes i p. 433 Keil, cōntido, cōnfero, cōnfestim, cōnfertus; cōnsul, cōnsulo, cōnscendo, cōnsono, cōnsisto (cf. Serv. ad Donatum, iv p. 442 Keil).

Insanus...Infelix...cōnsuevit...cōnfecit. The lengthening of the vowel before *ns* and *nf* is also exemplified in *Consus*, *Consualia*, *consules* (acc.), *consilia*, *Considius* which are transliterated in Dionysius Hal. as Κῶνσος, Κωνσουάλια, κωνσούλας, κωνσίλια, Κωνσίδιος; similarly *Consentia*, Κωνσεντία (Appian), Κωσεντία (Strabo); *Constantinus*, Κωνσταντῖνος (Dio Cass.); *Censorinus*, Κηνσωρῖνος (Monumentum Ancyranum, and Appian); *Ramnenses*, *Titienses*, 'Ραμνήνσης, Τιτιήνσης (Plut.); *potens* πότηνς, *sapiens* σάπιηνς (Plut.). On the other hand the vowel remains short before *nt*, as in *Centenius*, Κεντήνιος (Polyb. App.); *Centuriones*, Κεντυρίωνες (Polyb.). N before S appears to have had a faint dull sound intermediate between that of a vowel and a consonant; and in this position it is frequently dropped, but is sometimes only assimilated. Similarly, where a vowel naturally short is lengthened

before S or F, the *n* w
ened into a dull nasal so
of a vowel, before the
strongly aspirated labio
This sound coalesced w
vowel, and caused it to
pronunciation (Corssen
§ 167).

'The more strictly sc
scribing the above proc
ceding vowel has been
French nasals), and len
has disappeared as an i
and is now only a symb
(Postgate).

For the use of the
to signify the word in
any construction, cf.
in Gk. the article w
used (Nägelsbach § 3 d)

ne multis sc. *utar*;
multis morer'. *ne multa*
are far more frequent in
Dr Reid prefers unde
comparing 'tribus verbi

consule—reprehendet
perative used as a *prota*
232, II Verr. ii 57 'atten
getis...' Phil. ii 104 (wit
ib. 115 (Madv. Opusc
§ 155?). In such cases
troduces the *apodosis* wi
in later prose, e.g. Sen.
sidera et intelleges'. ver
rule of analogy (158),
etymology of the comp
6 § 32 'qui verba paulu
et multipliciter ad verita

iuvare. 'I very muc
there is a parallel for

voluptati autem aurium morigerari debet oratio. quin ego ipse, cum scirem ita maiores locutos [esse], ut nusquam nisi in vocali aspiratione uterentur, loquebar sic, ut 'pulcros, Cetegos, triumpos, Kartaginem' dicerem; aliquando, idque sero, convicio aurium

2 *esse* om. *A*, recte. 3 *pulchros FPO* et *A*. *et cethegos FPO*, *ceteros A*. *triumphos carthaginem FPO* et *A*. 4 *Kartaginem* Gruter, Ern. OKJP : *Cartaginem* cum codd. MHSt. *-vitio A*; *convicto FP*[1]*O*[1], correxit *P*[2], *al. covitio* in margine *O*[3]. *convitio* K; *convicio* MOJPHSt.

which is the ordinary reading. With Heerdegen's reading [adopted in the text], *iuvare* is the inf. of *iuvat* and has for its subject *haec* understood' (Reid).

§ 160. nusquam nisi in vocali. After the *consonants* P, C, T, R, the aspirate is found chiefly in *Greek* words. Inscriptions of the seventh century give it, though rarely until about 660 A. U. C. After about 700 A. U. C. they give it regularly (Roby § 132). On aspiration in Latin, see W. Roscher in Curtius' *Studien* ii 244 sq.

pulcros. In inscriptions of the republican time we have *Pulcri* as a surname (*C.I.L.* i 522, coin of B.C. 55—53), *pulcrum* and *pulcrai* (HEIC EST SEPVLCRVM HAV PVLCRVM PVLCRAI FEMINAE, ib. 1007), *Pol(c(er)* (ib. 552, B.C. 132—131); but also in the same time, *Pulcher* (ib. 380, on a coin B.C. 104; ib. 522, id. B.C. 55—53; ib. 526, id. B.C. 53—51, ib. 619 after B.C. 48) and *Pulchri* (ib. 1043). Among the six *cistophori* of C. Claudius AP. F. Pulcher, proconsul of Asia in B.C. 54—53 (one of which is above referred to), the four struck at Pergamos and the one at Tralles have PVLCHER, while the coin of Ephesus, in the collection of General Fox [now at Berlin], has PVLCRI (W. H. Waddington, *Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques*, p. 61).

The MSS of Plautus have in most passages the forms in *c* (Men. 472, Merc. 583, Mil. 959), but those in *ch* are not unknown (Tri. 188, Mil. 404); the latter are constantly found in the MSS of Lucretius (Corssen ii 150). In the Annals of Ennius (in Vahlen's text), the form in *c* is found in two places ll. 97 and 478 (both so quoted in Gellius), that in *ch* in six; in ll. 80—97 quoted by Cic. de Div. i 107 the word occurs thrice, and Vahlen prints *pulcher* and *pulcherruma* in ll. 83 and 94, but *pulcris* in 97, following the MSS of Cicero in the first two cases and those of Gellius in the last, and thus allowing the poet the license of spelling the same word in two different ways in the same passage.

The spelling pulcer is etymologically correct, the oldest form *pol-cer* having the same stem as *pol-ire*, *pol-itus*, *pol-itura*; and *pul-cer* meaning 'making bright', just as *ludi-cer* (which however is not found in the nom. masc.) means 'making sport' (Corssen l. c.); while the insertion of the aspirate may have been due to a false supposition that the word was connected with the Gk. πολύχρους (cf. Tusc. Disp. iv 31 'corporis est quaedam apta figura membrorum cum *coloris* quadam suavitate eaque dicitur *pulchritudo*'). The present passage shews that Cic. knew that the form in *c* was right, in so far as it rested on ancient authority. To this form he appears to have long adhered; but we here find him, near the close of his life, virtually abandoning it in favour of the corrupted form which popular usage had brought into vogue.

Cetegos. The form *Cethegus* is used in Brut. 58, de Sen. 50 (the consul of B.C. 204, cf. Hor. Ep. ii 2, 117, A. P. 50), and Cat. iii 6 (a companion of Catiline). On a Roman denarius, *C.I.L.* i 339, we have CETEGVS.

triumpos. Quint. i 5 § 20 'diu deinde servatum ne consonantibus aspirarent, ut in *Graecis* et in *triumpis*; erupit brevi tempore nimius usus, ut *choronae*, *chenturiones*, *praechones* adhuc quibusdam inscriptionibus maneant'. *triumpe* is found five times in the *Carmen Arvale* (*C. I. L.* i 28); on the other hand we have the authority of early inscriptions for *triumphans* (ib. 541, B.C. 145), *triumphavit* (twice, ib. 607, about B.C. 56), *triumphi* and *triumphabit* (lex Iulia, ib. 206, B.C. 45). In the *tabulae triumphorum Barberinianae* (recording the triumphs between 43 and 21 B.C.), we have only one clear instance of *triumpavit*.

Kartaginem. In *C. I. L.* i 200 l. 81 (B.C. 111) we have even *Chartago* for *Carthago*. The latter is found in l. 89 of the same inscr. Quint. i 5 § 20. On the K see Corssen i pp. 8—9, or Roby § 103.

convicio, 'censure', 'reproof'; usually of the persistent clamour of living beings

cum extorta mihi veritas esset, usum loquendi pop
scientiam mihi reservavi; 'Orcivios' tamen et 'Mat
Caepiones, sepulcra, coronas, lacrimas' dicimus, qui
iudicium [semper] licet. 'Burrum' semper Enni
5 'Pyrrhum';

vi patefecerunt Bruges,

non 'Phryges'; ipsius antiqui declarant libri: nec e

2 *Orcivios FPO.* *mathones othones FPO.* 3 *sepulchr*
lacrimas FPO, om. *A.* *A* (prius): *semper licet FPO* (o
et K. *burrū A, purrum* *urrhum O.* *nusquam A, nu*
5 *phyrrum A.* 6 *b* *Bruges* Victorius var. lect.
phruges O, phry A.

(probably connected with re... applied exceptionally to an ina... subject, the ear, which is metapl... ly endowed with a living person... as in 159 *probabunt*, and *aurium i...n*, infra and § 150; ad Quint. F. ii ... 'epistulam hanc convicio efflagitarunt codicilli tui'; Quint. Cic. ad Fam. xvi 26 § 1 'verberavi te cogitationis tacito dumtaxat convicio'. The spelling *convitium* is found in good MSS, and is printed in Baiter and Kayser's *Cicero; convicium* is supported by the testimony of Roman grammarians and jurists and by the abovementioned etymology. See also Reid on Acad. ii. 34.

Orcivios. A member of this *gens* was Cicero's colleague as praetor, Clu. 94, 147. The form ORCEVIVS occurs in some very ancient inscriptions at Praeneste (*C. I. L.* i 134–6).

Matones. The form *Matho* is found in Juv. i 32, vii 129. The spelling **Otones,** as well as **Matones**, apparently indicates the pronunciation rather than the orthography; *Otho* being the invariable form.

Caepiones. In a denarius of about 100 B.C., in *C. I. L.* i 377, we have PISO CAEPIO Q(uaestor). The same spelling occurs ib. 582 in an inscription recording his death ten years later.

sepulcra. In inscriptions of the republican time, the form in C occurs in *C. I. L.* i 1007, 1090, and that in CH ib. 1107, and often in other inscriptions (Corssen i 46, ii 153). *sepulchrum* possibly came into use owing to the false analogy of *pulchrum;* and in any case is probably to be ascribed to Greek influence (cf. Corssen i 46 ad fin.). The unaspirated form is supported by the other words formed with the same suffix *-crum*, e.g. *ambula-crum*, *ful-crum*, *involu-*

crum, *lu-crum* and *si...* § 887); cf. Corssen ii 1...

coronas. For the ... form *choronas*, see Quin... above in note on *triumpho*... Osann. *Syll. Inscr.* v... *choron*. Mus. Veron. ... i 46).

lacrimas. *lachrimae* ... scriptions (Orelli 4774, ... *lachrimanda* in Brambac... 323. *lacryma* is an expl... to be attributed to sciolis... the word as a transliter... (cf. Peile's *Introd. to Et*... An epitaph in *C. I. L.* i... well authenticated form ...

aurium iudicium. C... gen. or. 11 'teretes aures ... iudicium', pro Font. 22 '... iudicium' (Reid).

Burrum. Ennius *Ann*... 'nomine *Burrus* uti me... supremo' (a line preser... who however has *Pyrrh*... § 15 'sed B quoque in loc... dimus aliquando, unde B... et Belena'. **Bruges.** *T*... ib. I. 197 'quis ibi non est ... Brugio?...' (cf. Ribbeck, ... Schol. Gronov. has *Fru*... of Cic. Rosc. Am. 90 have ... far more common equival... Latin is P (Corssen i 127)... by Herodotus vii 73 tha... the Macedonians, the Phr... name of Βρίγες so long as ... to live, as neighbours of th... in Europe (cf. Strabo vii ...

ipsius –libri. The same ... like painstaking in verify... exemplified by a friend ... (xviii 6 § 11), who wanti...

n adhibebant, nunc autem etiam duas, et cum 'Phrygum'
n] 'Phrygibus' dicendum esset, absurdum erat aut etiam in
is casibus Graecam litteram adhibere aut recto casu solum

rygum et cum Phrygibus MO; *cum* secl. K, om. *A* (JPHSt). *Brugum et rugibus* Burchard (K). *etiam in* Hoerner (P^2HSt), *etiam* Madvig adv. crit.
am in FPO, tamen A. *tantum* MO; om. Dobree adv. ii p. 372 (JP^1). *ut* :od. Vit. (*aut eam in* ed. Romana et K). 3 *Graecam litteram* secl. K.

eques or *equus* was the right in a passage of Ennius, borrowed eat difficulty a 'librum summae everendae vetustatis, quem fere it Lampadionis manu emenda-

am litteram, namely *υ*, in the

namely *υ* and *ζ*,—Y and Z being, o's time or somewhat earlier, used ig words borrowed from the Greek. Nat. Deor. ii 93 Cicero implies : total number of letters in the lphabet as used by Ennius is 21 ig K and counting C and G as letters, but excluding the letters rds borrowed from the Gk. *υ* and Quint. i 4 § 7 '...cum *Graeca* scri-um enim ab iisdem *duas* mutua-ii 10 § 27 'iucundissimas ex Graecis non habemus, vocalem alteram consonantem (i.e. *υ* and *ζ*), quibus apud eos dulcius spirant; quas solemus, quotiens illorum nomi-imur. quod cum contingit, nescio o hilarior protinus renidet oratio, EPHYRIS et ZEPHYRIS (al. YRIS et ZOPHORIS). Quae si litteris scribantur (sc. EFVRIS, IS), surdum quiddam et barbarum , et velut in locum earum succe-istes et horridae quibus Graecia (Here the fact that the combination es not occur in old Latin leads only to transliterate Y and Z, as S, but also PH as F, thereby in-ig one more *littera horrida* of ie proceeds to give a description, below in note on *insuavissima* n § 163.)
identification of the two letters as agrees with the view of Lagomar-Dawes, *misc. crit.* ed. Kidd p. . Schneider (*Gr. Lat.* i 1 pp. 39 d 264, 376), Orelli and Corssen i ind 12. On the other hand Vic-*Var. Lect.* 14, 3), Schütz, Ernesti, Jahn and Piderit hold that the eek letters borrowed are *υ* and *φ*. is obvious that if *φ* is one of the ers, the other Gk. aspirates *χ* and the same right to be mentioned.
Cic. ought in that case to have described as borrowed, not two letters only, but four if not five. Some of the other objections to this view are thus clearly and conclusively stated by Mr Nixon in an article in the *Journal of Philology* vi 254: 'That *duas* does not mean *φ* and *υ* seems almost certain, because (i) if the word *Phryges* is referred to, as it is, *utramque* would then have been used; (ii) (*Graecam*) *litteram* would have been (*Graecas*) *litteras*; (iii) *litteram* must surely be a character and not a sound; if so, *litteram* must be *φ* or *υ*: but as *φ*, the character, was *not* used subsequently, *φ* can neither be alluded to in *litteram* or *duas*. Therefore *litteram* must mean *υ*'. Referring to *Phryges* and *Pyrrhum* he adds: 'it will be noticed that these two coupled together are both examples of the usage of *y* and not of *φ*'.

'The two consonants are emphatically Y and Z. The fact that the Latin alphabet ended with X is strikingly shewn by the cypher of Augustus, Suetonius Aug. c. 88; strong confirmation is also to be got from coins, especially those of the Italian states. I cannot help thinking that either Cic. gave an ex. of Z as well as Y (possibly *Zephyrum*, which receives some support from Quintilian), or that the words *nunc autem etiam duas* are an insertion by the copyists who knew that Y and Z went by the name of *Graecae litterae*' (Reid).—Cf. Victorinus in Keil's *Gr. Lat.* vi 196, 3 'quae sunt litterae peregrinae? Y et Z', and ib. 5, 28 and 7, 30.

Phrygum et Phrygibus. The Latin terminations -*um* and -*ibus* are here combined with the Greek Υ, borrowed in the form Y.

etiam in barbaris casibus. 'It was formerly considered incongruous', says Cicero, 'either on the one hand to use a Greek letter even in Roman inflexions (Phryg-*um*, Phryg-*ibus*), or on the other (if one refrained from combining a Greek letter with Roman inflexions) to keep the Greek form in the nominative alone' (Phryx, Phryges, for Φρύξ, Φρύγες). **barbaris**, here, as often, contrasted with Greek, and even applied by a Roman to his own language, as in Pl. Trin. prol. 19 'Philemo

... Heusinger (Sch.

scripsit, Plautus vor

Gl. 212 poetae barb

Tyrrell's n.).

recto casu, the uni

opposed to the *casus*

1, Quint. 1 4 § 13, 5 §

§ 4 &c. Aristotle uses

the uninflected nominat

would not have applied

(de interpr. 2) although

latter to the formation

adjectives and to the infl

(poet. 20). It was the Sto

πτῶσις to nouns and used

uninflected nominative; Ch

a special treatise περὶ τῶν

(Diog. Laert. vii § 192): the

πτώσεις for the gen. (dat.)

ascribed to Zeno (ib. 65).

marian Dionysius the Thraci

enumerates as the first of the

the πτῶσις ὀρθή, and adds λέ

μὲν ὀρθὴ ὀνομαστικὴ καὶ εὐθεῖα (

Geschichte der Philol. i 473 f.).

tamen—i.e. in spite of the a

congruities, we nevertheless are

sense of euphony to use not only

which exactly corresponds to the G

also *Pyrrh-um* which combines a

letter with a Latin inflexion.

§ 161. **erant**, impf. to correspo

detrahebant, cf. § 5.

detrahebant. In ...

variety of ...

›mnibus princeps', et

'vita illa dignu' locoque'

ignus'. quod si indocta consuetudo tam est artifex suavi-
[uid ab ipsa tandem arte et doctrina postulari putamus?
lixi brevius, quam si hac de re una disputarem,—est enim 5
:us late patens de natura usuque verborum—longius autem
instituta ratio postulabat.

d quia rerum verborumque iudicium prudentiae est, vocum XLIX
et numerorum aures sunt iudices, et quod illa ad intelle-
m referuntur, haec ad voluptatem, in illis ratio invenit, in 10
nsus artem; aut enim neglegenda fuit nobis voluntas
, quibus probari volebamus, aut ars eius conciliandae repe-

'nib. A, omnium FPO. 2 *dignum FPO.* 3 *in docta A.* proposita *disputarem*' scripsit H, sed hoc accepto, omittendum erat *de; ulata A* (quam lectionem oculi errore e versus antecedentis verbis *-na postu-amus* ortam esse crediderim). 6 *hic locus* FPO (MOKJP): *locus hic A* (H). *rudentiae P* (MOKJP): *in* (om. *FO*) *prudentia A* (HSt). 9 *et* (om. *A*) *um.* 11 *voluntas* Bake coll. §§ 24, 68 (KJ, P² p. 199, HSt): *voluptas* cum *oP¹.* 12 *volebamus FPO, videbamur A.* *repetenda FPO.*

›nsistit fluuius **qui est omnibu'** s, qui sub caeruleo' (the fragment d by Fronto, epist. de Orat. p. ber, who however has *omnium sub civilia*).
-Lucilius *Sat.* iv (of a contest two famous gladiators Aeserni-ied as one of the *Samnites*, and anus: 'Aeserninu' fuit Flacco-inere quidam | Samnis, spurcus **rita illa dignu' locoque**; | cum ino componitur, optumu' multo | mines natos gladiator qui fuit f. de opt. gen. § 17, Tusc. Disp. Quint. ix 4 § 38 'neque Lucilium iti eadem (sc. littera S) ultima, it *Aeserninus fuit* et *dignus lo-* Cicero in Oratore plures anti-tradit sic locutos'.
ta, contrasted with the subsequent ; just as **artifex** leads up to .—**tam** 'to such a degree' (as I ewn by the general drift of my on the laws of euphony observed the ordinary usage of unlettered).
x suavitatis, 'a very artist of ound'. For the adjectival use of 'skilled in', cf. Suet. Tit. 7 'tam saltationis'.
a. quam sc. *dixissem*. Roby **natura**, all that words are by *φύσει*; **usu**, what they are by *θέσει* and *consuetudo*. **instituta ratio**, the pre-conceived plan of my work.

§§ 162—167. *Of the arrangement and use of words in accordance with the laws of euphony.*

prudentiae est. de Or. ii 307 'ea quae probandi et docendi causa dicenda sunt. quem ad modum componamus, id est vel maxime proprium oratoris *pruden-tiae*'.

vocum...et numerorum. Cf. de Or. iii 171 ff. and 195. **aures...voluptatem** ib. 177 '(orationis genus) ad omnem aurium voluptatem mutatur et vertitur'. 159 'voluptati aurium morigerari debet oratio'. Quint. ix 4 § 116 'optime autem de illa (sc. de compositione) iudi-cant aures...ideoque docti rationem com-ponendi intellegunt, etiam indocti volup-tatem'.

voluntas...probari. 24 'omnes qui *pro-bari* volunt, *voluntatem* eorum qui audiunt intuentur'. The manuscript reading *vo-luptas* has arisen from the preceding *voluptatem*. *voluntas* also agrees better with *conciliandae* below, cf. animos homi-num conciliare (de Off. ii 17), ad animos conciliandos (de Or. iii 204), benevolen-tiam conciliare (Cluent. 7).—In the MSS of de Am. 91 *ad voluptatem* is followed by *ad voluntatem* in 93 (see Reid's n.).

rienda. duae sunt igitur res, quae permulceant
numerus. de numero mox, nunc de sono quaerir
supra diximus, legenda sunt potissimum bene so
non ut poëtae exquisita ad sonum, sed sumpta de

5 'qua pontus Helles'

superat modum, at

Tmolus auri fons liquorum

splendidis nominibus illuminatus est versus, sed p

1 *permulceant* MOJRST ... *pmulceant A: permulcent* ... -*es* ceteri. 4 *ex qu*... 5 *Qua pontushelles*... *Locorum A*. Qua pontus ... superat Timolum ac Tauric... *ponto ab* Lipsius, ep. qua... ...nter, Ern. MOKP): *pontus* c... Lipsium, et ... *helles A, hellus* ... 6 *superat timolum* ... *superat Timolū O, superadmolū* ..., *superat modum* MOKJP. *ac tauricos* P, *at tauricos* FO[1], *al-auratus aries colchorum* in ma... MOP[1] et Lachmann ad Lucr. vi ... idem probabat Stangl): *a*... *liquorum*' Lachmann in Jahnii ...one (K) et cum obelo P[2]); *a*... *rum*' (*aries* vel sequi vel inseri po...it) Ribbeck Fragm. Trag. ... *colos liquorum*' auriferum flumen ut Pactolum intellegens Boeche... hunc locum tractarunt...non attenderunt in brevi illo versus frag... *Helles* nihil omnino esse, quod *superare modum* dici possit; dein... sunt et audacter inferiunt complura ad efficiendum illum versum ... iudicium quod sequitur Ciceronis: *splendidis* cet. Quod requirit... verbis. Scriptum enim fuerat ad hunc modum: "Qua ponto ab ... *lum et Taurios*." Locorum splendidis nominibus cet. Appar... continetur proximus versus: finis, frugifera cet. (Nihil obstat, ... antiquus poeta apud Sen. Ep. 80, 7 *ponto ab Helles* dixit in defin... bus)' Madvig adv. crit. iii 99.—Ceterum inter Hellespontum et ... nihil commune est; neque Hellespontus *superat* Tmolum; *separa*... ciam. Ergo, si codicis Abrincensis vestigia sequenda sunt, aliqui... coniciendum: *Qua pontus Helles separat olim Thracios...Finis*,

§ 163. **permulceant.** Cf. 128; Roby § 1682.

mox §§ 174 ff. **supra** §§ 80, 149.

poëtae sc. legunt; de Or. iii 184 'neque vero haec tam acrem curam diligentiamque desiderant quam est illa *poetarum*'. For the parenthetic use of *ut poetae*, cf. Acad. ii 124, with Reid's note.

sumpta de medio, de Or. iii 177 'ea nos cum iacentia sustulimus e medio'.

qua— Ribbeck's *Tragicorum Rom. rel. incert.* 104 'en impero Argis, sceptra mihi liquit Pelops, *qua ponto ab Helles* atque ab Ionio mari urgetur Isthmos' (quoted in Seneca Ep. 80); **superat modum**, because of the unusual division of Hellespontus into its two component parts, the usual order of which is further inverted, as in Ovid, Tr. i 10, 15 'mare in Helles', where a preposition is also placed between the two words, as in the passage just quoted.

Tmolus auri fons liquorum. (Cf. Eur. Bacch. 154 Τμώλου χρυσορόου, and Ovid Met. xi 87.) This is ... ble emendations for ... readings of the ... fairly with the imm... reference to Asia, bu... on the ground of it... beginning with the le... recurrence of which ... on the subsequent lin...

splendidis, 110 and ... verborum, and inf. 16... dide dicta, de Off. i 4... facere (of Dem.). I ... tunity to suggest th... 'saepe ipse vidi, u... ardere oculi hominis ... †*spondalli* or †*spon*... can get a satisfacto... the emendation '*sple*... the first step in the ... the dropping out of ... rest would readily ... introducing a quotati... (illa praeclara), Acad...

ısuavissima littera:

'finis, frugifera et efferta arva Asiae tenet'.

ɔonitate potius nostrorum verborum utamur quam splen-
'accorum, nisi forte sic loqui paenitet:

'qua tempestate Helenam Paris' 5

: secuntur: immo vero ista sequamur asperitatemque
ıs:

FPO, *finitus A* (M), †*finitus* (O). *efferta* Lachmann ad Lucr. vi 258; ⁾ (MO), *feria A*; *fertilia* scripsit H. *Asia FPO*. 5 *Helenam Paris* ı in Jahnii ed.: *Paris Helenam* codd. et hic et in libro de Or. iii 219 (MO). *ur* ceteri.

Disp. i 85, 107, iii 29, 45, de 4, de Or. iii 157, 217. [This ı is, I find, anticipated in *Trag. frag.* p. 118.] **nomini-** necessarily proper names; but ords, in the sense in which ı often used. 'alterum nomen fuisse quod Cicero reticuerit icant. fortasse scripserat tragi- *Lydiae Finis* &c.' Lachmann, ;58.

itus Brut. 140. (Antonius) r loquendi laude caruit; neque admodum inquinate locutus', en. 7 (est vitiosum) 'in verbis, tum'.

ssima littera, the reiterated ı 158. Quint. xii 10 § 29 illa (littera) quae est sexta nos- ıaene non humana voce vel on voce potius inter discrimina :fflanda est; quae etiam cum ɔroxima accipit quassa quodam ique quotiens aliquam conso- 'angit, ut in hoc ipso *frangit*, horridior'. In the Latin pro- ı of this letter, which is a sharp al fricative formed between the th and under lip, the dental ıeems to have predominated. ı's description 'indicates strongly and voiceless character'. 'I ed to think', says Roby, p. xxxv, more is meant by his words own out between the intervals th with no sound of the voice." nk that a still harsher articula- the ordinary English F is here nd no doubt this is possible ıut, considering that Quintilian as quite peculiar, some empha- ression is not unnatural'. Te- Maurus v. 227 uses less exagge- language when describing F as uttered 'with a gentle breathing while the under lip is pressed against the upper teeth', and similarly Marius Victorinus p. 2455 P. We find from Quint. i 4 § 14 that the Greeks had a difficulty in pronouncing the Latin F, and used to aspirate it, i.e. pronounce it like their own φ (p-h), 'Graeci aspirare solent, ut pro Fundanio Cicero testem, qui primam eius litteram dicere non possit, irridet', cf. Priscian i 14 H 'non fixis labris est pronuntianda F quomodo PH, atque hoc solum interest' (cf. Corssen i p. 137 ff.).

et efferta. Emended for *et ferta*, as in Lucr. vi 258 *effertus* for *et fertus*.

§ 164. **nisi forte**—an ironical reference to those of his contemporaries who affected to despise the old Latin poets and preferred to follow Greek models.

qua tempestate. De Or. iii 219 'Aliud (vocis genus sumat) molestia: sine commiseratione grave quoddam et uno pressu ac sono obductum:

Qua tempestate Helenam Paris innuptis iunxit nuptiis,
Ego sum gravida, expletis iam fere ad pariendum mensibus;
Per idem tempus Polydorum Hecuba partu postremo parit'.

In Ribbeck, *Trag. Frag.* p. 246, these lines are entered as coming *ex incertis incertorum fabulis*; in the critical notes, however, it is observed: 'ex Pacuvii Iliona sumpta esse intellexit Welckerus'. Kayser who accepts Lachmann's transposition *Helenam Paris* in the present passage, retains the manuscript reading *Paris Helenam* in de Or. l.c.

ista sequamur, sc. 'verba bene sonantia', de Or. iii 153 'neque illud fugerim dicere, ut Caelius: qua tempestate Poenus in Italiam venit'.

asperitatemque fugiamus, a modifica-

'habeo istam ego perterricrepam'

itemque

'versutiloquas malitias'.

Nec solum componentur verba ratione, sed
5 quoniam id iudicium esse alterum aurium diximu
aut compositione ipsa et quasi sua sponte aut
verborum, in quibus ipsis concinnitas inest; q
habent in exitu similis, sive paribus paria reddu
nuntur contraria, su[...] atura numerosa sunt, e
10 factum de industria. [...] huius concinnitatis con
giam fuisse principem [...] epimus; quo de genere
in Miloniana: 'est enim, iudices, haec non script

1 *istam ego FPO* (MOKJP): *ego ista A, ego istam* II, *istanc ego*
crepam A. 2 *itemque* malebat Ern. (Sch. O[m]KJPHST): *idem*
fidem seq. litterarum duarum spatio *A.* 4 *componantur A.*
5 *sed FPO, et A.* *finiuntur FPO* (MOKJP), *finientur A; finient*
compositione A. *et quasi* codd. (MOKJPST): *aut quasi* Sc
quodam genere verborum vulg. (MOKJPST): *ut quaedam genera verb*
7 *in* om. *A.* *quibus in ipsis* in archetypo fuisse censet Reid, c
et fortasse Lael. 79. 8 *similis* K: *-es* ceteri. 10 *consectione F*

tion of the previous clause: 'and at the same time let us avoid such harshnesses as the use of awkward compounds like *perterricrepus* and *versutiloquus*'.

habeo—Ribbeck, *Trag. Frag. inc.* 142 'habeo istanc (istam *libri*) ego perterricrepam'. 'De anapaestis *habeo istam ecclo perterricrepam* cogitavit Buechelerus: pro illo *habeo* poterat *paveo* ponere', Ribbeck. We may conjecture that the passage is a fragment of the *Lycurgus* of Naevius (cf. Aesch. fragm. 55, from the *Edoni*, the first play in the tetralogy of the Λυκουργεία: τυπάνου δ' εἰκὼν ὥσθ' ὑπογαίου βροντῆς φέρεται βαρυταρβής); cf. Labbaei gloss. *terricrepus* βαρύβρομος. *perterricrepus* is found in Lucr. vi 128 as an epithet of thunder, 'perterricrepo sonitu'.

itemque. Ribbeck, *Trag. Frag. inc.* 114 'num nón vis huius me vérsutiloquas málitias?'

De Or. iii 154 'novantur autem verba, quae ab eo qui dicit ipso gignuntur ac fiunt, vel coniungendis verbis, ut haec:... *num non vis huius me versutiloquas malitias?*' As the reference is probably to the wily Odysseus, it has been suggested that the line comes from the *armorum iudicium* of Accius. Cf. Accius 694 'fallaciloquae malitiae' (de Fin. iv 68).

componentur refers to the euphony that results from the close combination of words of pleasing sound. Thus far, we

have had an expositi
three headings men
inter se quam apt
eaque sint quam s
The exposition of th
the end of § 167.

ratione, 'rational
accordance with the
law of euphony, 10, c

finientur (170) re
produced by the sent
rounded off. **diximu**
ing in 149, 'ut forma
verborum conficiat or

aut compositione
taneously, from the
ment of the compo
sentence (**ipsa**, 167
aut—'or from the us
naturally symmetrical
points contrasted ap
'vel compositione q
verborum'.

casus—similis, ὁμ
—πάρισα. **opponunt**
all three cf. 38, where
is used without *cont*
is expressed in § 166.

§ 165. **Gorgiam,** s
inf. 175 ff.

Miloniana. Ciceró
fence of T. Annius
(Forsyth's Cic. chap.

non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa
uimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti, sed facti,
nstituti, sed imbuti sumus'. haec enim talia sunt, ut, quia
ntur ad ea, ad quae debent referri, intellegamus non quaesi-
esse numerum, sed secutum; quod fit item in referendis 5
ariis, ut illa sunt, quibus non modo numerosa oratio, sed
versus efficitur:

'eam, quam nihil accusas, damnas'—

emnas' diceret, qui versum effugere vellet—

'bene quam meritam esse autumas, 10

licis male mereri'.

id, quod scis, prodest nil: id, quod nescis, obest'.

m efficit ipsa relatio contrariorum: idem esset in oratione

d accepimus non legimus FPO. *ex* om. *FPO.* *ipsam A.* 2 *adr.* KP: . 3 *sed imbuti* propter ὁμοιοτέλευτον om. *A.* *haec* & *enī* & *alias ut A.* *ad ea ad quae* cod. Eins. (OKJPH): *ea quae A, ad ea quae FPO* (M), *eo quo* st. *referundis contrariis FPO, contrariis referendis A.* 9 *condemnas—vellet* ixon; defendit Reid coll. v. 13 'idem esset in oratione—obest'. *diceret FPO;* *A* (HST). *vellet FPO* (MOKJPST): *voluisset A* (H). 10 *autumas pro* r *FPO.* 11 *dicis* seclusit Stangl, Bl. f. d. b. Gymn. xviii p. 248, (H). *AP*[2]: *merere FPO*[1] (HST). 12 *nil* Lachmann (KJP): *nihil* cum codd. MOHST. 13 *ipsa ratio FPO; illa relatio A* (edd.). *idem A* (HST): *id FPO* (MOKJP).

is in § 10 of the *pro Milone*, he is insisting that there *is* an en law, that impels a man to himself when attacked. There is variation in the first few words peech as it has come down to us: itur haec, iudices'. **scripta** and s well as **docti** and **facti** are es of πάρισα, **didicimus, accepi-** **legimus** of ὁμοιόπτωτα, while the pairs of clauses parted by **sed** or are instances of ἀντίθετα. The or symmetry of expression has led use **ad quam non docti** in the and with the construction, of *ad* *non doctrina ducti*, in contrast to *facti*; similarly **imbuti** is used as ist to **instituti**, although the con- n with *ad* is more appropriate to er than the former.

ti, here contrasted with *instituti*, earliest instincts, as opposed to ent training. Elsewhere the two re combined, as in Phil. x 20 'in- tque imbuti', de Or. ii 162 'doc- beraliter institutus et aliquo iam usu' (with Wilkins' note). In r. 19 *imbutus* is opposed to *in-*. The meaning 'tinged from the t' comes directly from the primary meaning 'dipped for the first time' which appears in such passages as Catullus iv 17 'tuo imbuisse palmulas in aequore'.

referuntur, the words 'correspond to one another in precisely the proper manner'. The reference is mainly to the ὁμοιόπτωτα and πάρισα, while the next sentence refers to the rhythmical effect which is naturally brought about by ἀντίθετα. **quaesitum**, 84; contrasted with **secutum** as in 219; de Or. iii 194 'verba sequerentur'.

§ 166. **in referendis contrariis**, de Or. ii 263 'verba relata contrarie'. **oratio** 'prose', 70, 174, 192, de Or. iii 153.

eam—damnas. Ribbeck's *Trag. frag. inc.* 200 'eám, quam nihil accúsas, damnas: béne quam meritam esse aútumas, Dícis male meréri', quoted consecutively in Top. 55 among examples of antithetical ἐνθυμήματα.

id quod—obest. Ribbeck *u. s.* 202, also quoted in Top. l.c. Below, Cic. gives us the same sense in rhythmical prose. 'Ceterum etiam haec numerosa nobis senarium sonant quamvis non numerosum: ergo *id quod scis* et *id quod nescis* a Cicerone scriptum fuisse puto' (Ribbeck).

numerosum 'quod scis, nihil prodest; quod nescis, mul
L semper haec, quae Graeci ἀντίθετα nominant, cum
opponuntur contraria, numerum oratorium necessitat
ciunt etiam sine industria. hoc genere antiqui iam a
5 tem delectabantur et maxime Gorgias, cuius in oratio
que efficit numerum ipsa concinnitas; nos etiam in
frequentes, ut illa sunt in quarto accusationis: 'cor
pacem cum illo bello, huius praetoris adventum cum i
ratoris victoria, huius cohortem impuram cum illi
10 invicto, huius libidine[illegible] illius continentia: ab illo
conditas, ab hoc, qu[illegible]itutas accepit, captas di
cusas'.

Ergo et hi numeri [illegible]gniti et genus illud tertiu
tur quale sit, numerosa [illegible] aptae orationis; quod qu
15 tiunt, quas auris habeant aut quid in eis hominis simile
meae quidem et perfecto completoque verborum ambi
et curta sentiunt nec amant redundantia. quid dico n

1 *multum FPO, nihil A.* 2 *haec quod A.* 4 *etiam A* (KHSt) (MO[illegible]IP). 10 *coepit FP, coepit A.* 13 post *cogniti* in marg. add. *a latinis'.* *et* (om. *A*) *genus FPO.* *sed poetici numeri sint cogniti. ia[illegible] illud tertium explicetur* malebat St. 14 *quales sint A.* *orat*[illegible] 15 *auris* KH (cum *A*). *in his* MHSt: *in iis* cod. Eins. (O), *in eis* [illegible] *hominibus A.* 17 *curta sentiunt nec FPO, cur* 'seq. spatio decem [illegible] *ut nec A.* *quod A, quod FPO.*

necessitate, 220 'formae...quaedam sunt orationis, in quibus ea concinnitas est, ut sequatur numerus *necessario*'.

sine industria, 'without set purpose'; cf. 151, 164 ad fin., de Off. i. 24.

§ 167. **accusationis**. II in Verr. iv 115, cf. supra 103. **adventum**; the arrival of Verres and his abandoned retinue is placed in rhetorical contrast to the triumphal entry of Marcellus and his victorious army, as in Verr. *u. s.* § 121 '*adventum* et comitatum cum exercitu et *victoria* conferatis'. For the construction **conferte...dicetis** cf. 159.

§§ 168—173. *Remarks introductory to the consideration of the oratorical arrangement of words according to the rules of artistic rhythm.*

§ 168. **sint cogniti**, 190, cf. 14. **genus illud tertium**. We now reach the third heading of § 149 'ut comprehensio *numerose et apte* cadat', the subject of a consciously artistic rhythm, as contrasted with the spontaneous variety of it which has just been described as the natural

result of symmetry of ex[illegible]
aptae cf. note on 149.

quod—nescio, quoted b[illegible] 21 § 24.

quas auris—hominis [illegible] '*auris* tam *inhumanas*...h[illegible] iii 195 'quod ea sunt in[illegible] infixa sensibus nec earum [illegible] quam funditus natura esse [illegible] tem', 197 'nihil est tam cog[illegible] bus nostris quam numeri et [illegible]

ambitu, 38. **curta** 'wha[illegible] cf. κολοβός in Ar. Rhet. iii [illegible] 'mutila et quasi decurtata'; [illegible] sense cf. Quint. ix 4 § [illegible] autem de illa (compositi[illegible] aures quae plena sentiunt [illegible] pleta desiderant et fragosi[illegible] et levibus mulcentur et con[illegible] tur et stabilia probant, clau[illegible] dunt, redundantia ac nimi[illegible] **redundantia**, opp. to [illegible] 'productiora...et quasi imm[illegible] currentia'.

saepe exclamare vidi, cum apte verba cecidissent. id enim
tant aures, ut verbis colligetur sententia. 'non erat
ud antiquos.' et quidem nihil aliud fere non erat; nam et
ligebant et sententias gravis et suavis reperiebant, sed eas
iciebant aut explebant parum. 'hoc me ipsum delectat', 5
nt. quid, si antiquissima illa pictura paucorum colorum
quam haec iam perfecta delectet, illa nobis sit, credo, repe-

li cum AF, iudicii PO. *id enim : etenim* Gellius. 2 *coni.* K. *colli-*
ntentia A et Gellius xviii 7 § 7 (OH): *colligentur sententiae FPO* (MKJP).
ligebant FPO, effingebant A. gravis et suavis KH cum *A* et *FOPM.*
quam Hoerner (st).

nes—sententia, quoted by Gel-
7 § 7.
nare, here in a good sense;
itus clamor contionis excitatus
is used of the clamour of dis-
in 173.
graphic touch implying the writer
ye-witness of the acclamations of
bled people. As is well remarked
an acclaiming multitude makes
impression on the sense of sight
s on that of hearing; and to no
ay be added, is this impression
id than to the speaker himself,
ne, as a general rule, sees the
faces and the open mouths of
nce. Cicero is doubtless referring
wn experience, not as one of an
, but as an orator. For **vidi** cf.
577 'loca vidi reddere vocis'.
sent, 'on the period closing with
ical cadence'; 175 'quae...ca-
nerose', 177 'cecidisse iucunde',
177, 203, 215, 219, 222, 223 f.,
t. 34 'melius caderet'.
tant, 178 init.
tur, 'harmoniously compacted,
nterwoven', *ut in corona* (§ 71).
we have a variety of metaphors
s the imparting of a rhythmical
r to prose: de Or. iii 175—6
sic illigat sententiam verbis, ut
nero quodam complectatur et a-
soluto. nam cum *vinxit* modis
, relaxat et liberat immutatione
inf. 174 'verbis solutis numerum
e', 181 *accommodare*, 187 'numeris
e orationem' (Nägelsbach, *Stil.*
.
ios, not the predecessors of Iso-
erely, as in § 167, but Roman
efore the times of Cicero.
dem, 'true but', marking the com-
ent of a partly concessive reply.
otes de Fin. i 35 'torquem de-
sti...*et quidem* se texit ne in-

teriret', de Leg. iii 24 'at aliquando in-
cenditur...et quidem saepe sedatur'.
gravis et suavis, 62. **vinciebant... explebant,** 40; de Or. iii 198 'illi veteres ...cum circuitum et quasi orbem verbo-
rum conficere non possent; nam id quidem
nuper vel posse vel audere coepimus'.
§ 169. **pictura.** The earlier Greek paint-
ers used only four leading colours (with
their several varieties and combinations):
yellow, red, black, and white. Plutarch,
de Def. orac. 47, ὤχρα, σινωπίς, μέλαν,
μηλιάς. Brut. 70 'similis in pictura ratio
est: in qua Zeuxin et Polygnotum et
Timanthem et eorum qui non sunt usi
plus quam *quattuor coloribus*, formas et
lineamenta laudamus; at in...Protogene,
Apelle iam perfecta sunt omnia'. Plin.
N. H. xxxv 50 (of Apelles and others),
'quattuor coloribus solis immortalia illa
opera fecere, ex albis Melino, ex silaceis
Attico, ex rubris Sinopide Pontica, ex
nigris atramento...omnia meliora tunc
fuere, cum minor copia'. (Müller's *Ancient Art* § 319, 2.)
magis—delectet, de Or. iii 98 'quanto
colorum pulchritudine et varietate flori-
diora sunt in picturis novis pleraque quam
in veteribus! quae tamen etiamsi primo
aspectu nos ceperunt, diutius non delec-
tant; cum eidem nos in antiquis tabulis
illo ipso horrido obsoletoque teneamur'.
Dionys. Hal. de Isaeo c. 4 (in contrasting
Lysias and Isaeus) εἰσὶ δή τινες ἀρχαῖαι
γραφαί, e.g. those of Polygnotus and
Aglaophon, χρώμασι μὲν εἰργασμέναι ἁπλῶς καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐν τοῖς μίγμασιν ἔχουσαι ποικιλίαν, ἀκριβεῖς δὲ ταῖς γραμμαῖς, καὶ πολὺ τὸ χάριεν ἐν ταύταις ἔχουσαι· αἱ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνας (e.g. those of Zeuxis and Parrhasius) εὔγραμμοι μὲν ἧττον, ἐξειργασμέναι δὲ μᾶλλον, σκιᾷ τε καὶ φωτὶ ποικιλλόμεναι καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν μιγμάτων τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχουσαι.
sit, credo, de Or. i 250 'si iam sit

tenda, haec scilicet repudianda! nominibus vete
habet autem ut in aetatibus auctoritatem senectus
antiquitas, quae quidem apud me ipsum valet plu
id, quod deest antiquitati, flagito potius quam l
5 praesertim cum ea maiora iudicem quae sunt,
desunt; plus est enim in verbis et in sententiis l
excellunt, quam in conclusione sententiarum, qu
LI post inventa conclusio est, qua credo usuros vete
si iam nota atque usurpata res esset; qua inve
10 magnos oratores [illegible] ius. sed habet nomen in
oratione iudiciali et [illegible] asi numerus [Latine, Graec
dicitur; nimis enim [illegible] liarum ad capiendas auris a
si etiam in dicendo [illegible] neri ab oratore quaeruntur
et ipsi infracta et a[illegible] tata locuntur et eos vitupe
15 finita pronuntiant: [illegible] nanibus verbis levibusque
sin probae res, lecta verba, quid est cur claude

1 sint A, sint FPO. 2 ut: et O. 3 antiquitatis A. Hoerner cum codd. Erl. et Gu.[2] 6 boni A (MOKJPST): bonis F FPO, vero A. 9 omnis KH. 10—12 cum—dicitur secl. Graece ῥυθμὸς O cum codd.: Latine secl. Ern. (MKH, om. JP); K (H), om. JP. 12 auris KH. 13 cum si A. in dicendo A. 14 loquuntur cet. 15 inre: in marg. P[2] al. usi. 16 sin [illegible] probae res: probares P[1] corr. P[2].

causa aliqua ad nos delata obscurior, difficile, credo, sit, cum hoc Scaevola communicare'. We have already had the ironical use of **credo** in 155.

nominibus veterum, e.g. Naevius, Ennius, Accius, Pacuvius among poets; and Cato among orators.

conclusione, 20, periodic form. Brut. 33 'quaedam ad numerum conclusio nulla erat'.

esset, the impf. of a continuous state supposed, contrary to the fact, to have existed in past time (Roby 1530 c).

§ 170. **nimis**, exceptionally used, like *nimium*, in a substantival sense. Ovid F. vi 115 'haec loca lucis habent nimis'. Dr Reid doubts whether there is another ex. of *nimis* with gen. in Cic.

insidiarum, 38; de Or. iii 193 'horum (pedum) vicissitudines efficient, ut neque ei satientur, qui audient, fastidio similitudinis, nec nos id quod faciemus opera dedita facere videamur'.

infracta. De Or. iii 186 'membra illa modificata esse debebunt, quae si in extremo breviora sunt, *infringitur* ille quasi verborum ambitus'. **amputata**, 32 mutila. **apta** (149) here contrasted with **infracta**, as **finita** (164) with **amputata**;

but neither in the fin
of the two contraste
corresponding epithe
from one another in n

lecta, 163, 227, de
150, Brut. 250.

claudere = *claudica*
putata above; Brut.
enim una (parte) pla
esse non posset', Tusc.
vitam, etiam si ex ali
tamen ex multo mai
nomen suum'. The
and *albeo*, *candico* an
a form *claudeo* which
by Caecilius, quoted b
'consilium claudeat':
we have in Gell. iv 7 f
surus est', which poin
dĕre,—a completely dif
far more common one
way. *claudeo* and *cl*
of 'being lame', were
forms like *fulgeo* and *f*
always used in a meta

insistere 'stop sh
standstill', 187, 207,
Or. iii 190 'efficiendu
ne vagetur, ne *insist*
currat longius'.

nem malint quam cum sententia pariter excurrere? hic invidiosus numerus nihil adfert aliud nisi ut sit apte verbis ·ehensa sententia; quod fit etiam ab antiquis, sed plerum- ısu, saepe natura; et quae valde laudantur apud illos, ea ȷuia sunt conclusa, laudantur. et apud Graecos quidem ıni prope quadringenti sunt, cum hoc probatur; nos nuper imus. ergo Ennio licuit vetera contemnenti dicere

'versibu', quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant',

le antiquis eodem modo non licebit? praesertim cum dic-

/. K: *aff.* cet. 3 *sed parum tumque casu sive natura* Friedrich coll. Brut. 33. codd.: *semper* mavult H, sed sensus repugnat. 5 *coinclusa* FO. *mente dicere uersib. q'f A.* 8 *versibus* H, *vorsibus* st.

osus, 222. **conclusa**, 20.

quadringenti. From the arrival as in Athens (427 B.C.) to the date *Orator*, the exact number of years Cic. is probably reckoning in umbers from the time of Pericles. ·ex quo; ad Fam. xv 14 § 1 nni sunt, cum ille in meo aere est' 1687); p. Cluent. 82, Phil. xii 24. , contrasted with **mihi** below, as

ι. Ennius is referring mainly to : Saturnian measure of Naevius' the first Punic War, and giving on for abridging his own account ut. 71 "quid nostri veteres versus ? 'quos olim—ante hunc'"; ib. vii illius, quem in vatibus et Faunerat Ennius, bellum Punicum'. assage (which is quoted in a fragway in Brut. §§ 71, 76, de Div. d Varro de L. L. vii 36) comes seventh book of the Annals, 221, en's ed., and, as there printed, ollows:

scripsere alii rem
ı quos olim Faunei uatesque cane-

ȷue Musarum scopulos quisquam ırat
.i studiosus erat...
ante hunc
reserare (with a *lacuna* after *hunc*).
ırth line, as emended by Bergk, is tis dictis studiosus quisquam erat ıc'.)

Others have told the tale s sung of yore by Fauns and

own time, when none as yet had d
The Muses' mount or learnt the lore of song.
'Twas I that burst the bar.

versibu'. On the ecthlipsis, see 161. **Fauni**, Lucr. iv 580—589; Varro de L. L. vii 36 (after quoting part of the passage from Ennius) adds 'Fauni dei Latinorum, ita ut Faunus et Fauna sit; hos versibus quos vocant Saturnios in silvestribus locis traditum est solitos fari futura, a quo fando Faunos dictos. antiquos poetas vates appellabant a versibus viendis'. The same thought is finely expressed in the following passage of Mommsen's History, where one of Varro's etymologies is also tacitly corrected: 'The earliest chant, in the view of the Romans, was that which the leaves sang to themselves in the green solitude of the forest. The whispers and pipings of the "favourable spirit" (*Faunus* from *favere*) in the grove, were repeated to men by the singer (*vates*) or by the songstress (*casmena, carmenta*) who had the gift of listening to him, with the accompaniment of the pipe, and in rhythmically measured language (*casmen*, afterwards *carmen*, from *canere*); and the names of several of these divinely inspired interpreters, above all that of an ancient seer and singer Marcius, lingered long in the memory of posterity' (i 230 Eng. ed. 1864). Cf. Sellar's *Roman Poets of the Republic* p. 36.

vates, de Div. i 115 'similiter Marcius et Publicius vates cecinisse dicuntur'. Though the oldest name for a poet, it fell into disrepute and the pure Latin word was discarded for the Gk. *poeta*, until restored to honour by Virgil (Munro, Lucr. i 102).

eodem modo sc. dicere. **reserare**, some

cius

orna,

1 &

nolu

ceteros la

7 *bonis F*

vi p. 570 K

(Rufinus) *ἐ*

summi A m

(11).

do

such word as *f*

a metaphorical

non nullos c.

tulus. **absolute,**

nihil ... **nisi vit**

x 1 § 25 'ut se abu

vitia magnorum con

§§ 90, 91. **cum,**

'their good points, th

§ 172. **auris inhu**

ticsimorum, experts t

with the theory as well

rhetoric.

Ephorus, *of Cumae in*

temporary of Philip and

phorus and Theopompus

tioned together as historia

rhetoric by Isocrates (de Or.

Brut. 204, ad Att. vi 1 § 12).

ject of rhythm was handled by

his lost treatise περὶ λέξεως

218. But this work

tioned excep

ii 8

d quis omnium doctior, quis acutior, quis in rebus vel dis vel iudicandis acrior Aristotele fuit? quis porro Iso- adversatus infensius? is igitur versum in oratione vetat merum iubet. eius auditor Theodectes in primis, ut les saepe significat, politus scriptor atque artifex hoc 5 sentit et praecipit; Theophrastus vero eisdem de rebus lcuratius. quis ergo istos ferat, qui hos auctores non ' nisi omnino haec esse ab his praecepta nesciunt; quod

quis hominum Rufin. *quis acutior quis* om. *A*, *quis acutior* Rufin. *veniendis vel iudicandis P.* 3 *est* om. Rufin. *adversus* Rufin. *infensius et sentit: sentit* Rufin. *eisdem: iisdem A* et cod. Rufin. *B* (MO), *iis A*, *et isdem FPO*, *isdem* H et st. *his* Hoerner cum cod. Erl. 7 *auc.* K: 8 *probet* corr. *probent A*, *prebent O.* *omnino n A.* *haec* om. *A.* MKP), *iis A* et Rufin. (OHst), *eis* J. *nesciant A* et in marg. *vel nesciunt.*

d his school, is to be found in at Brutus does not share his for Isocr. (see § 40). Hence declaration that the authority *ght* to have been unquestioned, hat it was *not*. Hence also to one whose authority would nore acceptable to Brutus, be- as that of one whom literary escribed (however unfairly) as socr. (§ 62). Cic. implies that ty' of Aristotle to Isocr. would the former to repudiate the f the latter on the subject of prose, had he not been con- s truth. *Introd.* p. xviii.

dis, in the *disciplina invenien- umentorum* treated of in the **dicandis**, in dialectic.

— Ar. Rhet. iii 8 § 1 τὸ δὲ λέξεως δεῖ μήτε ἔμμετρον εἶναι μον...§ 3 ῥυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν ον δὲ μή.

tes, of Phaselis in Lycia, who B.C. 380 and died before 334. ed a tragedy on the subject of Gell. x 18), and won the prize on eight of the thirteen occa- hich he competed. Theopom- preface of his *Philippica* names Naucrates, as a pupil of Isocr. Hal. de Isaeo 19, Athen. x le is described by Suidas as a lato and Aristotle; cf. Quint. after mentioning Ar.) 'eodem h. fuit', and afterwards 'Theo- quoque Aristotelis discipulus' . *Ber.* ii 410—416). He was of an art of rhetoric, quoted nymous writers in the *Rhetores* 19 and vii 33 Walz (cf. Anti- Athen. iv 134 B); there were *wo treatises in rhetoric* which bore his name, one by Aristotle called τὰ Θεοδέκτεια (Rhet. iii 9 § 9), the other by Theodectes himself, called ἡ Θεοδέκτου τέχνη. In § 194 his art of rhetoric is implicitly recognised and in § 218 he is mentioned with others as an authority on the use of the paean in rhythmical prose. We may certainly conclude that Cic. was acquainted, either at first or second hand, with a rhetorical treatise from his pen. (Cope's *Intr. to Ar. Rhet.* p. 55—67.)

in primis, ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις, 190. Tusc. Disp. iii 12 'Crantor ille, qui in nostra Academia vel in primis fuit nobilis'.

significat. Probably in his lost συναγωγὴ τεχνῶν, a sketch of the early history of rhetoric, which was known to Cic. (de Inv. ii 6 and de Or. ii 160, cf. Brut. 12). There is nothing warranting the statement in the extant works of Ar. (Cope *u. s.* p. 62).

politus scriptor. This encomium is to some extent justified by the fragments of his tragedies which have come down to us (Nauck *fragm. Trag.* p. 622—7). Some of these take the form of γνῶμαι expressed in clear and sometimes even beautiful language; many of them however are only rhetorical subtleties turned into verse (Blass *u. s.* p. 414). In Ar. Rhet. ii 23 § 13 we have a quotation from his ἀπολογία Σωκράτους. εἰς ποῖον ἱερὸν ἠσέβηκεν; τίνας θεῶν οὐ τετίμηκεν ὧν ἡ πόλις νομίζει; and ib. § 17 from his νόμος. **artifex**, de Or. i 23 'Graeci dicendi artifices'.

Theophrastus, in his lost treatise περὶ λέξεως, 79. Cf. de Or. iii 184 'adsentior *Theophrasto*, qui putat orationem, quae quidem sit polita atque facta quodam modo, non astricte, sed remissius numerosam esse oportere.' *Introd.* p. lxix f.

istos, the opponents of rhythm in prose.

si ita est, nec vero aliter existimo; quid? ipsi su
moventur? nihilne eis inane videtur, nihil incond
tum, nihil claudicans, nihil redundans? in versu
tota exclamant, si fuit una syllaba aut brevior a
5 vero multitudo pedes novit nec ullos numeros t
quod offendit, aut cur aut in quo offendat intell
omnium longitudinum et brevitatum in sonis
graviumque vocum iudicium ipsa natura in auribu
cavit.

LII Visne igitur, Bru tum hunc locum adcura
10 plicemus quam illi i ui et haec et alia nobis
his contenti esse, q b illis dicta sunt, possu
quaero velisne, cum ris tuis eruditissime scr
maxime velle perspe m? primum ergo origo,
15 post natura, tum ad extremum usus ipse expli
aptae atque numerosae.

1 *nec esse aliter* Hoerner cum Erl. *quid A; quia FPO*, de
om. *A*. *incunditum P.* *curtum FPO, incultū A.* 6 *quo*
cur aut FPO (MOKJP): *curat ut A, curat aut* cod. Eins. (H); *anq*
illud cur aut offendat aut non, intelligit Hoerner cum cod. Erl. o
7 *longitudinem et brevitatem FPO.* 8 *conl.* KH (*coll. A*).
11 *alia A* (KHst): *illa FPO* (MOJP). 12 *his FPO et A: iis* co

§ 173. **inane**, opp. to *completum* (168); Brut. 34 'aures ipsae quid plenum, quid inane sit iudicant'. **inconditum** (150) opp. to *perfectum* (168). **curtum** (168) opp. to *finitum*. **claudicans** (170). **redundans** (168).

exclamant, here used, not as in 168, but in an unfavourable sense, like *reclamant*; de Or. iii 196 'quotus enim quisque est qui teneat artem numerorum ac modorum? at in his si paulum modo offensum est, ut aut contractione brevius fieret aut productione longius, *theatra tota reclamant*. quid, hoc non idem fit in vocibus, ut a multitudine et populo non modo catervae atque concentus, sed etiam ipsi sibi singuli discrepantes eiciantur?' ib. 98 (molliores et delicatiores in cantu flexiones) 'si saepius fiunt, multitudo ipsa reclamat'. For *theatrum* used of the audience in a theatre, cf. also Tusc. Disp. i 106 'totis theatris maestitiam inferunt'. It is often used of the part of the theatre where the seats are.

una—longior, Parad. iii 26 'histrio si paulum se movit extra numerum aut si versus pronuntiatus est *syllaba una brevior aut longior*, exsibilatur, exploditur'.

omnium—collocavit
'illud autem ne quis
modo haec volgus im
endo notet; cum in o
hoc ipso magna quaed
bilisque naturae'...'id
dunt magis in verboru
cumque iudicio; quod
nibus infixa sensibus
quemquam funditus n
expertem'. (196) 'itaqu
arte positis moventur on
numeris ac vocibus'.

§§ 174—176. *On*
the historical developm
rhythm.

§ 174. **illi**, esp. Ari
phrastus. **haec**, the pr
with which we are now
the reading of the *co*
precepts on other points
noticed in the earlier p
(§ 46, 79). It seems b
accept *alia*, the reading
litteris (1), **erudit**
'most scholarly' (40). o
causa (§§ 177—8); n
203); **usus** (§§ 204—2

suavissima littera:

'finis, frugifera et efferta arva Asiae tenet'.

onitate potius nostrorum verborum utamur quam splen-
aecorum, nisi forte sic loqui paenitet:

'qua tempestate Helenam Paris' 5

secuntur: immo vero ista sequamur asperitatemque
s:

FPO, *finitus A* (M), †*finitus* (O). *efferta* Lachmann ad Lucr. vi 258; (MO), *feria A*; *fertilia* scripsit H. *Asia FPO*. 5 *Helenam Paris* in Jahnii ed.: *Paris Helenam* codd. et hic et in libro de Or. iii 219 (MO). *r* ceteri.

Disp. i 85, 107, iii 29, 45, de , de Or. iii 157, 217. [This is, I find, anticipated in *Trag. frag.* p. 118.] **nomini-** ecessarily proper names; but rds, in the sense in which often used. 'alterum nomen uisse quod Cicero reticuerit ant. fortasse scripserat tragi- *Lydiae Finis* &c.' Lachmann, 8.

us Brut. 140. (Antonius) loquendi laude caruit; neque admodum inquinate locutus', 1. 7 (est vitiosum) 'in verbis, m'.

ima littera, the reiterated 158. Quint. xii 10 § 29 la (littera) quae est sexta nos- ene non humana voce vel n voce potius inter discrimina flanda est; quae etiam cum oxima accipit quassa quodam ue quotiens aliquam conso- ngit, ut in hoc ipso *frangit*, orridior'. In the Latin pro- of this letter, which is a sharp l fricative formed between the and under lip, the dental ems to have predominated, description 'indicates strongly and voiceless character'. 'I l to think', says Roby, p. xxxv, nore is meant by his words wn out between the intervals with no sound of the voice." that a still harsher articula- he ordinary English F is here l no doubt this is possible t, considering that Quintilian s quite peculiar, some empha- ession is not unnatural'. Te- laurus *v.* 227 uses less exagge- nguage when describing F as uttered 'with a gentle breathing while the under lip is pressed against the upper teeth', and similarly Marius Victorinus p. 2455 P. We find from Quint. i 4 § 14 that the Greeks had a difficulty in pronouncing the Latin F, and used to aspirate it, i. e. pronounce it like their own φ (p-h), 'Graeci aspirare solent, ut pro Fundanio Cicero testem, qui primam eius litteram dicere non possit, irridet', cf. Priscian i 14 H 'non fixis labris est pronuntianda F quomodo PH, atque hoc solum interest' (cf. Corssen i p. 137 ff.).

et efferta. Emended for *et ferta*, as in Lucr. vi 258 *effertus* for *et fertus*.

§ 164. **nisi forte**—an ironical reference to those of his contemporaries who affected to despise the old Latin poets and preferred to follow Greek models.

qua tempestate. De Or. iii 219 'Aliud (vocis genus sumat) molestia: sine commiseratione grave quoddam et uno pressu ac sono obductum:

Qua tempestate Helenam Paris innuptis iunxit nuptiis,
Ego sum gravida, expletis iam fere ad pariendum mensibus;
Per idem tempus Polydorum Hecuba partu postremo parit'.

In Ribbeck, *Trag. Frag.* p. 246, these lines are entered as coming *ex incertis incertorum fabulis*; in the critical notes, however, it is observed: 'ex Pacuvii Iliona sumpta esse intellexit Welckerus'. Kayser who accepts Lachmann's transposition *Helenam Paris* in the present passage, retains the manuscript reading *Paris Helenam* in de Or. l.c.

ista sequamur, sc. 'verba bene sonantia', de Or. iii 153 'neque illud fugerim dicere, ut Caelius: qua tempestate Poenus in Italiam venit'.

asperitatemque fugiamus, a modifica-

sed eis est usus intemperatius; id autem est genus, ut a
est, ex tribus partibus collocationis alterum. horu
Isocratem aetate praecurrit, ut eos ille moderatione,
tione vicerit; est enim, ut in transferendis faciendis
5 tranquillior, sic in ipsis numeris sedatior; Gorgias aut
est generis eius et his festivitatibus—sic enim ipse ce
lentius abutitur; quas Isocrates, cum tamen audivisset i
adulescens senem iam Gorgiam, moderatius etiam t
quin etiam se ipse tantum, quantum aetate procedel

1 *eis: iis AP* et cod. l ... oIIst), *is F, his O* et cod. Rufin. *B* ...
idem FPO. 2 *coni.* ... *eorum* Rufin. 4 *faciendisque*
FPO. 6 *his FPO* ... st); *iis* Rufin. (o): *eis* (KF).
FPO et Rufin.; *tam cū A* ... *audivisset A* et alii codd. plerique (
cod. Vit. et Rufin. (MOK ... 8 *adulescens in thessalia A, adulesc*...
Thessalia Rufin. *m*... et Rufin. (MIIst): *moderatius etiam* ...
iam KJ. 9 *praecedebu*...

dunt, 149, 168, 215. **Go**... note on 39 and cf. §§ 40, 165, ...**mpo-rantius**, προσκόρως (Scho... quoted on § 39). **ante dictum**, 149, 164.

§ 176. **transferendis** 81, in the use of metaphorical expressions: Dion. Hal. de Dem. 18, (Isocr.) ἀτολμός ἐστι περὶ τὰς τροπικὰς κατασκευάς. Among the more striking examples of metaphors in Isocr. we have ἴχνος τῆς ἐκείνου πραότητος (Hel. 37), ἀθάνατον τεῖχος of the Nile (Busiris 12), ταμίας τῶν ὀμβρων καὶ τῶν αὐχμῶν of Zeus (ib. 13), καταχνίζοντες τοὺς λόγους (Panath. 3), εἰλωτεύειν (Paneg. 131), and ἐξοκείλας (de Perm. 268). Blass *u. s.* ii 123. **faciendis**, in forming new words, whether compounds or not; de Or. iii 170 'aut *factum* (vel coniunctione vel novitate) aut translatum'. Among the rarer words found in Isocr. are τερθρεία (Hel. § 4), τύρβη (de Perm. 130), ἐπικήρως (Busir. 49), ἐνδελεχέστατος (de Perm. 156), κατασκελετευθεῖσαν (ib. 268), and διασκαριφᾶσθαι (Areop. 12). On *facere verba*, see Reid on Acad. i 25.

in numeris sedatior, as compared with Thras. and Gorgias. Blass *u. s.* ii 135 ff. Jebb *Att. Or.* ii 60 ff.

festivitatibus, 'pieces of finery', cf. *deliciae* in § 39, of Gorgias and others. The corresponding term in the Greek rhetoricians is καλλωπίσματα: Dion. Hal. de Thuc. 46 ὀχληρὰ δὲ κἀκεῖνα τὰ μειρακιώδη καλλωπίσματα τῆς λέξεως......τά τε γὰρ φρονήματα ψυχρότερά ἐστι καὶ τῆς Γοργίου προαιρέσεως μᾶλλον οἰκειότερα. Dionysius (?), ap. Sch. in Hermog. v 551 Walz, after quoting a long passage of Gorgias, adds: σεμνὰς γὰρ ἐνταῦθα συμ-

φορήσας λέξεις ὁ Γοργίας ...
λαιοτέρας ἐξαγγέλλει τοῖς τ...
ὁμοιοτελεύτοις καὶ ὁμοιοκατ...
λωπίζων ἀεὶ ... προσκίρω...
festivitates may, however, ...
suggests, point to some wo...
τῆς or κομψεύματα. The f...
occurs in the exordium of ...
nacus, with which Cic. ...
(supra § 38): (τῶν λόγων) ...
εἰρῆσθαι δοκοῦντας καὶ μηδε...
τητος μετέχοντας.

sic, sc. *has verborum figu*...
esse.

cum tamen, 'in spite of ...
Gorgias was advanced in yea...
in his prime, when the latt...
the instructions of the forme...
There was every probability ...
the exaggerations of Gorgias ...
have become subdued in his ...
Isocr. in his youth would be ...
to adopt an exaggerated man...
theless the pupil, even in hi...
more subdued in style than ...

audivisset. Quint. iii 1 § 1...
Gorgiae auditorum Isocrates ...
de praeceptore eius inter ...
convenit; nos Aristoteli cr...
Sen. 13. The precise dat...
Isocr. visited Gorgias in Th...
certain. See *Introduction*, ...
Thessalia, Isocr. de Perm. ...
Λεοντῖνος...διατρίψας περὶ Θ...
εὐδαιμονέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ...
to a still greater degree th...
Gorgias.

quantum aetate procede...
was an instance of the regu...

quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus'. haec enim talia sunt, ut, quia referuntur ad ea, ad quae debent referri, intellegamus non quaesitum esse numerum, sed secutum; quod fit item in referendis 5 contrariis, ut illa sunt, quibus non modo numerosa oratio, sed etiam versus efficitur:

'eam, quam nihil accusas, damnas'—

'condemnas' diceret, qui versum effugere vellet—

'bene quam meritam esse autumas, 10
dicis male mereri'.
'id, quod scis, prodest nil: id, quod nescis, obest'.

versum efficit ipsa relatio contrariorum: idem esset in oratione

1 *sed accepimus non legimus FPO.* *ex* om. *FPO.* *ipsam A.* 2 *adr.* KP: *arr.* cet. 3 *sed imbuti* propter ὁμοιοτέλευτον om. *A.* *haec & enī & alias ut A.* 4 *ad ea ad quae* cod. Eins. (OKJPH): *ea quae A*, *ad ea quae FPO* (M), *eo quo* st. 5 *referundis contrariis FPO*, *contrariis referendis A.* 9 *condemnas—vellet* secl. Nixon; defendit Reid coll. v. 13 'idem esset in oratione—obest'. *diceret FPO; dixisset A* (HSt). *vellet FPO* (MOKJPSt): *voluisset A* (H). 10 *autumas pro autimas FPO.* 11 *dicis* seclusit Stangl. Bl. f. d. b. Gymn. xviii p. 248, (H). *mereri AP*[a]*: merere FPO*[1] (HSt). 12 *nil* Lachmann (KJP): *nihil* cum codd. MOHSt. 13 *ipsa ratio FPO; illa relatio A* (edd.). *idem A* (HSt): *id FPO* (MOKJP).

quoted is in § 10 of the *pro Milone*, where he is insisting that there *is* an unwritten law, that impels a man to defend himself when attacked. There is a slight variation in the first few words in the speech as it has come down to us: 'est igitur haec, iudices'. **scripta** and **nata** as well as **docti** and **facti** are examples of πάρισα, **didicimus, accepimus, legimus** of ὁμοιόπτωτα, while the several pairs of clauses parted by **sed** or **verum** are instances of ἀντίθετα. The desire for symmetry of expression has led Cic. to use **ad quam non docti** in the sense, and with the construction, of *ad quam non doctrina ducti*, in contrast to *natura facti*; similarly **imbuti** is used as a contrast to **instituti**, although the construction with *ad* is more appropriate to the latter than the former.

imbuti, here contrasted with *instituti*, of the earliest instincts, as opposed to subsequent training. Elsewhere the two words are combined, as in Phil. x 20 'instituti atque imbuti', de Or. ii 162 'doctrina liberaliter institutus et aliquo iam imbutus usu' (with Wilkins' note). In Tac. Or. 19 *imbutus* is opposed to *instructus*. The meaning 'tinged from the very first' comes directly from the primary meaning 'dipped for the first time' which appears in such passages as Catullus iv 17 'tuo imbuisse palmulas in aequore'.

referuntur, the words 'correspond to one another in precisely the proper manner'. The reference is mainly to the ὁμοιόπτωτα and πάρισα, while the next sentence refers to the rhythmical effect which is naturally brought about by ἀντίθετα. **quaesitum**, 84; contrasted with **secutum** as in 219; de Or. iii 194 'verba sequerentur'.

§ 166. **in referendis contrariis**, de Or. ii 263 'verba relata contrarie'. **oratio** 'prose', 70, 174, 192, de Or. iii 153.

eam—damnas. Ribbeck's *Trag. frag. inc.* 200 'eám, quam nihil accúsas, damnas: béne quam meritam esse aútumas, Dícis male meréri', quoted consecutively in Top. 55 among examples of antithetical ἐνθυμήματα.

id quod—obest. Ribbeck *u. s.* 202, also quoted in Top. l.c. Below, Cic. gives us the same sense in rhythmical prose. 'Ceterum etiam haec numerosa nobis senarium sonant quamvis non numerosum: ergo *id quod scis* et *id quod nescis* a Cicerone scriptum fuisse puto' (Ribbeck).

numerosum 'quod scis, nihil prodest; quod nescis, mu
L semper haec, quae Graeci ἀντίθετα nominant, cum
opponuntur contraria, numerum oratorium necessitat
ciunt etiam sine industria. hoc genere antiqui iam a
5 tem delectabantur et maxime Gorgias, cuius in oratic
que efficit numerum ipsa concinnitas; nos etiam in
frequentes, ut illa sunt in quarto accusationis: 'co
pacem cum illo bello, huius praetoris adventum cum
ratoris victoria, huius cohortem impuram cum illi
10 invicto, huius libidin[illegible]us continentia: ab illo
conditas, ab hoc, q[illegible]as accepit, captas di
cusas'.

Ergo et hi numer[illegible]ti et genus illud tertiu
tur quale sit, numer[illegible]ae orationis; quod qu
15 tiunt, quas auris habea[illegible]d in eis hominis simile
meae quidem et perfecto con[illegible]toque verborum ambi
et curta sentiunt nec amant re[illegible]undantia. quid dico n

1 *multum FPO, nihil A.* 2 *haec quod A.* 4 *etiam A* (KHSI) (MO[2]JP). 10 *coepit FP, coepit A.* 13 post *cogniti* in marg. add. *a latinis'.* *et* (om. *A*) *genus FPO.* *sed poetici numeri sint cogniti. ia[m] illud tertium explicetur* malebat St. 14 *quales sint A.* *orat[ionis]* 15 *auris* KH (cum *A*). *in his* MHSt: *in iis* cod. Eins. (O), *in eis* JP *hominibus A.* 17 *curta sentiunt nec FPO, cur* 'seq. spatio decem le[ttrarum] *ut nec A.* *quod A, quod FPO.*

necessitate, 220 'formae...quaedam sunt orationis, in quibus ea concinnitas est, ut sequatur numerus *necessario*'.

sine industria, 'without set purpose'; cf. 151, 164 ad fin., de Off. i. 24.

§ 167. **accusationis.** II in Verr. iv 115, cf. supra 103. **adventum**; the arrival of Verres and his abandoned retinue is placed in rhetorical contrast to the triumphal entry of Marcellus and his victorious army, as in Verr. *u. s.* § 121 '*adventum* et comitatum cum exercitu et *victoria* conferatis'. For the construction **conferte...dicetis** cf. 159.

§§ 168—173. *Remarks introductory to the consideration of the oratorical arrangement of words according to the rules of artistic rhythm.*

§ 168. **sint cogniti,** 190, cf. 14. **genus illud tertium.** We now reach the third heading of § 149 'ut comprehensio *numerose et apte* cadat', the subject of a consciously artistic rhythm, as contrasted with the spontaneous variety of it which has just been described as the natural result of symmetry of exp

aptae cf. note on 149.

quod—nescio, quoted b[y]
21 § 24.

quas auris—hominis s[i]
'*auris* tam *inhumanas*...ha
iii 195 'quod ea sunt in
infixa sensibus nec earum
quam funditus natura esse
tem', 197 'nihil est tam cog
bus nostris quam numeri et

ambitu, 38. **curta** 'what
cf. κολοβός in Ar. Rhet. iii 8
'mutila et quasi decurtata'; f
sense cf. Quint. ix 4 §
autem de illa (compositio
aures quae plena sentiunt
pleta desiderant et fragosis
et levibus mulcentur et cont
tur et stabilia probant, clau
dunt, redundantia ac nimi
redundantia, opp. to *mo*
'productiora...et quasi imm
currentia'.

saepe exclamare vidi, cum apte verba cecidissent. id enim
ctant aures, ut verbis colligetur sententia. 'non erat
pud antiquos.' et quidem nihil aliud fere non erat; nam et
eligebant et sententias gravis et suavis reperiebant, sed eas
nciebant aut explebant parum. 'hoc me ipsum delectat', s
int. quid, si antiquissima illa pictura paucorum colorum
quam haec iam perfecta delectet, illa nobis sit, credo, repe-

di cum AF, iudicii PO. *id enim : etenim* Gellius. 2 *conl.* K. *colli-
sententia A* et Gellius xviii 7 § 7 (OH): *colligentur sententiae FPO* (MKJP).
eligebant FPO, effingebant A. *gravis et suavis* KH cum *A* et *FOPM.*
quam Hoerner (SI).

ones—sententia, quoted by Gel-
7 § 7.
mare, here in a good sense;
intus clamor contionis excitatus
t is used of the clamour of dis-
d in 173.
a graphic touch implying the writer
eye-witness of the acclamations of
mbled people. As is well remarked
, an acclaiming multitude makes
impression on the sense of sight
as on that of hearing; and to no
may be added, is this impression
vid than to the speaker himself,
one, as a general rule, sees the
d faces and the open mouths of
ence. Cicero is doubtless referring
own experience, not as one of an
e, but as an orator. For **vidi** cf.
577 'loca vidi reddere vocis'.
issent, 'on the period closing with
mical cadence'; 175 'quae...ca-
imerose', 177 'cecidisse iucunde',
, 177, 203, 215, 219, 222, 223 f.,
ut. 34 'melius caderet'.
ectant, 178 init.
etur, 'harmoniously compacted,
nterwoven', *ut in corona* (§ 71).
n we have a variety of metaphors
ss the imparting of a rhythmical
er to prose: de Or. iii 175—6
sic illigat sententiam verbis, ut
mero quodam complectatur et a-
t soluto. nam cum *vinxit* modis
a, relaxat et liberat immutatione
', inf. 174 'verbis solutis numerum
re', 181 *accommodare*, 187 'numeris
re orationem' (Nägelsbach, *Stil.*
).
uos, not the predecessors of Iso-
merely, as in § 167, but Roman
before the times of Cicero.
idem, 'true but', marking the com-
ent of a partly concessive reply.
notes de Fin. i 35 'torquem de-
osti...et quidem se texit ne in-

teriret', de Leg. iii 24 'at aliquando in-
cenditur...et quidem saepe sedatur'.
gravis et suavis, 62. **vinciebant... explebant**, 40; de Or. iii 198 'illi veteres
...cum circuitum et quasi orbem verbo-
rum conficere non possent; nam id quidem
nuper vel posse vel audere coepimus'.

§ 169. **pictura.** The earlier Greek paint-
ers used only four leading colours (with
their several varieties and combinations):
yellow, red, black, and white. Plutarch,
de Def. orac. 47, ὤχρα, σινωπίς, μέλαν,
μηλιάς. Brut. 70 'similis in pictura ratio
est: in qua Zeuxin et Polygnotum et
Timanthem et eorum qui non sunt usi
plus quam *quattuor coloribus*, formas et
lineamenta laudamus; at in...Protogene,
Apelle iam perfecta sunt omnia'. Plin.
N. H. xxxv 50 (of Apelles and others),
'quattuor coloribus solis immortalia illa
opera fecere, ex albis Melino, ex silaceis
Attico, ex rubris Sinopide Pontica, ex
nigris atramento ... omnia meliora tunc
fuere, cum minor copia'. (Müller's *An-
cient Art* § 319, 2.)

magis—delectet, de Or. iii 98 'quanto
colorum pulchritudine et varietate flori-
diora sunt in picturis novis pleraque quam
in veteribus! quae tamen etiamsi primo
aspectu nos ceperunt, diutius non delec-
tant; cum eidem nos in antiquis tabulis
illo ipso horrido obsoletoque teneamur'.
Dionys. Hal. de Isaeo c. 4 (in contrasting
Lysias and Isaeus) εἰσὶ δή τινες ἀρχαῖαι
γραφαί, e.g. those of Polygnotus and
Aglaophon, χρώμασι μὲν εἰργασμέ-
ναι ἁπλῶς καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐν τοῖς μίγ-
μασιν ἔχουσαι ποικιλίαν, ἀκριβεῖς
δὲ ταῖς γραμμαῖς, καὶ πολὺ τὸ χάριεν ἐν
ταύταις ἔχουσαι· αἱ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνας (e.g.
those of Zeuxis and Parrhasius) εὔγραμμοι
μὲν ἧττον, ἐξειργασμέναι δὲ μᾶλλον, σκιᾷ
τε καὶ φωτὶ ποικιλλόμεναι καὶ ἐν
τῷ πλήθει τῶν μιγμάτων τὴν ἰσχὺν
ἔχουσαι.

sit, credo, de Or. i 230 'si iam sit

Beier (o² et Sche

est (post *alqu*

7 *inl.* *A* et *F* (KHS

mum *FPO*, om. *A*

intervallis. Th
pauses or 'rests', fol
regular succession of
length and breaking
into a series of short
rhythmical character is
position. In de Or.
scribing the *numerosum*
atque vocibus as that 'q
dam impressiones et qu
mus intervallis aequalibu
'illa sine intervallis lo
adds in 186: 'numerus a
nuatione nullus est; distin
lium et saepe variorum
percussio numerum conficit
cadentibus guttis, quod in
tinguuntur, notare possumu
praecipitante non possumus'.

vocibus, the sounds, esp
vowels, the proper combinatio
produces euphony.

genus ipsum verborum, th
adaptation of words in themsel
inherent symmetry; 149 'forma i
cinnitasque verborum'.

'For *ipsum*, in the sense of 'n
cf. de Or. ii §§ 109, 219, 306; ib. iii
pro Balbo § 33; ad Quint. frat.
Val. Max. iii 2 § 7; ...
x 1 §§ 45 ...

a ab utroque differt, quae tota servit gravitati vocum aut
tati. haec igitur fere sunt, in quibus rei natura quaerenda

sse ergo in oratione numerum quendam non est difficile LV
oscere; iudicat enim sensus; in quo inicum est, quod acci- 5
on agnoscere, si cur id accidat, reperire nequeamus; neque
ipse versus ratione est cognitus, sed natura atque sensu,
dimensa ratio docuit quid accideret; ita notatio naturae et
adversio peperit artem. sed in versibus res est apertior,
quam etiam a modis quibusdam cantu remoto soluta esse 10
ır oratio, maximeque id in optimo quoque eorum poëtarum,
υρικοὶ a Graecis nominantur, quos cum cantu spoliaveris,
paene remanet oratio; quorum similia sunt quaedam etiam

ndicat FOA: indical P, idem coniecerat Sch. (J). *inicum F, inicium P*; edd. *in quo est iniquum A.* *ineptum* vel aliud eiusmodi mavult Reid. *accidit FPO.* 8 *dimensa ratio: dimensuratio* Stangl. *acciderit* edd. cum Scribendum esse *accideret*, periti admoniti intelligent, imperiti docendi non Madvig, adv. crit. iii 99. *remota FPO.* 11 *videtur* Wesenberg (KJPHSt): *FPO* et *A* (a me collatus). 12 *quos FPO, eos A.*

que, sc. *genus verborum* (*concinni*-*numerus*. **gravitati...suavitati**, 'varietates vocum aut modos noscere'.

igitur. For this kind of sum- the end of the paragraph, see Acad. i 21.

3—187. *Is there such a thing as in prose and what is its nature?*

. **iudicat sensus**, 162 'vocum et rum aures sunt *indices*', 173 '*in*- in auribus nostris', 198 'voluptate *indicatur*'. Jahn, who gives refer- all these passages, nevertheless the tempting emendation *indicat*. a matter in which', the antecedent *ensus* but the general purport of ceding sentence.

agnoscere, in reference to the those who ignore the existence of ical prose (180).

ne, owing to abstract theory.

dimensa—i.e. it was not until rds that verse was measured out oretical observation which ex- the result.

nsa, 147, de Sen. 49 caeli dime- the participle is more commonly a *passive*, as in 38, cf. de Sen. 59 'a ent illa dimensa atque discripta'.

it, being used in the sense of an equires *acciderel*, and not *acciderit*.

tio—artem. For the general sense **peperit**, 114 fin.

s, '*measures*', '*metres*', Div. ii 9

cantu, 'the musical accompaniment'.

soluta, 64, 174, de Or. iii 184 'liberior est oratio et plane ut dicitur, sic est vere soluta, non ut fugiat tamen aut erret, sed ut sine vinculis sibi ipsa moderetur'.

λυρικοὶ—nominantur. The most general term for the lyrical poets was *poëtae melici* which Cic. uses without any apology in de Opt. Gen. 1. The term λυρικοὶ is, strictly speaking, narrower than *melici*, being properly confined to those poets whose compositions were accompanied by the lyre alone, to the exclusion of other instruments such as the flute. Neither of the epithets is found in early Greek and both are possibly due to the critics of Alexandria.

nuda, 185; Ar. Rhet. iii 2 § 3 *ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς λόγοις* opp. to *ἐπὶ τῶν μέτρων*, Dion. Hal. de comp. verb. 15 (med.) *οὔτ' ἐν λόγοις ψιλοῖς οὔτ' ἐν ποιήμασιν ἢ μέλεσι.*

So little was known among the Romans as to the metrical principles on which poets like Pindar composed their odes that even a poet like Horace, with all his mastery over many of the lyrical metres of Greece, as used by Alcaeus and Sappho, says of Pindar: *numeris fertur lege solutis.* Quintilian regards the endeavour to trace the law of metre in such poets as an over-curious refinement, 'in adeo molestos incidimus grammaticos, quam fuerunt, qui lyricorum quorundam

apud nostros, velut illa in Thyeste:

quemnam te esse dicam? qui tarda in senec

et quae secuntur, quae, nisi cum tibicen accessit, or
solutae simillima. at comicorum senarii propter si
5 sermonis sic saepe sunt abiecti, ut non numquam
numerus et versus intellegi possit; quo est ad invenie
cilior in oratione numerus quam in versibus.

Omnino duo sunt, quae condiant orationem, verbo
rorumque iucundita erbis inest quasi materia q
10 numero autem ex sed ut ceteris in rebus
inventa antiquiora am voluptatis, ita in hac re

1 *nostros FPO*, *illo* *d* (HSt): *ille FPO* (MOKJr). 2 *qui*
senecta coni. Bothe v p. 66 et Lachmann (KJrHSt): *sene*
vocalem ferri potuit' 3 *sequuntur* cet. 5 *adiecti A*.
6 *quo FPO* (MOKJ *quo* vel *quod—versibus* om. codex
Quod codex *l*. 7 *bus* secl. J. 8 *ĉdant A*. 9
11 *ita* (+*et* cod. Erl.) *excogitata* codices mutili interpolati,
codices nonnullos integr os irrepserunt: om. *FPO*, etiam Ein
et *A* (H, et Stangl, qui subsequentem sententiam usque ad
grammatici additamentum, damnat). Ceterum in ipsis verbis, praeter
collocationem, nihil ipso Tullio indignum.

carmina in varias mensuras coegerunt' (ix 4 § 53).

§ 184. **quemnam**— Enn. Thyestes 393 Vahlen (298 Ribbeck); but there is nothing to prove it is not from the *Thyestes* of Pacuvius. Cicero however quotes more frequently from Ennius than from Pacuvius. Cf. Varro sat. περὶ ἐξαγωγῆς (fr. iv) apud Nonium 'quemnám te esse dicam, ferá qui manú...'. The metre is that of the *bacchius* (⏑ – –); Quint. ix 4 § 82.

nisi cum tibicen accessit = *cantu remoto*. The musical accompaniment in the Latin drama was played on the flute by the *cantor*. It appears from Liv. vii 2 that 'the actor did not himself deliver the cantica but only accompanied them with the proper gestures' (Wilkins on de Or. i 254). The use of the symbols C and DV in the MSS of Plautus led Ritschl to conclude (1) that all scenes composed of iambic *senarii* were entitled *diverbia*, which were simply recited without any musical accompaniment; (2) that all lyrical scenes were called *cantica* and had a musical accompaniment; and (3) that all composed of trochaic *septenarii* were similarly accompanied, cf. Tusc. Disp. i 107 'cum tam bonos *septenarios* fundat ad *tibiam*' (Ritschl's *Opusc. Phil.* iii 23 ff.). The lyrical portions were, he considers, declaimed *recitativisch*, and the trochaic

melodramatisch. This co
part confirmed by the pr
where the use of *at* places
senarii in contrast with su
the drama as were accomp
tibicen. On *canticum* see §

at comicorum senarii,
lyrical poets and the lyric
the drama. **sermonis**, the
guage of every-day life,
common-place, without elev
192 'humilem et abiectam or
in a specially depreciatory
230, 235. **vix—possit.** Ben
Litt. n. 350.

ad inveniendum difficili
126 diff. ad eloquendum, ad F
iudicandum, p. Sest. 96 ad p
fragm. orat. B vi 3 ad scribe
ii 212 ad distinguendum. M
3, Roby ii p. LXV.

§ 185. **condiant**, 'give a f
Or. ii 212 'asperitas content
ipsius humanitate conditur', i
tior, 271 sermonum condime
conditius, 177 nemo suavita
Ar. poet. vi ad init. (of the
tragedy) λέγω δὲ ἡδυσμένον
ἔχοντα ῥυθμὸν καὶ ἁρμονίαν κ

materia, 'the rough-hew
before it has been shaped a
The metaphor is kept up in

aeculis ante oratio nuda ac rudis ad solos animorum xprimendos fuerit reperta, [quam ratio numerorum causa ionis aurium excogitata]; itaque et Herodotus et eadem que aetas numero caruit, nisi quando temere ac fortuito, tores perveteres de numero nihil omnino, de oratione 5 a multa nobis reliquerunt, nam quod et facilius est et ecessarium, id semper ante cognoscitur. itaque tralata LVI a aut iuncta verba facile sunt cognita, quia sumebantur e idine cotidianoque sermone; numerus autem non domo ebatur neque habebat aliquam necessitudinem aut cogna- 10 um oratione; itaque serius aliquanto notatus et cognitus andam palaestram et extrema liniamenta orationi adtulit.

ratio—excogitata om. cod. Mon., secl. JP[2]. 3 *itaque* codd.: *ita eadem superiorque* pro suspectis habuerunt Stegmann. et Hoerner qui *rior* mavult. 4 *caruit FPO, placuit A.* *quandā A.* post *fortuito* vel simile aliquid excidisse suspicatur H. 7 *semper FPO, saepe A.* *A.* 8 *iuncta FPO, coniuncta A.* *summadantur* (om. *e*) *A.* *mo* Victorius et 'antiqua scriptura' apud Lambinum (MOKJPST): *modo o modo* coni. H, *e medio* Stroebel. 12 *palaestram et FPO; palestra, t et, A.* *externa lineamenta* coni. Friedrich. *lineamūta A.* *lineamenta attulit A: adtulit* H.

'faciundae ac poliendae ora- 184 (oratio) 'polita atque facta odo', i 50, ii 54, 120, 121, 201,

—sc. *necessitatis, non voluptatis*

excogitata.] The words in re doubtless an interpolation. al sense is quite correct, but n of *causa* before instead of *ationis aurium* betrays the interpolator.

mero caruit. The λέξις εἰρομένη style', as opposed to the λέξις ένη or 'periodic style', is cha- of Herodotus and the earlier , Cadmus, Acusilaus, Scylax, Diogenes of Miletus, Charon, &c. (Ar. Rhet. iii 9 § 2 with *ad.* p. 307). The absence of such writers is an almost in- companiment of the absence of ructure. Herodotus however rely without examples of the ii 24, 25), though in his nar- l speeches the λέξις εἰρομένη e Jebb's *Att. Or.* i 33). Quin- , as follows, a respectful protest ero's view as to the absence of Herodotus: ix 4 § 16 'neque uamlibet magnus auctor Cicero , Lysian Herodotum Thucy- n studiosos *eius (numeri)* fuisse.

genus fortasse sint secuti non idem quod Demosthenes aut Plato;...in Herodoto vero cum omnia, ut ego quidem sentio, leniter fluunt, tum ipsa διάλεκτος habet eam iucunditatem, ut latentes etiam numeros complexa videatur'.

fortuito, 177. **de oratione,** περὶ τῆς λέξεως.

tralata, 80; **facta aut iuncta.** 68.

non domo depromebatur, i.e. was not home-made and therefore ready-to-hand. *domi habere*, a metaphor from household stores, is proverbially used of what one has as one's own, ready for use: Plaut. Mil. Gl. ii 2, 39 'domi habet hortum...domi dolos...domi fallacias', and id. Cist. ii 1, 2, Cas. ii 3, 8: ad Att. x 14 § 2 'id quidem domi est': ad Fam. vii 25 'domo petes cum libebit'. Plaut. Amph. ii 2, 5 'id nunc experior domo atque ipsa de me scio', Liv. iv 48 § 6 'Appius...dicitur dixisse vetus se ac familiare consilium domo adferre' and vii 31 § 3.

oratione, emphatic; 'prose' as contrasted with 'verse'. **serius** 171, **notatus** 177.

quasi—adtulit, 'added a fresh grace of movement and gave the finishing touches to the style of prose'. **palaestram,** 228, de Leg. i 6 'Antipater (the historian) habuit vires agrestes atque horridas sine nitore ac palaestra'.

extrema liniamenta. Strictly speak-

genere q
rus extra

[1] *quodsi* c
cod. Laur. 50,
conlatata F, co
FPO ($M\Omega^{2}$).
accipere A.
[5] *ut natura*
circumitus n et s

ing this phrase oug
line of the drawin
36 § 5 (Parrhasius
palmam adeptus',
the expression is no
although the greatest
art often shews itself i
l. c.), they can hardly
crowning point of art,
be described as that wh
be discovered and devel
were probably suggested
as *extrema manus* (Brut.
trema non accessit operibu
manus (Ovid A. A. iii 225,
touches of the toilet), *ultima*
118 'carmen nondum rec
manum'); cf. Plut. Timole
ὥσπερ ἔργῳ συντελουμένῳ ὅπ
θείς τινα χάριν θεοφιλῆ καὶ πρέπ
word *liniamenta* occurs in
'in operum liniam
and in

nam omnis talis est, ut unus sit e tribus: pes enim, qui
:tur ad numeros, partitur in tria, ut necesse sit partem pedis
:qualem esse alteri parti aut altero tanto aut sesqui esse
:m: ita fit aequalis dactylus, duplex iambus, sesqui*plex*
; qui pedes in orationem non cadere qui possunt? quibus 5
: locatis quod efficitur, numerosum sit necesse est.
d quaeritur quo numero aut quibus potissimum sit uten-
incidere vero omnis in orationem etiam ex hoc intellegi
, quod versus saepe in oratione per imprudentiam dicimus;
vehementer est vitiosum, sed non attendimus neque exau- 10
nosmet ipsos; senarios vero et Hipponacteos effugere vix

tria om. *A*. 3 (post *aequalem*) *esse* om. J. *sesqui PM*, *sesque FO*, *se* !. 4 *sesquiplex* post Ascensium vulg.: *sesqui FPO* (Ern. et H); *sequens A*. *mnis* KH: *-es* cet. 10 *quod vehementer est FPO*: *est id vehementer A* t). *ex audimus A*. 11 *hipponacteon A*; *hypponactaeos FO*[1], *al.* *cta eos* in marg. *O*[2], *hypponactacos P*.

Ar. Rhet. iii 8 § 4 quoted on Quint. ix 4 § 46 f. 'ῥυθμὸς est ut dactylicus, una enim syllaba r est *duabus* brevibus...; aut ses- it paeonicus: id est ex longa et 'evibus, *aut ex tribus brevibus* et :l alio quoquo modo, ut tempora luo relata sescuplum faciant; aut ut iambos (nam est ex brevi et aique ei est contrarius'.

tanto, 'by as much again', Nepos Eum. viii 5 'altero tanto 'twice as long'. **sesqui**, 'by much again'. This is the only where it occurs as a single word. , of the ratio of equality, the art of the dactyl (and spondee) the first as 1 : 1; **duplex** as 2 : 1; **ex** as 3 : 2.

des—'and how can these feet d their way into prose?'—many aving, either singly or in combi- the quantity corresponding to t. **cadere**, 37, 191.

utendum, emphatic. Although ms occur in prose, all are not value. We must therefore con- hich should be preferred in

—**in oratione.** Quint. ix 4 § 72 in oratione fieri multo foedis- st totum, sed etiam in parte . Cf. Volkmann, *Rhet.*, p. 444—6. Capella, there cited, quotes as eter line, II Verr. iv 110 'cum *tanti fletus gemitusque* fiebant'.

forgetting that Cic. would have regarded the first syllable of *fiebant* as long. On verse in prose, see Reid on Acad. i 30 rerum esse.

neque exaudimus nosmet ipsos. The speaker cannot put himself in the position of his audience. *exaudire*, 'to catch a sound', is often used of a sound heard *from a distance*. Cf. Reid on p. Sulla § 33 l. 18.

senarios—Quint. ix 4 § 75 'trimetrum et *senarium* promisce dicere licet, sex enim pedes, tres percussiones habet' (so in Halm's text), 76 'illi minus sunt notabiles, quia hoc genus sermoni proximum est. itaque et versus toti excidunt, quos Brutus ipso componendi ductus studio saepissime facit, non raro Asinius, sed etiam Cicero nonnunquam, ut in principio statim orationis in Lucium Pisonem: *Pro dii immortales, quis hic illuxit dies*'. Martianus Capella p. 474 draws attention to the iambic line in Cat. i 2 'senatus haec intellegit, consul videt'. But pause and emphasis would serve to distinguish this and similar sentences from regularly metrical lines. Quintilian's example is faulty owing to the quantity of *quis*.

Hipponacteos, an ordinary iambic line of six feet with an iambus in the fifth, and a spondee in the last foot; so called after Hipponax who was the first to write in that measure. They are also called *σκάζοντες* or *choliambi*. Such a line accidentally occurs in the passage of Ephorus (quoted in the note on § 172) in which he

possumus; magnam enim partem ex iambis n
oratio. sed tamen eos versus facile agnoscit audit
usitatissimi; inculcamus autem per imprudentiam
minus usitatos, sed tamen versus: vitiosum genus e
5 provisione fugiendum. elegit ex multis Isocrati
fortasse versus Hieronymus Peripateticus in primi
rosque senarios, sed etiam anapaestos; quo quic
turpius? etsi in eligendo fecit malitiose: prima

2 *agnoscit FA*, ... *M*; 'fortasse *ignoscit*' 11, idem pe
Phil. i 13 'hoc ig ... aut. Bacch. v 2, 68 'ut eis delic
cf. 209 agnoscitur. 5 *eligit A*. *Isocratis P*. 6
7 *senatores A*, in ... *anapaestos* cod. Vit. man.
paesta FPO (M), *ana* ... marg. *anapte*; *anapaestica* 3. 8
legendo AP[m], probat ... .

cautions his reader ... ng prose in which the rh ... strongly marked.

iambis, not iambic lines, but iambic feet. The sentence itself has a rhythm nearly identical with that of a trochaic tetrameter; and includes five *iambi*. Cf. 191, de Or. iii 182, and Ar. Rhet. iii 8 § 4 ὁ δ' ἴαμβος αὐτή ἐστιν ἡ λέξις ἡ τῶν πολλῶν· διὸ μάλιστα πάντων τῶν μέτρων ἰαμβεῖα φθέγγονται λέγοντες (ib. 1 § 9 and Poet. xxii 19).

agnoscit auditor. However unconscious the speaker himself may be, the *audience* readily recognises such verses, as they are of a very familiar kind.

inculcamus, 50. 'We often unwittingly thrust in, foist in, verses where they are quite out of place';—or (as we should say in English) 'often unwittingly *inflict* on our audience verses of less familiar types—but verses all the same'. For **sed tamen**, cf. Plin. Ep. iii 4 § 5 'alii quidem minores, sed tamen numeri'.

vitiosum genus—in apposition to the whole of the preceding context.

longa— not 'with protracted forethought' implying a long and painful course of practice; but simply 'by mentally looking far ahead' while we are speaking, thus avoiding beforehand any combinations that lend themselves too readily to the formation of verses: 150 'animus in dicendo prospiciet quid sequatur'.

§ 190. **Isocrati.** The usual form of the gen. of Gk. proper names in *-es* (Neue's *Formenlehre* i p. 340 f; Roby, § 484). *Isocrati* is also found in ad Att. ii 1 § 1.

Hieronymus of Rhodes (Tusc. Disp. ii 15, fl. between B.C. 300 ... of Aristotle and therefo... as a *Peripateticus*, altho... Aristippus and Epicurus ... was the *summum bonu*... One of his works was ent... and it is possibly the one ...

senarios, e.g. Paneg. ... αὐτούς, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἄξιοι, ... γειν τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ... ρους; | ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἀθρήσ... τὰς | τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφ... χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πῶς ἂν ... ...τοὺς μὲν λόγους τοὺς τί... Besides the above, sev... which are less satisfact... metre, or whose metric... in other respects less s... are quoted in Spengel's ... *tores* p. 152 ff. where he ... tos latere iambos [immo... Isocratem notat et Scholi... genem pag. 378 et 38... Monacensi viii 48:...λαν... ἀκοὴν ἐμπίπτων μέσον τ... ὡς καὶ παρὰ Δημοσθένει εὑ... Αἰσχίνῃ καὶ λοιποῖς ῥήτορ... crates' own precept on t... verse in prose (quoted ... doubtless prompted Hier... for proof of the master's ... his own rule.

anapaestos. In Paneg ... ἄλλων ἔργων ἁπάντων κ... μέγιστα, we should have ... anapaestic tetrameter cat... kind referred to below, ... written πάντων for ἁπά... καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεγάλων ἀγ...

quo sc. using verse in ...

:a ex primo verbo sententiae postremum ad verbum primam syllabam adiunxit insequentis; itaque factus est anapaes- qui Aristophanius nominatur; quod ne accidat, observari ›test nec necesse est. sed tamen hic corrector in eo ipso [uo reprehendit, ut a me animadversum est studiose inqui- 5 in eum, immittit imprudens ipse senarium. sit igitur hoc um, in solutis etiam verbis inesse numeros eosdemque esse ios, qui sint poëtici.

LVII quitur ergo, ut qui maxime cadant in orationem aptam i videndum sit; sunt enim qui iambicum putent, quod sit 10 ii simillimus; qua de causa fieri, ut is potissimum propter udinem veritatis adhibeatur in fabulis, quod ille dactylicus us hexametrorum magniloquentiae sit adcommodatior;

A (HSt): *in FPO.* *postremo A.* 2 *rusus F.* *insequentē sententiae A*, *tis sententiae* H. *itaque FPO: ita A* (HSt). 3 *aristophanacus F.* *rehenditur a me animū adversus A.* *inquirenti FPO.* 7 *eos denique PO.* *it O.* *poëticis A.* 9 *ergo* delet Bake. 10 *videndum sit A*, *v. et FOP*[a], *ercr. P*[a]. *iambicum FPO*, *ambiguum A*; *iambum* scribit Stangl. *mi FO*, *oratori PM*; *orationis A* (Stangl), fortasse recte (cf. Reid ad Acad. ii *causa FPO: causa ratione* (ex eiusdem versus *orationi* ortum) *A* (H). *s* om. *A.* 12 *veritatis* om. *A.* *quod* codd. et Nonius p. 142, 8: *cum* recte coni. Ern. (KJPSt) *dactylus O*[1] et Non. (Stangl), *dactilicus A*, *O*[2] *V.* 13 *exametrorum FPO* et *A.* *accommodatior FPO*, *commodatior A.* *acc.* ceteri.

phanius, an anapaestic tetrame-ectic, the long anapaestic line in Aristophanes, e.g. Aves 685 ῥίοιν ἄνδρες ἀμαυρόβιοι, φύλλων οιόμοιοι. Hephaestion de metris ισημότατον δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ρον καταληκτικὸν εἰς συλλαβὴν τὸ ον Ἀριστοφάνειον.

rrector 'our captious critic' who ting Isocr. right; *corrector* is an word, like *censor*; Phil. ii 7 'de endatore et correctore nostro', . i 15, 37 corrector [?] Bestius, . v 21 = 8 (of Nepos) 'invenimus a corrigeret', ib. vi 4 § 4 'tan-nendatorem senatus increpuit'. on Acad. i 13.

tit, 'lets fall'—'lets escape him'. ach § 99. 3.)

gnitum, 168.

—198. *What kinds of rhythm t appropriate to the different of prose?*

sequitur ut...videndum sit. 75 'ut quaeratur', 221 'sequi videtur nus'. **cadant,** 37. **aptam,** 149. **iui.** It is uncertain to whom ferring—possibly to Isocr. who (as appears from the fragment quoted on § 187) specially recommended the iambic (and trochaic) rhythms, without however restricting himself to these.

orationi simillimus, 189. **veritatis,** real life, de Or. ii 34.

fabulis, Ar. poet. 4 ad fin. τό τε μέτρον ἐκ τετραμέτρου (the trochaic tetrameter) ἰαμβεῖον ἐγένετο· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν, λέξεως δὲ γενομένης αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις τὸ οἰκεῖον μέτρον εὗρεν· μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων τὸ ἰαμβεῖόν ἐστιν. σημεῖον δὲ τούτου· πλεῖστα γὰρ ἰαμβεῖα λέγομεν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἑξάμετρα δὲ ὀλιγάκις καὶ ἐκβαίνοντες τῆς λεκτικῆς ἁρμονίας. Hor. A. P. 80 (iambum) 'Hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque cothurni Alternis aptum sermonibus et populares Vincentem strepitus et natum rebus agendis'.

dactylicus. Dion. Hal. de comp. verb. 17 (δακτυλικός) πάνυ ἐστὶ σεμνὸς καὶ εἰς κάλλος ἁρμονίας ἀξιολογώτατος, καὶ τό τε ἡρωϊκὸν μέτρον ἀπὸ τούτου κοσμεῖται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ.

et E
vident moll
10 praeteriri, qu
numerum gr

1 *levis*: *lenis*
lecerat Bake. 3
A (cf. supra p. lxxvi
brevibus commixtan
Roersch.
Stangl); *ideoque quo* 5 *spon*
alteram...alter
seclus. Manutius (II),

Ephorus, in his treati
172. **levis**, λεῖος, γλαφ
sc. *Isocratis*, 172. **sequit**
4 § 87 'licet paeana seq
inventum a Thrasymacho
Aristotele, dactylumque,
brevibus ac longis; fugiat
[al. molossum (– – –)] et troc
alterius tarditate, alterius ce
nata'.

trochaeum, the foot consist
short syllables commonly cal
brach. Cicero gives to what i
called the trochee (– ⏑), the
choreus, 193, 217; and in t
followed by Quint. ix 4 § 80
iambo) contrarium e longo
choreum, non, ut alii, trochaeu
minemus'. ib. 82 'tres breves troc
quem tribrachyn dici volunt, qui
trochaei nomen imponunt'.

paean. Aristotle's
paeon is

nimis e volgari esse sermone; ita neque humilem et ab-
orationem nec nimis altam et exaggeratam probat, plenam
eam volt esse gravitatis, ut eos qui audient ad maiorem
tionem possit traducere; trochaeum autem, qui est eodem
quo choreus, cordacem appellat, quia contractio et brevi- 5
gnitatem non habeat; ita paeana probat eoque ait uti
sed ipsos non sentire, cum utantur; esse autem tertium
dium inter illos, et ita factos eos pedes esse, ut in eis sin-
nodus insit aut sesquiplex aut duplex aut par: itaque illi,
bus ante dixi, tantum modo commoditatis habuerunt ratio- 10
nullam dignitatis; iambus enim et dactylus in versum
t maxime, itaque ut versum fugimus in oratione, sic hi sunt
di continuati pedes; aliud enim quiddam est oratio nec
am inimicius quam illa versibus; paean autem minime est
ad versum; quo libentius eum recepit oratio. Ephorus 15
e spondeum quidem, quem fugit, intellegit esse aequalem
o, quem probat; syllabis enim metiendos pedes, non inter-
existimat; quod idem facit in trochaeo, qui temporibus et

lgari K: *vu-* cet. *et abiectam* Lambinus: *nec abiectam* codd. 3 *volt* K: *audient: audiens;t F; audiant* volebat Ern. 7 *omnis* KH: *-es* cet. *et ita* Sauppe in Jahnii ed. (JPHSt): *sed ita* cum codd. MO; *et* K. *eos* om. *in eis* codd.: *eis* om. Ern. (Sch. O[1]M); *numeris* Stangl. 12 *hi FOP[1]*, *ii P[2]*. 4 *inimicicius O.* 15 *recipit O.* 16 *fugit* cod. Laur. 50, 31: *fecit FPO.*

probat, a passing comment on ls that Cic. is translating.
nt, Acad. ii 60. **ad maiorem ionem...traducere**, a paraphrase *ἰσαι*.

trochaeum, a mistaken render- Aristotle's *τροχαῖος* which corre- o Cicero's *choreus* (– ⏑). Quint. ix cet...herous qui est idem dactylus, li amplior, iambus humanior vi- trochaeum ut nimis currentem eique cordacis nomen imponat'. **m.** The indecent comic dance e *κόρδαξ* (Ar. Nub. 540, Theoph. *περὶ ἀπονοίας*) was accompanied s in the trochaic tetrameter; and is implied by Aristotle's epithet *ώτερος* is the lightness, the want ty and dignity, and the *dancing* measure, subsequently expressed *ερός* (Cope ad l.). Cicero's ren- would have been accurate had Ar. *κόρδακα*, a term which could not have been applied to the *τροχαῖος*. **tatem non habeat.** Dion. Hal. . verb. 17 calls the *τροχαῖος* (– ⏑), h Ar. refers, *μαλακώτερος καὶ ἀγεννέστερος* as compared with the *iambus*; and the tribrach (which Cic. has in mind) *ταπεινός τε καὶ ἄσεμνος καὶ ἀγεννής*. The clause *qui—habeat* is a comment on the original and not a strict translation.

non sentire, cum utantur ('were un- conscious all the while that they were using it'), an inaccurate rendering of *οὐκ εἶχον δὲ λέγειν τίς ἦν* ('could not tell what it was, did not know how to define it').

medium, the ratio of 3 : 2 (that of the two parts of the *paean*) being the mean between the ratios of 2 : 1 (that of the *iambus*) and 1 : 1 (that of the *dactyl*).

eos...in eis. See Reid on Acad. ii 27 ea...ea.

modus, here applied to the ratio be- tween the two parts of the foot.

ante dixi, 191 init.

§ 194. **in versum cadunt**, Ar. *μετρικοί*. **ut...sic**, 'just as...so' (Roby § 1707); **versum fugimus**, 172.

paean autem—oratio, Cic. here re- sumes his paraphrase of the passage of Ar. after the intervening remarks *itaque illi—versibus*.

temporibus et intervallis, 'in quantity

intervallis est par iambo, sed eo vitiosus in oratione, si pon[illegible] extremus, quod verba melius in syllabas longiores cadunt. a[illegible] haec, quae sunt apud Aristotelem, eadem a Theophrasto T[illegible] decteque de paeane dicuntur. ego autem sentio omnis in 5 tione esse quasi permixtos et confusos pedes; nec enim effu[illegible] possemus animadversionem, si semper eisdem uteremur, quia numerosa esse, ut poëma, neque extra numerum, ut sermo v[illegible] esse debet oratio: alterum nimis est vinctum, ut de indus[illegible] factum appareat, [illegible] dissolutum, ut pervagatum 10 volgare videatur; u[illegible] on delectere, alterum od[illegible]

1 *vitiosus* Manutius, *vit*[illegible] 3 *Aristotelem* H. 4 *paene F.* *sentio* codd. (MOJP²H St): *ce*[illegible] Bake (KP²), cf. 197. *omnis* KH [illegible] 6 *eisdem*; *isdem* JH. [illegible] cl. M. *poëma FOP*², *to superscr*[illegible] *volgi* K. 8 *esse v*[illegible] *PO* (o²K). *vinctum F; iun*[illegible] *PO* (quod codicem Laud[illegible] t Stangl). 10 *volgare* K.

and metrical duration', 181. [illegible] Madv. § 256 *obs.* 3.

melius—cadunt, Ar. Rhet. iii [illegible] the form of *paean* which has [illegible] syllable last, being better for the end of the sentence than that which has the long syllable first), ἡ γὰρ βραχεῖα διὰ τὸ ἀτελὴς εἶναι ποιεῖ κολοβὸν (sc. τὸν ῥυθμόν). ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ μακρᾷ ἀποκόπτεσθαι καὶ δήλην εἶναι τὴν τελευτήν. Cf. Demetrius π. ἑρμηνείας 39, δεῖ καὶ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ κώλου καὶ ἀρχὴν μεγαλοπρεπῆ εὐθὺς εἶναι καὶ τέλος, τοῦτο δ' ἔσται, ἐὰν ἀπὸ μακρᾶς ἀρχώμεθα καὶ εἰς μακρὰν λήγωμεν. φύσει γὰρ μεγαλεῖον ἡ μακρά, καὶ προλεγομένη τε πλήσσει εὐθὺς καὶ ἀπολήγουσα ἐν μεγάλῳ τινι καταλείπει τὸν ἀκούοντα.

Theophrasto, probably in the context of the passage alluded to in Demetrius π. ἑ. 41 (quoted on § 218).

§ 195. The editors vary between *sentio* and *censeo*; the latter is perhaps preferable as a definite expression of a personal opinion and as corresponding in meaning to the phrases we have already had respecting the opinions of others, § 191 putent, 192 Aristoteli videtur. If our MSS were copied by dictation (a point which Madvig, however, denies, Adv. i 10) at a time when the hard sound of C and T had become corrupted into that of S and SH, it would be almost impossible to distinguish between the sound of 'senshio and 'senseo'. Cf. 197. The interchange of the two forms is very common, cf. Acad. ii. 134 and i 23.—*censeo* = 'I give it as my opinion'; *sentio*, 'I hold it as my opinion'.

omnis, as contrasted with the separate rhythms preferred by other authorities.

nec numerosa—oratio. Ar. Rh[illegible] [illegible] §§ 1—3, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεω[illegible] μήτε ἔμμετρον εἶναι, μήτε ἄρρυθμον [illegible] μὲν γὰρ ἀπίθανον (πεπλάσθαι γὰρ [illegible] καὶ ἅμα καὶ ἐξίστησιν, προσέχειν γὰρ [illegible] τῷ ὁμοίῳ, πότε πάλιν ἥξει...τὸ δὲ ἄρρ[illegible] ἀπέραντον· δεῖ δὲ πεπεράνθαι μέν, μέτρῳ δέ· ἀηδὲς γὰρ καὶ ἄγνωστο[illegible] ἄπειρον. περαίνεται δὲ ἀριθμῷ πάντ[illegible] δὲ τοῦ σχήματος τῆς λέξεως ἀριθμὸς ῥ[illegible] ἐστιν, οὗ καὶ τὰ μέτρα τμητά. διὸ ῥυθμ[illegible] ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον δὲ μή· ποίημα ἔσται. ῥυθμὸν δὲ μὴ ἀκριβῶς· τοῦτ[illegible] ἔσται, ἐὰν μέχρι του ᾖ. Dion. Hal comp. verb. 25 p. 196, οὐ δύναται [illegible] λέξις ὁμοία γενέσθαι τῇ ἐμμέτρῳ καὶ μελεῖ, ἐὰν μὴ περιέχῃ μέτρα καὶ ῥυθ[illegible] τινας ἐγκαταμεμιγμένους ἀδήλως. οὐ μ[illegible] προσήκει γ' ἔμμετρον οὐδ' ἔρρυθμον α[illegible] εἶναι δοκεῖν...ἀλλ' εὔρυθμον αὐτὴν ἀπ[illegible] καὶ εὔμετρον φαίνεσθαι μόνον. Quint. § 56 'Cicero...testatur frequenter se q[illegible] numerosum sit quaerere; ut magis ἄρρυθμον quod esset inscitum atque agre[illegible] quam ἔνρυθμον, quod poëticum est, [illegible] compositionem velit'.

extra numerum, ἄρρυθμον, Parad. 'histrio si paulum se movit *extra nu*[illegible]*rum*,...exsibilatur, exploditur'.

vinctum, 64; **de industria**, de Or 193 opera dedita, supra 164, 166. **per**[illegible]**gatum** combined with *communis*, de 165, and with *cotidianus* iii 188.

ab altero, the *nimis dissolutum*, wh[illegible] gives no pleasure; **alterum**, the *nimis vi*[illegible]*tum*, which palls upon one. The use o[illegible] with the abl. of the agent, which sufficiently common after *delector* (div. Caec. 44, de Fin. i 14, de Rep. iii 42) h[illegible] implies the personification of the sty[illegible]

sit igitur ut supra dixi, permixta et temperata numeris nec dissoluta nec tota numerosa, paeane maxime, quoniam optimus auctor ita censet, sed reliquis etiam numeris, quos ille praeterit, temperata.

Quos autem numeros cum quibus tamquam purpuram misceri oporteat, nunc dicendum est atque etiam quibus orationis generibus sint quique adcommodatissimi. iambus enim frequentissimus est in eis, quae demisso atque humili sermone dicuntur; paean autem in amplioribus, in utroque dactylus; itaque in varia et perpetua oratione hi sunt inter se miscendi et temperandi: LVI 6 10

1 *permixta et temperata numeris* om. Bake, J. *permixta—numerosa* secl. K. *nec soluta tota nec numerosa* Bake. 2 post *numerosa* addit *oratio* H. 3 *auctor ita F; autorita* seq. sex litterarum spatio O[1], *al. autoritate* in marg. O[2], *auctoritate P.* 4 *terminata* coni. O[2]; etiam *moderata* commemorat Stangl. 5 *tanquam* MH. 7 *adc.* K: *acc.* ceteri. 8 *eis: iis* Rufinus (MOH), *his FPO. demisso: remisso* Bake, 'illud de animo dicitur'. 9 *itaque* Rufin., *ita FPO.* 10 *hi FOP*[1], *ii P*[2].

a transference to the speech of that which is properly applicable to the speaker (Roby § 1221).

§ 196. **sit**, 168; **supra dixi**. this refers not merely to the immediately previous section 195 'neque numerosa esse, &c.', but mainly to 187 ad fin. In the § last quoted we also have the words 'quibus (intervallis) implicata atque *permixta*'. This, so far as it goes, is in favour of retaining the words *permixta et temperata numeris* which are excluded by several editors. At the close of this part of the discussion, Cic. naturally sums up the purport of the previous context in a positive form, which his natural redundance of style leads him also to express in the corresponding negative—*nec tota numerosa* corresponding to *permixta numeris*, and *dissoluta* to *temperata numeris*. The intervention of the negative clauses makes it necessary to repeat *temperata* at the close of the sentence (Piderit[2] p. 200).

optimus auctor, Aristotle, supra 192.

tamquam purpuram. As different varieties of purple are mixed by the dyer in order to produce the precise tint required; so must the different rhythms be blended together by the orator, to impart to his speech the appropriate rhythm. A passing hint is sufficient to suggest the details of the comparison to those of the original readers of this treatise who were familiar with the processes of dyeing. Purple dye was produced by the colouring matter obtained from two kinds of shell-fish, the *pelagia* (which was also called *purpura*) and the *bucinum*, the former supplying a black or dark-red dye, which was sometimes used by itself; the latter a brighter dye which was only used in combination with the former. Plin. N. H. ix 36 § 130 'concharum ad purpuras et conchylia—eadem enim est materia, sed distat temperamento—duo sunt genera: bucinum minor concha ad similitudinem eius qua bucini sonus editur, unde causa nomini, rotunditate oris in margine incisa (probably the *buccinium lapillus*). alterum purpura vocatur cuniculato procurrente rostro et cuniculi latere introrsus tubulato, qua proseratur lingua. praeterea clavatum est ad turbinem usque aculeis in orbem septenis fere qui non sunt bucino, sed utrisque orbes totidem quot habeant annos' (*murex brandaris* or *tribulus*). Ib. § 134 (of the *purpura*) 'rubens color nigrante deterior'...'*bucinum* per se damnatur, quoniam fucum remittit. *pelagio* admotum adligatur nimiaeque eius nigritiae dat austeritatem illam nitoremque qui quaeritur cocci; ita permixtis viribus alterum altero excitatur aut adstringitur'.

quibus...quique, 15.

§ 197. **varia**, where the *sermo* is at one time *demissus atque humilis*; at another, *amplior*; at another, intermediate.

perpetua, continuous and unbroken. The epithet strikes one as not entirely appropriate in combination with **varia**. Possibly the combination of the epithets implies that the speech is not merely to be varied in its several *parts* taken separately e.g. the *exordium*, *narratio*, *probatio*, *refutatio* and epilogus, each of these

10 fluctuar
betur or
totum co
quo etiam
certa quae
15 dicendo aut

4 *constent* cod
larent, *nec vero*
nec vero minus F
FPO (old. prope
Wochenschrift f. kl
fusum atque tractum
15 *nisi ut* Sch.: *ni*

naturally demanding a
style to the rest, but
mere fact that a speech
parts which vary from o
a sufficient reason for eac
being treated in a varied s
'*et perpetua* = *et eadem per*
and yet without a break any
continuity of the speech w
variety of rhythm, which w
necessary in the interchange o
tion' (Reid).

delectationis aucupium (8
ing after a pleasing effect
(63). **quadrand**
i.e. exc

aut dissoluta aut fluens sit oratio. itaque non sunt in ea m tibicini percussionum modi, sed universa comprehensio ies orationis clausa et terminata est, quod voluptate iudicatur.

:t autem quaeri totone in ambitu verborum numeri tenen- LIX an in primis partibus atque in extremis: plerique enim 6 cadere tantum numerose oportere terminarique senten- est autem, ut id maxime deceat, non ut solum; ponendus n ille ambitus, non abiciendus. qua re cum aures extre- :mper exspectent in eoque acquiescant, id vacare numero 10 ortet, sed ad hunc exitum iam a principio ferri debet

vsta O. *aut fluens* cum codd. MOJPST: *et fl.* K, *ac fl.* H. 2 *tibicini FPO* *ibicinii* OP st: *tibicinis* cod. Laur. 50, 31. 8 *ut solum* Bake (coll. § 29) et ı, spec. philol. p. 39; *id solum* cum codd. MO. *ponendus*: fortasse *poli-* id, coll. 185 'in numero expolitio'. 10 *adq.* H. 11 *iam* malebat sit H, cf. § 201 v. 2: *tam FP O*[1], *tam P*[2], *tamen M* et in marg. *O*[2] *al.* (MOKJPST).

ı, 'cramped'; **dissoluta**, 'too imited by law', **fluens**, 'mono- ;mooth', without melodious ca- either rising nor falling, but ceping on a dead level, 220 et inculta et *fluens*', de Or. iii sunt haec rhythmicorum aut n acerrima norma dirigenda: n est illud modo nobis, ne *fluat* vagetur, ne insistat interius, ne ongius; ut membris distingua- onversiones habeat absolutas'. :xt, however, of the above pas- ns (as suggested by Mr Nixon) to the meaning 'unsteady, irre- *fluitans*. Dr Reid understands 'chaotic', in much the same *'uxus*.

other meaning of *fluens* cf. 66. : in a *good* sense, cf. Plin. Ep. v 17 fluentes', cf. de Or. ii 159 fusum ns, ib. 64 'fusum atque tractum :nitate quadam aequabili pro- id Tac. Dial. 2.

m tibicini—modi, 'no beats to time as in music', lit. 'like those ıying', de Nat. Deor. ii 22 'ti- ıedam scientia'; de Or. i 254 tibicinis modos et cantus remis- v. vii 2 ad tibicinis modos saltare. **num**, de Or. iii 182 'sunt in- cussiones eorum numerorum et les', Quint. ix 4 § 75 '(trimetrus) tres percussiones habet'. To time during the performance of e *tibicen* wore under the foot ical contrivance which made a en pressed; this was called a or *scabellum*. A terracotta in the British Museum shows a figure by the side of a wine-vat, playing on the double *tibia* and beating time with such an instrument (Rich dict. ant. p. 577).

universa comprehensio, 'the period in all its completeness', 149, Quint. ix 4 § 115 'neque vero tam sint intuendi pedes quam universa comprehensio'. **species orationis**, 'the style in its outward form'. **clausa**, 229, cf. concludere (20), also *claudere versum* in Ciris 19 and Persius i 93; Hor. Sat. ii 1, 28 'pedibus claudere verba'. **terminata**, 20. **voluptate aurium** 159, 162, 203, 208, 237; Quint. ix 4 § 116 'optime de illa (*sc.* compositione) iudicant aures...ideoque docti rationem componendi intellegunt, etiam indocti voluptatem'.

§§ 199—202. *Should the use of rhythmical forms be extended over the whole of the period or be limited to its beginning and ending alone?*

plerique—sententiam, an expansion of the immediately preceding words: *in extremis*. **cadere** of the *closing* cadence of the period as in 168, 215, Brut. 34 'quae cum aptis constricta verbis est, cadit plerumque numerose'. **terminari**, 20.

est ut, 'it is true that', or 'it may be that'; p. Sest. 97 'est igitur ut ei sint (optimates)', cf. Zumpt § 752, Madvig § 373, Roby § 1700. For another sense of *est ut* =*est cur*, cf. p. Cael. 14 'magis est ut ipse moleste ferat...quam ut'... (Zumpt § 562).

ponendus, 'carefully put in its proper place', contrasted with **abiciendus**, 'thrown down, dropped, at random'. Piderit understands *ponendus* 'brought to a close'.

ferri, 67, 97, 128, 228. **ipsa**, sua sponte. **consistat**, cf. insistere in §§ 208, 212, 228.

verbor... a comprehensio et tota a capite ita flue
extremum v...niens ipsa consistat. id autem bona discip
citatis, qui et multa scripserint et, quaecumque etiam si
dicent, simi...a scriptorum effecerint, non erit difficillimu
5 enim circumscribitur mente sententia confestimque v
currunt, quae mens eadem, qua nihil est celerius, statim
ut suo quodque loco respondeant; quorum discriptus o
alia terminatione concluditur. atque omnia illa et prima
verba spectare debent ad ultimum: interdum enim curs
10 oratione incit... derata ingressio, ut iam
pio videndum s... m velis venire ad extre
Nec in numer... in reliquis ornamentis
eadem cum faciam... tae, effugimus tamen in
poëmatis similit... nim in utroque et m
15 tractatio: materi... ctatio in collocatione v
LX ternae autem sunt ... tes: verborum, tralatum

4 *dicent* Jahn (KP): *dice*... 7 aut *suo quodque loco respond*... *quidque loco respondeat* scrib... indicat Reid. *respondeat* cum codd. *discriptus* ... quod probat Reid; idem in *FPO* scriptum esse affirmat Stang... *dimensa*. 13 *faciamus...effugimus* cum codd. MOJPIISt: *facimus...fug*... coll. § 227 (K). 14 *sua est* Bake (K). 15 *conl.* KH.

§ 200. **multa scripserint.** Cf. note on *stilus exercitatus* (150) and Quint. x 3 § 2 'scribendum quam diligentissime et quam plurimum'.

dicent, 49 obstabit.

similia scriptorum, de Or. i 152 'et qui a scribendi consuetudine ad dicendum venit, hanc adfert facultatem, ut, etiam subito si dicat, tamen illa, quae dicantur, *similia scriptorum* esse videantur'; Quint. ix 4 § 114 'satis in hoc nos componet multa scribendi exercitatio, ut ex tempore etiam similia fundamus'.

circumscribitur, 'the outline of the sentence is no sooner drawn in the mind than'...The rest of the sentence includes a series of metaphorical terms taken from the mustering of troops. **concurrunt**, 'begin to muster'; the metaphor is less strongly marked in the parallel passage in de Or. iii 151 'omnes...loci...ostendunt se et *occurrunt;* omnesque sententiae verbaque omnia...sub acumen stili subeant et succedant necesse est'. **dimittit**, 'distributes, sends in different directions', a metaphor corresponding to the primary use of *dimittere equites* (Caes. B.C. i 80 § 3), and not with that of the more technical military term *dimittere exercitum* (ib. 2 § 6). **respondeant**; the several words are described as falling into their proper ranks, as it were, to answer ... de Or. iii 191 (numeri) 'ipsi orationi, ipsi, inquam, se offe... *spondebunt* non vocati', Liv. ... qui ad nomina non respondis... **scriptus ordo**; the words wh... up in proper order', 'duly mars... their separate ranks', de Or. ii ... riem orationis... omnibus loc... *tam*, instructam ornatamque', i... i 42 'classes centuriasque et hu... ex censu *descripsit* (an *discrip*... Sen. 59 'ego ista sum omnia ... mei sunt *ordines*, mea *discriptio*... ib. § 5 and Acad. i 17). **concl**...

§ 201. **cursus ..incitatior**, 'In oratory (as in the field), sometimes a *quick march*, so... steadier advance (moderata ing...

nec...magis quam, Madv. ... 2. 'Just as much as in the rhyth... in the other embellishments of ...

in utroque, in the *numeri* ... *ornamenta*. **materia**, 'the ro... rial'.

tralatum novum priscum, 152 'tria sunt in verbo simp... orator adfert ad illustrandam ... *nandam* orationem: aut inusit... bum aut novatum aut transla... 80).

priscum, nam de propriis nihil hoc loco dicimus; collocationis autem eae, quas diximus, compositio, concinnitas, numerus. sed in utroque frequentiores sunt et liberiores poëtae; nam et transferunt verba cum crebrius tum etiam audacius et priscis libentius utuntur et liberius novis; quod idem fit in numeris, in quibus 5 quasi necessitati parere coguntur; sed tamen haec nec nimis esse diversa neque nullo modo coniuncta intellegi licet: ita fit ut non item in oratione ut in versu numerus exstet, idque, quod numerosum in oratione dicitur, non semper numero fiat, sed non numquam aut concinnitate aut constructione verborum. ita si 10 numerus orationis quaeritur qui sit, omnis est, sed alius alio melior atque aptior; si locus, in omni parte verborum; si unde

1 *collocationis* Manutius, (*conl.* KH): *collocationes FPO.* 7 *neque nullo modo* Goeller et Mommsen (JKP²H): *neque ullo modo FPO* (MO): *neque nullo non modo* Sch².; *neque nullo modo non* Seyffert; *neque ullo modo non* P¹ St. 10 *nunquam* MO. *ita si numerus—definiunt* damnant Stegmann, Hoerner, Stangl. 12 *si locus—verborum* secl. M (K).

de propriis nihil, because they have no direct connexion with the *ornamenta orationis.*

diximus 149, 164 ff.

§ 202. **sed**, resumptive as in 74. **transferunt crebrius**, 81. Quint. viii 6 § 17 (after writing of metaphor) 'in illo plurimum erroris, quod ea quae poëtis...permissa sunt, convenire quidam etiam prosae putent'. **priscis libentius**, de Or. iii 153 'inusitata sunt *prisca* fere...quae sunt *poëtarum licentiae liberiora* quam nostrae'. **liberius novis**, 68 (in poetry) 'licentiam...maiorem...faciendorum iungendorumque verborum'.

necessitati, 198 (of the law of verse) 'quam sequi sit necesse'.

nec nimis diversa neque nullo modo coniuncta. 'It is obvious that (in prose and poetry) these matters (of rhythm) are neither excessively different nor again in no way connected', i.e. In respect of rhythm, prose and poetry are different, but not very different; on the contrary, they are in some degree closely connected with one another. The above seems the best emendation of the unsatisfactory manuscript reading *neque ullo modo coniuncta.*

Another suggestion which is worth mentioning is that of Moritz Seyffert, in the *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen*, 1861 xv p. 71, *neque nullo modo non iuncta*, (to which we should perhaps prefer, on rhythmical grounds, *non coniuncta*). The sense in this case would resemble that of Ovid's description: 'facies non omnibus una, Nec diversa tamen,—qualem decet esse sororum' (Met. ii 13): 'The rhythm of prose is not essentially (or utterly) different from the rhythm of verse, but at the same time not absolutely identical', since the rhythm of prose is frequently brought about, not by metrical feet, but by symmetry of clauses and euphonious arrangement of words. Cf. 201 'eadem cum faciamus quae poëtae'. Almost identical with this is the conjecture of Schütz, *neque nullo non modo coniuncta*. In Piderit's first ed. the text has 'neque *ullo* modo non coniuncta' (*Es ist klar, dass diese Punkte nicht allzuweit auseinandergehen, sondern irgendwie zusammengehören*); this is there quoted as an emendation by Seyffert, but it will be observed that such is not the case, as what Seyffert proposes is *nullo.*

fit ut...idque fiat. So in Lucr. vi 727 'fit uti fiat', 729 'fit uti fiant'. Livy is not adverse to *ut fierent factum est* and the like (Munro on Lucr. vi 416). **non item...ut**, Leg. Agr. ii 44 'cur non item ut tum...petierunt?', *item ut* II Verr. i 117, ii 134, iv 21, v 53, Cluent. 43. **exstet**, obtrude itself, de Or. i 72 'apparet atque *exstet*, utrum simus earum rudes an didicerimus'.

concinnitate, 149. **constructione**, 181 compositione.

§ 203. Here follows a summary of the answers given in the previous §§ to the enquiries started in §§ 179 ff.

omnis, 195 init. **in omni parte verbo-**

rum, [illegible]
end of [illegible]
ubi sit [illegible]
ex quo. [illegible]
ratio, 17[illegible]
alio loco, [illegible]
fuit 174. [illegible]
quo loco [illegible]
as contraste[illegible]
word' alread[illegible]
tota, 199 '[illegible]
continuation[illegible]
modum, '[illegible]
which comes [illegible]
artistic theory [illegible]
without that the[illegible]
clearly mark its [illegible]
intuition'. tacit[illegible]
'omnes tacito quo[illegible]
aut ratione...diiudi[illegible]
cause the *aures* are [illegible]
we can ascribe to the[illegible]

§§ 204—236. On[illegible]
ment and the utility [illegible]

§ 204. quaesitum [illegible]
cians. Cicero enume[illegible]
quiries start[illegible]

omprehensionem aut continuationem aut circumscriptionem
us, an in principiis solum an in extremis an in utraque
numerus tenendus sit; deinde cum aliud videatur esse
rus, aliud numerosum, quid intersit; tum autem in om-
ne numeris aequaliter particulas deceat incidere an facere 5
breviores, alias longiores, idque quando aut cur, quibusque
ius; pluribusne an singulis, imparibus an aequalibus; et
lo aut his aut illis sit utendum; quaeque inter se aptissime
entur et quo modo, an omnino nulla sit in eo genere dis-
; quodque ad rem maxime pertinet, qua ratione numerosa 10
atio. explicandum etiam est unde orta sit forma verborum,
lumque quantos circuitus facere deceat deque eorum par-
et tamquam incisionibus disserendum est, quaerendumque
una species et longitudo sit earum anne plures et, si plures,
co aut quando quoque genere uti oporteat. postremo totius 15
is utilitas explicanda est, quae quidem patet latius; non
am enim rem aliquam, sed ad pluris adcommodatur.
c licet non ad singula respondentem de universo genere sic
, ut etiam singulis satis responsum esse videatur. remotis
reliquis generibus unum selegimus hoc, quod in causis 20
ie versatur, de quo diceremus. ergo in aliis, id est, in
ia et in eo, quod appellamus ἐπιδεικτικόν, placet omnia

vrioris...longioris F. *cur; quibusque partibus,* H. 8 *his* Lambi-
nargine et Wesenberg in or. p. Sest. p. 9 (KJP): *istis FPO* (MOHSt).
K. 11 *etiam est FPO: est etiam* cod. Mon. (M et St). 17 *pluris adc.* K.
ingula Bake (KJPHSt): *singulas res FPO* (MO).

mprehensio, § 121 '*comprehensiones* ciuntur ex pedibus'; he uses *compr.* imes for 'definition'. Thus it will that not one of Cicero's tentative roximate renderings of περίοδος is ly adopted by Quintilian. He to naturalise the word *periodos,* word he uses in at least eleven s (viii 3 § 14, ix 3 § 43, 4 §§ 14, 5, 127, 128; xi 1 § 49, 3 §§ 39,

rehensio 149, 208, 221, 222, 223, 52 **continuatio** 203, 208, de Or. ii 171, **circumscriptio** 30, 200, 1.

particulas incidere, 226. **qui-ribus,** 'in which portions of the **his, singulis...aequalibus; illis, ...imparibus.**

forma verborum, the symmetrical form or *concinnitas* (220) of words, elsewhere called the *genus verborum* (164); de Or. iii 171 (continuatio verborum) 'modum quendam formamque desiderat'.

quantos, see 222 init.

incisionibus, a tentative rendering of κόμματα, the *incisa* of 211.

§§ 207—220. *On the rhythmical prose of the γένος ἐπιδεικτικόν and its employment in forensic and deliberative oratory.*

§ 207. **esse videatur,** 43.

remotis—diceremus, 37. **in causis foroque,** 69, *causae* refers to the forensic branch alone, while *forum* includes the deliberative.

historia, the rhetorical kind of history (like that of Theopompus), included in the epideictic branch in 37. **omnia,** emphatic.

umanum sensum auditoris, tollit funditus veritatem et

quoniam adhibenda non numquam est, primum viden- quo loco, deinde quam diu retinenda sit, tum quot modis anda. adhibenda est igitur numerosa oratio, si aut s um est aliquid ornatius, ut nos in accusationis secundo iae laude diximus, ut in senatu de consulatu meo, aut da narratio, quae plus dignitatis desiderat quam doloris, uarto accusationis de Hennensi Cerere, de Segestana

oris recte scripsisse videtur H (st), idem coniecerat Reid; hanc coniec- firmat aliquatenus Theophrastus ap. Dion. Hal. de Lys. 14 τὸ πάθος τῇ ιρεῖν· ἐκλύει γὰρ τὸν ἀκροατήν, quae verba Ciceroni ante oculos fuisse *ctoris FO, auctoris PM*; errorem eundem in codd. non nullis De Inv. i 20 *actorem* (vel *auctorem*) benevolum' indicavit Stroebel. 3 *nunquam* MO. *FPO*, quod nescio cur suspicetur H; *nostro* alii apud Stangl. 8 *desi-* ti (Stangl).

auditoris, 'robs the audience inary human feeling'. **tollit—** atterly subversive of truth and

la, sc. either *composita oratio*, *numerosa oratio*, implied in *orationis* above and actually elow.

odis commutanda, 'in how s we should modify (or vary) not modis mutentur', 219 'tot mnibus tamque variis si ute- int. ix 4 § 50 (rhythmi), 'quo- erant, currunt usque ad μετα- est transitum in aliud genus Dionys. Hal. de comp. 19 λλαι καὶ σχήματα παντοῖα καὶ αι καλούμεναι προσῳδίαι διά- τονται τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τὸν κόρον, ocr. and his school) περὶ τὰς αὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν οὐ πάνυ εὐτυ- n quotes Aristides Quintil. de μεταβολή ἐστι ῥυθμικὴ ῥυθμῶν ἀγωγῆς· ἀγωγὴ ἐστι ῥυθμικὴ ος ἢ βραδύτης.

In what cases should a rhyth- be used?

onia, II Verr. ii 2 'omnium xterarum princeps Sicilia se am fidemque populi Romani prima omnium, id quod orna- perii est, provincia est appel- docuit maiores nostros, quam esset exteris gentibus impe- fuit ea fide benevolentiaque lum Romanum, ut civitates e, quae semel in amicitiam nissent, numquam postea defi- raeque autem, et maxime il- micitia perpetuo manerent'.

in senatu de consulatu. This is a lost speech of the year 61 B.C., referred to in Plut. Crass. 13 as the λόγος περὶ ὑπατείας, and dwelt upon with some elation in ad Att. i 14 § 4: 'ego autem ipse, di boni! quomodo ἐνεπερπερευσά- μην novo auditori Pompeio! si umquam mihi περίοδοι, si καμπαί, si ἐνθυμήματα, si κατασκευαί suppeditaverunt, illo tem- pore. quid multa? clamores. etenim haec erat ὑπόθεσις: de gravitate ordinis, de equestri concordia, de consensione Italiae, de intermortuis reliquiis coniurationis;... nosti iam in hac materia sonitus nostros'.

doloris, an elaborately rhythmical style is unsuited to *pathetic* narrative for the rea- son given above, 209 'detrahit—dolorem'.

de Hennensi Cerere, II Verr. iv 106 —115, esp. 106 (arbitrantur Siculi) 'raptam esse Liberam, quam eandem Proserpinam vocant, ex Hennensium nemore'. Then follows in 107 a highly finished description of the legendary scene of the *raptus Proserpinae*: 'propter huius opinionis vetustatem, quod horum in eis locis vestigia ac prope incunabula reperiuntur deorum, mira quaedam tota Sicilia privatim ac publice religio est Cereris Hennensis'....In 109 he expresses his fear 'ne oratio mea aliena ab iudicio- rum ratione et a cotidiana dicendi consue- tudine esse videatur: hoc dico, hanc ipsam Cererem, antiquissimam, religio- sissimam, principem omnium sacrorum, quae apud omnis gentis nationesque fiunt, a C. Verre ex suis templis et sedibus esse sublatam', &c.

de Segestana Diana ib. §§ 72—79 'fuit apud Segestanos ex aere Dianae simu- lacrum, cum summa atque antiquissima

de Syracus

in amplificanda r

quam ipsam includit, sed in orationis reliquis partibus. nam
iis eis locis usus, quibus ostendi licere, transferenda tota
est ad illa, quae nescio cur, cum Graeci *κόμματα* et *κῶλα*
ient, nos non recte incisa et membra dicamus. neque enim

uam ipsam includit Beier, 'i.e. quam totam occupat atque terminat' (o[22]JPII): *iae includit FPO* (M); corrupta esse indicavit Lamb.; *quam ipsam cludit* Guliel-*uam ipse finis includit* Sch.; *quae ipsam claudit* o[1]; *in quam ipsam includitur* 19, 133) Bake; *qua* (vel *in qua*) *ipsa includitur* K; *qua in ipsa includitur* 2 *eis: his FPO* (M), *hiis* Eins.; *iis* (OH). *licere* cod. Laur. 50,1 *vel FPO.* 3 *cur* post *nominent* transponere mavult Stangl.

1 ipsam includit, 'with which it coincides', 'which it perfectly 19, 133.
idi, in 210. **transferenda,** your expression must be entirely trans-from the elaborately rhythmical iodic style to that of the shorter ger clauses which are called *κόμ*-id *κῶλα* by the Greek rhetoricians.
o cur—dicamus. Here, as often, introduces in an apologetic sort of tentative translation of the techni-is used by his Greek authorities.
ατα...κῶλα. The term **κῶλον** is ed in a rhetorical sense in Ar. iii 9 § 5 *περίοδος δὲ ἡ μὲν ἐν κώλοις* *κελῆς· ἔστι δ' ἐν κώλοις μὲν λέξις* *ιειωμένη τε καὶ διῃρημένη καὶ εὐ-* *νπτος...κῶλον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἕτερον* *ταύτης· ἀφελῆ δὲ λέγω τὴν μονό-*

a is a term of later use; in Dion. Dem. 39 *κομματικῶς κατασκευάσ-* contrasted with *τὸ ἐμπερίοδον.* rhetoricians distinguish between o terms as follows: Longin. 309 in Spengel's *Rh. Gr.*: *ν τὸ μὲν κόμμα ἐκ δυοῖν λέξεων ἢ* *ὸ δὲ κῶλον διπλάσιον ἢ κατὰ τοῦ-* *ὥσπερ διττῶν ἄρθρων μετέχον·* *ται γὰρ ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἐν τοῖς* *ώλων.* Rhet. Gr. vii 25 (Walz) *μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ φράσις βραχύ τι νόημα* *ολον· 'δεῖ δὲ χρημάτων'* (Dem. Ol. *κῶλον δέ ἐστι φράσις, ἐν ᾗ μέρος* *ς φαίνεται οἷον· 'ἄλλως τε κἂν* *ἔχωσι'* (l.c. § 5): and ib. 890 *ὕνω κόμμα μὲν λόγος διάνοιαν δη-* *δύο ἢ τρισὶ λέξεσι, ὡς τὸ 'μηδὲν* *'γνῶθι σαυτόν', τὸ δὲ τέλειον* *ἡρῴῳ μετρεῖται, ἐς ἔχει συλλαβὰς* *κῶλον δέ ἐστι μόριον λόγου συγκεί-* *ξ ὀνομάτων πλειόνων, τελειοῦν τὴν* *σαν διάνοιαν, ὡς τό, 'ἀντὶ πολλῶν,* *αῖοι'* (Ol. § 1)· *μέτρον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἑκκαί-* *λλαβαί.* The last extract is from *olia* on Hermogenes; Hermo-himself, in *Rh. Gr.* ii 241 Sp., describes a *κῶλον* as an *ἀπηρτισμένη διά-* *νοια,* a 'completed sense'; and in 243 he makes the distinction between them turn entirely on their comparative length; from four to six syllables being a *κόμμα* (*ἐπῳδῷ μετρούμενον*), and from seven to ten, or even the number of syllables in an iambic trimeter or hexameter line, being a *κῶλον*. Demetrius *π. ἑρμηνείας* § 9 simply refers to the definition: *κόμμα ἐστὶ τὸ κώλου ἔλαττον.* Liddell and Scott inadequately state that a *κόμμα* is elsewhere called a *κῶλον*.

It will be observed that the comparative length of the *κόμμα* and *κῶλον* have given origin to our terms of punctuation indicating the close of such shorter or longer clauses respectively, just as our 'period', or full-stop, marks the end of a *περίοδος*; while conversely the Greek *παραγραφή* marks the beginning of what we call a paragraph.

incisa...membra. This application of *membrum* is not original, the word having already been used in a technical sense by the *Auctor ad Herennium* (iv 19 § 26): '*membrum* orationis appellatur res breviter absoluta sine totius sententiae demonstratione, quae denuo alio membro orationis excipitur: e.g. '*et inimico proderas et amicum laedebas. Articulus* dicitur, cum singula verba intervallis distinguuntur caesa oratione: e.g. *acrimonia voce voltu adversarios perterruisti*'.

Cf. Part. Orat. 19 'aut circumscriptione conclusa (in periods), aut intermissione (in *membra*), aut concisione verborum' (in *incisa*). **incisum** is here used for the first time by Cic. and, immediately after, we have the first introduction of the corresponding adverb *incise* (212).

Quintilian's distinction between *membrum* and *incisum* is clearer and more satisfactory than that of the later Greek rhetoricians between *κῶλον* and *κόμμα*. The *incisum* instead of being defined

esse possunt rebus ignotis nota nomina, sed cum v
tatis aut inopiae causa transferre soleamus, in o
artibus, ut, cum id appellandum sit, quod propter
tionem ipsarum nullum habuerit ante nomen, nec
5 aut novum facere verbum aut a simili mutuari.

LXIII Quo autem pacto deceat incise membratimve di
bimus; nunc quot modis mutentur comprehensio
sionesque dicendum est. fluit omnino numerus a pr
citatius brevitate pedum, tum proceritate tardius: c
10 tentiones magis requirunt, expositiones rerum tard
sistit autem . modis pluribus, e quibus unum
Asia maxin horeus vocatur, cum duo ext
sunt, id est, s longis et brevibus. explan
enim, quod m pedes aliis vocabulis nomin

3 *ipsarum* ... ult n. 4 *cogat* vulg.: *cogit FPO.*
mandum—nomin... (K). 14 *quod FPO*: *quod iam* Ruf
Stangl (Bl. f. d ... ii p. 261) coll. § 103 (*quoniam A*, ...
et Part. Orat. 41 ... opriis oritur plerumque magna dissens
est'. *ab ali*... *is FPO.*

merely as part of the *membrum* is according to him 'a complete sense in which however the numbers or rhythm are not yet complete: the *membrum* is a complete sense, and a complete rhythm; but although absolutely and *per se* it has a complete sense, in relation to the entire period and the entire meaning which the author has in view, it is incomplete. It is like a limb severed from the body: it is perfect in itself *as a limb*; but as it is intended to form part of a given whole, the body, relatively to this it is incomplete and meaningless' (Cope's *Introd.* p. 313 note). Quint ix 4 § 122 '*incisum* (κόμμα) erit sensus non expleto numero conclusus; plerisque *pars membri*....(fiunt autem etiam singulis verbis incisa)...; *membrum* autem est sensus numeris conclusus; sed a toto corpore abruptus et per se nihil efficiens'.

rebus ignotis—De Fin. iii 4, Acad. i 25 (Reid).

suavitatis—transferre, 92. **necessitas—novum facere verbum**, Hor. A. P. 48 'si forte *necesse* est Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum; Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis Continget:... Et nova factaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si Graeco fonte cadent parce detorta' (where Bentley defends his emendation *facta*, against the manuscript reading *ficta*, by quoting Or. 68, 81, 176, de

Or. iii 154, Part. Orat. 7
the present passage is
purpose). For *facere verb*
Muhlmann, s. v. *facere.*

§§ 212—220. *On* nar

§ 212. **incise**, 224. **mem**

iam videbimus, sc. i
For *iam* in the sense o
Brut. 96 'iam dicendi lo
iam intelleges.

comprehensiones, 'co
(149); **conclusiones**, t
rounded portions of peri

a primo, onwards from
incitatius (67)—**tardius.**
as well as the next, is a g
chiasmus.

contentiones, passage
orator is grappling with
passages marked by sp
argument (45); ad Here
'contentio est oratio acris
dum et ad confutandum a

insistit, 207. **ambitu**

Asia. The orators of th
the *Asiatici* of § 230, I
quotes Rufin. de comp. et
Halm: 'Cicero in dialog
dicit, referens Asianos ora
clausulas terminare'. Q
'claudet et dichoreus...q
usi plurimum'.

eidem pedes, the *ch*

n est ille quidem sua sponte vitiosus in clausulis, sed
numero nihil est tam vitiosum quam si semper est
t autem per se ipse ille praeclare, quo etiam satietas
est magis. me stante C. Carbo C. F. tribunus plebis
dixit his verbis: 'o Marce Druse, patrem appello',— 5
n duo binis pedibus incisim; deinde membratim—'tu
ıas sacram esse rem publicam'; haec item membra

.ufin. (OKJP): *ille ipse FPO* (MHSt). 5 *Marce: M.* H cum *PO* et *ri F*[1]. *parem* Rufin. 6 *duobus in his* Rufin. *deinde* codd. Nonius et Rufin. (OKJP): *dein FPO* (MHSt). *tu FPO* et Rufin.: 7 *solebas dicere* transposuit P. *haec autem* P.

ıeing applied by some to Dion. Hal. de comp. verb. ιταίων βραχειῶν συνεστώς, τὸ τινων χορεῖος, τρίβραχυς sent sentence closes, as it n instance of a 'dichoreus':

sponte, 'of itself', in the elf'; cf. 115. **semper**— y palls upon one.
varia quidem clausularum sed eodem illo ditrochaeo delectatur, ut in optimae orationibus [sc. *pro imp.* . 66, *in Catil.* 63, *pro Archia* 62] forma eius ⏑–|–⏑⏑⏑ 18°/o cum ce-iuncta 30°/o conficiat' (G. *ula rhetorica* p. 95). In B.C. 46, belonging to the he *Orator*, we have 27°/o of ending; in the *pro* .5, 19½ per cent.; and in hilippics 20 per cent. (ib.

99: 'in itself (*p. r se ipse*) splendid cadence': 'nam longa ad brevem, et paen-semper, quarta a fine ple-ı insignis est' (Wuest p.

'I was myself standing adience) when...'. The *stare in contione* as in 18 'animadvertit Gracchus ıonem stantem'; de Lege qui acutiores in contione 1. ii 144 'eos omnes qui ıbunt'. In the present *ione* is not added, as it is ediately afterwards with less we expect some such *adstante* or *me praesente*. or 17 years of age in the Carbo was tribune.

C. Papirius **Carbo** Arvina, tribune in the year 90 or 89 B.C. (son of the consul of B.C. 120), put to death by Damasippus in 82. His style, as a speaker, is described as follows in Brut. 221: 'non satis acutus orator, sed tamen orator numeratus est. erat in verbis gravitas et facile dicebat et auctoritatem naturalem quandam habebat oratio'.

Druse. M. Livius Drusus, the elder, tribune in B.C. 122, the opponent of C. Gracchus. Brut. 109 'M. Drusus C. F. qui in tribunatu C. Gracchum collegam iterum tribunum fregit, vir et oratione gravis et auctoritate'. **appello**, as the person apostrophized was no longer living, this is an example of the figure referred to in § 85 *mortuos excitare*.

binis pedibus. The two *incisa* consist of two trochees and two spondees respectively. **incisim**, used here, and in 223, 225, as an alternative form for *incise* (212). In 225 we have *caesim*.

săcrăm | ēssĕ rēm | pūblĭcăm. "In Piderit's ed. this is treated as two *iambi* followed by a cretic; but *săcrăm es sĕ rēm pūblĭcăm* is extremely harsh. By pronouncing the clause as printed at the head of this note, (i) *sacram* obtains its proper emphasis. The last syllable of *sacram* is separated from *esse* by a pause like that noticed by Quintilian ix 4 § 108 where he says of the conclusion 'non turpe duceres': 'paulum morae damus inter ultimum atque proximum verbum, et *turpe* illud intervallo quodam producimus'. (ii) We get a double cretic at the close, an ending praised by Quint. *l. c.* 107: 'ser|vare quam | plurimos'. Piderit's alternative suggestion, to treat *sa* in *sacram* as *extra metrum*, is absurd. Again, (sa)crăm ēsse is intolerable if *sacram* is not a trochee. Further, the parallelism with the first membrum is lost. Lastly, we get for the conclusion

...ed id cre
agnoscitur, deinde

LXIV Sed sunt claus
nam et creticus, qu
paean, qui spatio p
15 putatur in solutam

1 *eam* om. Rufin.
ceteri. 8 *quem* ...
hic et ad finem paragraphi 21
cadant: *cadunt* Bake (K).
qui *FPO* et Rufin. (11); *vel* S

a rhythm never mentioned by C
(Nixon).

ternis. The first *membrum*
a spondee, tribrach and dactyl; t
of a trochee followed by two cret
two following periods both end
double trochee called by Cic. a *di*

§ 214. **nihil ad rem,** 217.
fili. M. Livius Drusus the you
the well-known tribune of B.C. 91
(unlike his father) followed in the
steps of the Gracchi, and whose
was the signal for the outbreak of
social war. Cic. in Brut. 222 characte
him as 'gravem oratorem, ita dum
cum de republica diceret'.

tantus clamor (107). To account
the loud applause with which this
received, we must take in
not only the ...

e longa est et tribus brevibus, qui numerus in primo viget, iacet
in extremo, aut e totidem brevibus et longa, in quem optime
cadere censent veteres; ego non plane reicio, sed alios antepono.
16 ne spondeus quidem funditus est repudiandus, etsi, quod est e
longis duabus, hebetior videtur et tardior; habet tamen stabilem 5
quendam et non expertem dignitatis gradum, in incisionibus
vero multo magis et in membris; paucitatem enim pedum gravi-
tate sua et tarditate compensat. sed hos cum in clausulis pedes
nomino, non loquor de uno pede extremo: adiungo, quod mini-
17 mum sit, proximum superiorem, saepe etiam tertium. ne iambus 10
quidem, qui est e brevi et longa, aut par choreo, qui habet tris
brevis, *trochaeus*, sed spatio par, non syllabis, aut etiam dactylus,
qui est e longa et duabus brevibus, si est proximus a postremo,
parum volubiliter pervenit ad extremum, si est extremus choreus

2 *e* Rufin., om. *FPO*. *in FPO*, om. Rufin. (secl. Stangl). 4 *spondius* HSt. *est funditus* Rufin. 5 *duabus* om. Rufin. 7 *gravitate sua et O*[2] et Rufin.: *gravitatis suaet F*, *gravitatis suae P*, *gravitatis sue O*[1]. 10 *sit*: *est* Stangl. 11 *tris* KH. 12 *brevis* K: *-es* ceteri. *sed*: *et est* Stangl. *trochaeus* Rufin.: om. codd., post *choreo* posuit M (JHSt).

τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἁρμόττει, ὥσπερ καὶ χρῶνται (e.g. in the opening sentence of the Paneg., Helen, and Busiris of Isocr. None of the genuine speeches of Dem. begin with this paean). *οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν οὗ ἄρχει μὲν ἡ μακρά, τελευτῶσι δὲ τρεῖς βραχεῖαι...ἕτερος δ' ἐξ ἐναντίας, οὗ βραχεῖαι ἄρχουσι τρεῖς, ἡ δὲ μακρὰ τελευταία·...οὗτος δὲ τελευτὴν ποιεῖ.* 'In Isocr. Panegyrico mihi obviam fuerunt paeanis quarti (⏑⏑⏑–) exempla 42, e quibus tamen non plus 20 exeuntibus. maior pars in ineuntibus leguntur enuntiatis, paeanis primi (–⏑⏑⏑) 12 exempla occurrebant in exordiis, 6 in clausulis. In Dem. Philippicis contra praevalent paeanes I, e quibus tamen 14 tantum leguntur in exordiis, 16 in clausulis; paeanis IV exempla exstant 10, excepto uno in clausulis adhibita' (Wuest p. 86).

in quem...cadere, 223. **cadere** sc. *sententiam* (199) which may have dropped out before *censent*. **antepono**, a *dichoreus*.

§ 216. If (as in the editions of Orelli and Kayser) *etsi* is here preceded by more than a comma, we should expect *etsi enim*.

incisionibus, here synonymous with *incisis*, as in 206. **multo magis** sc. *quam in ambitu* (223, 224).

in membris. 'In Verr. V exempli gratia quadraginta insunt dispondei, e quibus tredecim claudunt totas periodos, viginti septem *membra* minoris interpunctionis signis ab editoribus notata; in Catil. II bis totae periodi, quater membra, pro Sest. duodecies periodi, vicies octies membra dispondeo concluduntur, ut plus duas partes videas apparere in membris' (Wuest p. 98).

gravitate et tarditate, Hor. A. P. 255–6 (of the iambic foot) '*tardior* ut paullo *gravior*que veniret ad aures, Spondeos *stabiles* (cf. *stabilem...gradum*) in iura paterna recepit'.

pedes, i.e. one or more feet exactly co-extensive with the one or more words at the end of the sentence.

proximum superiorem, ad Fam. i 9 § 6; de Nat. Deor. ii 53 'proximum inferiorem'.

§ 217. **trochaeus** 192. **sed**, in a limiting sense referring back to *par* (though several words have parenthetically intervened). **spatio**, 193.

volubiliter, 210. All the combinations of feet enumerated (⏑–|–⏓), (⏑⏑⏑|–⏓), and the ordinary hexameter ending (–⏑⏑|–⏓), 'reach the end of the sentence', says Cicero, 'with sufficient rapidity' (ne... parum = satis). The language used does not appear to imply any objection to the above types of conclusion, but as a matter of fact we know that Cic. avoids the third of them, his reason for so doing being his desire to keep clear of anything that is too suggestive of verse. Cf. Quint. ix 4 § 102 'ne dactylus quidem spondeo

aut spor numquam enim interest uter sit eorum in ped extremo. sed eidem hi tres pedes male concludunt, si qui eorum in extremo locatus est, nisi cum pro cretico postremus es dactylus; nihil enim interest dactylus sit extremus an creticus 5 quia postrema syllaba brevis an longa sit, ne in versu quiden refert. qua re etiam paeana qui dixit aptiorem, in quo esse longa postrema, vidit parum, quoniam nihil ad rem est, postrema quam longa sit. iam paean, quod pluris habeat syllabas quan tris, numerus a quibusdam, non pes habetur. est quidem, ut 10 inter omnis constat antiqu elem, Theophrastum, Theodectem, Ephorum, unus tioni vel orienti vel mediae;

1 *spondius* nst. 2 *cum* 6 *artiorem* Rufin. 7 *vidi* Rufin. 8 *paean* Rufin., is K: *-es* ceteri. *habeat FPO*: *habe* Kuhn. 9 *tris* K: *-es* : Rufini codd. *nominatur* Keil, *exis-timatur* Stangl. 10 *vi* *Theodecten* Rufin. (11), *Theodectum FP*, *Theodectum* O.

bene praeponitur, quia finem vers namus in fine orationis'. In the sentence he tells us that ⏑–, ⏑⏑⏑ and –⏑⏑ make bad endings. Of the second Quint. ib. 105 says 'non optimus est'.

(1) The quadrisyllabic ending ⏑––⏓, preceded by a long syllable, forms 8 per cent. of the endings in the *pro Ligario* B.C. 46, and the same proportion holds good in the *pro imp. Cn. Pomp.* and the *pro Archia* (Wuest p. 61). (2) For the quinquesyllabic ending ⏑⏑⏑–⏑, consisting of a single word, the corresponding proportions are nearly 3 per cent. and 1½ per cent.; for the same distributed over a quadrisyllabic word and the preceding syllable, 5 and 8 per cent. (ib.). (3) The hexameter ending, consisting of a dactylic word followed by a trochaic or spondaic, is never found in Cicero. He has a very few instances of –⏑ ⏑–⏑, a few more of a quinquesyllabic word –⏑⏑–⏑, and more, again, of a quadrisyllabic – ⏑⏑–⏑ (p. 67).

When Cic. states that ⏑– and ⏑⏑⏑ make bad endings, he probably means to object to them when preceded by the three feet above mentioned, namely the iambus, the tribrach and dactyl. Thus he disapproves of ⏑– ⏑–, and ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑– and –⏑⏑ ⏑–; also of ⏑– ⏑⏑⏑, ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑, and –⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑. But he tolerates ⏑–|–⏑⏓, ⏑⏑⏑|–⏑⏑ and –⏑⏑ –⏑⏑ (p. 100).

uter, trochee or spondee. **pro cretico**, see Quint. quoted below.

nihil interest, 214. This is apparently inconsistent with what has been said in 'verba melius in syllabas longiores nt'; and it is demurred to by Quint. ix 4 § 93 'clausula quoque e longis firmissima est; sed cludent etiam breves, quamvis habeatur indifferens ultima. neque enim ego ignoro, in fine pro longa accipi brevem, quia videtur aliquid vacantis temporis ex eo, quod insequitur, accedere; aures tamen consulens meas, intellego multum referre, verene longa sit, quae cludit, an pro longa'.

§ 218. **qui dixit**, Aristotle (214): **nihil ad rem**, 214. **quibusdam**. Quint. ix 4 § 79 'equidem Ciceronem sequar (nam is eminentissimos Graecorum est secutus) excepto quod pes mihi tris syllabas non videtur excedere, quamquam ille paeane dochmioque [⏑––⏑–], quorum prior in quattuor, secundus in quinque excurrit, utatur. (80) nec tamen ipse dissimulat, quibusdam numeros videri non pedes, neque immerito; quidquid enim supra tris syllabas, id est ex pluribus pedibus'.

Theophrastum, doubtless in his lost work, περὶ λέξεως.

On **Theodectes** and **Ephorus** see notes on 172.

vel mediae. Aristotle confines himself to recommending the paean for the beginning or the end. As he says nothing of the middle we must conclude either that Cic. has made a slip or that he is referring to one of the other three authorities. That a paeonic rhythm pervading a sentence is quite consistent with the absence of an actual paean at its two ends is remarked by Demetrius π. ἑρμηνείας 41: δεῖ

putant illi etiam cadenti, quo loco mihi videtur aptior creticus. dochmius autem e quinque syllabis, brevi, duabus longis, brevi, longa, ut est hoc,—'amicos tenes', quovis loco aptus est, dum semel ponatur: iteratus aut continuatus numerum apertum et 5 nimis insignem facit. his igitur tot commutationibus tamque LXV variis si utemur, nec deprehendetur manifesto quid a nobis de 6 industria fiat et occurretur satietati; et quia non numero solum numerosa oratio, sed et compositione fit et genere, quod ante dictum est, concinnitatis, (compositione potest intellegi, cum ita structa verba sunt, ut numerus non quaesitus, sed ipse secutus 10

2 *dochmius* Rufin. *dochimius FOP*[2], *dachimius P*[1]. 3 *ut est hoc FPO*, *hoc est* Rufin. 6 *quid...fiat* cum codd. MOJHSt: *quod...fiat* (coll. de Or. ii 177 init.) Bake, *quod ...fiet* K, *id quod* (vel *si quid*)...*fiet* P. 7 *numero solum* om. *FPO*, habet cod. Vit. (om. *numerosa*) 8 *añ* (= *ante*) ed. Romana 1469: *aut* codd. plerique; *ut* Vit. 9 (*compositione—industria*). parenthesin primus indicavit Trojel, Jahrb. f. Philol. 73 p. 183. *potest intellegi* secl. Stangl.

μέντοι λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι κἂν μὴ ἀκριβῶς δυνώμεθα τοῖς κώλοις περιτιθέναι τοὺς παίωνας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἀμφοτέροις, παιωνικήν γε πάντως ποιησόμεθα τὴν σύνθεσιν, οἷον ἐκ μακρῶν ἀρχόμενοι καὶ εἰς μακρὰς καταλήγοντες· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης παραγγέλλειν ἔοικεν, ἄλλως δὲ τὸ διττὸν τοῦ παίωνος τετεχνολογηκέναι ἀκριβείας ἕνεκα· διόπερ Θεόφραστος παράδειγμα ἐκτέθειται μεγαλοπρεπείας τὸ τοιοῦτον κῶλον, τῶν μὲν περὶ τὰ μηδενὸς ἄξια φιλοσοφούντων· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ παιώνων ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλὰ παιωνικόν τι ἐστι.

'Nimium pressisse mihi videtur Fritzschius (*de numeris orationis solutae* p. 13) additamentum *vel mediae*, quod ab Aristotelis doctrina alienum sit. Nam non solum Stagirita paeanem a mediis periodis aperte non excludit, sed ne dubitare quidem poterat Cicero, quin etiam in hac parte adhiberi vellet philosophus paeanem, quippe qui, ubi de totius orationis numero agebatur (ineunte cap. 8), in universum paeanem propter naturam suam et indolem eligendum esse dixisset. Ut autem de ineunte et exeunte sententia expressis verbis diceret, paeanis eum duplex forma monuit' (Wuest p. 86).

creticus. Quint. ix 4 § 107 'creticus et initiis optimus...et clausulis'. In 14 per cent. of the endings in the *pro Milone*, the last word is a cretic (Wuest p. 60).

dochmius ◡ – – ◡ –. Endings like *amicos tenes* occur to the extent of 5, 6 and 9 per cent. in the *pro Milone*, *pro Ligario* and *pro Deiotaro* respectively (ib.).

insignem, '*marked*', '*conspicuous*', 'obtrusive', de Or. iii 182 (of the iambus and trochee) 'sunt *insignes* percussiones eorum numerorum'.

§ 219. **commutationibus**, 209. **deprehendetur manifesto**, in Cat. iii 4. **de industria**; *industria* is needed by the orator, but it must not be so obtrusive, 'ut de industria factum appareat' (195); so below 'sine ulla *aperta* orationis industria'. Cf. de Or. iii 193 'horum vicissitudines efficient, ut neque ei satientur, qui audient, fastidio similitudinis, nec nos *id quod facimus*, *opera dedita* fecisse videamur'. The above passages (quoted by Piderit) are slightly in favour of (*id*) *quod—fiet*, as against *quid—fiat*. **occurretur satietati** 174 fin. Dion. Hal. de comp. verb. 19 ἔστι λέξις κρατίστη πασῶν ἥτις ἂν ἔχοι πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τε καὶ μεταβολὰς ἁρμονίας ὅταν τουτὶ μὲν ἐν περιόδῳ λέγηται, τουτὶ δ' ἔξω περιόδου...ῥυθμοί τ' ἄλλοι καὶ σχήματα παντοῖα καὶ τάσεις φωνῆς αἱ καλούμεναι προσῳδίαι διάφοροι, κλέπτουσαι τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τὸν κόρον. ἔχει δέ τινα χάριν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τὸ οὕτω συγκείμενον ὥστε μὴ συγκεῖσθαι δοκεῖν.

et compositione, 149, 202. **genere—concinnitatis**, 164, 181, 202.

compositione—industria. This is an incidental parenthesis, the object of which is to shew how a rhythmical character can be given by *compositio* or verbal structure alone, apart from any deliberate use of rhythm. **structa**, 149, 20. **non quaesitus**—165. **ipse**, *sua sponte*, de Or. iii 182 (iambi et trochaei) 'incurrunt ipsi in orationem'.

esse videatur, ut apud Crassum: 'nam ubi lubido dominatur innocentiae leve praesidium est'. ordo enim verborum efficit numerum sine ulla aperta oratoris industria.) itaque si quae veteres illi—Herodotum dico et Thucydidem totamque eam aeta-
5 tem—apte numeroseque dixerunt, ea sic non numero quaesito, sed verborum collocatione ceciderunt. formae vero quaedam 220 sunt orationis, in quibus ea concinnitas est, ut sequatur numerus necessario; nam cum aut par pari refertur aut contrarium contrario opponitur aut quae si[...] cadunt verba verbis com-
10 parantur, quidquid ita concl[...] plerumque fit ut numerose cadat, quo de genere cum ex[...] supra diximus, ut haec quoque copia facultatem adferat [...]nper eodem modo desinendi, nec tamen haec ita sunt a[...] stricta, ut ea, cum velimus,

5 *sic* scripsit π, *si FPO* qua in le[...] *t* per compendium *s'* scriptum agnoscit Stangl, coll. §§ 33, 63: om. edd. [...]. 10 *quidquid* vulg.; *quicquid* K: *quid quod FPO*. *fit: sic FPO*. [...]*ff*. KP: *aff*. ceteri.

apud Crassum; probably in his celebrated *suasio legis Serviliae*, delivered in the year of Cicero's birth, B.C. 106 (Brut. 161). On this occasion 'he appeared as a champion of the senate in their struggle to wrest the *iudicia* from the *equites* by the law of Q. Servilius Caepio...The speech was distinguished alike for the purity of its language, which made it a model constantly studied by speakers of the next generation, and for the biting wit with which he attacked C. Memmius, the chief opponent of the measure (Brut. 164, Cluent. 140, de Or. ii 240, 267)' Wilkins' *Introd.* to *de Or.* p. 9. A longer fragment is quoted in de Or. i 225; see also Meyer's *Orat. Rom. frag.*[2] p. 299.

nam ubi—Quint. ix 4 § 109 'non (Spalding) quidem optime est sibi iunctus anapaestos, ut qui sit pentametri finis, vel rhythmos qui nomen ab eo traxit *nam ubi libido dominatur, innocentiae | leve prae | -sidium est*; nam synaloephe facit, ut duae ultimae syllabae pro una sonent. melior fiet praecedente spondeo vel bacchio, ut si idem mutes *leve innocenti | -ae prae | -sidium est*'.—Meyer *u.s.* p. 301.

itaque draws the *conclusion* from the first part of the sentence, which has been delayed by the intervening parenthesis. If Cic. had intended to use a resumptive particle, he would probably have used *igitur* (Madv. § 480).

Herodotum, 186. **Thucydidem**, Dion. Hal. de comp. verb. 18 φέρε δή, τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν, ἀξιωματικῶς τε συγκεῖσθαι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τὴν Θουκυδίδου λέξιν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ ταύτην; οἱ μὲν | πολλοὶ | τῶν ἐν | -θάδε ἤ | -δη εἰ | -ρηκότων ἐπαινοῦ | -σι τὸν προσ | -θέντα τῷ | νόμῳ τὸν | λόγον τόν | -δε || ὡς καλὸν | ἐπὶ τοῖς | ἐκ τῶν | πολέμων | θαπτομέ | -νοις ἀγο | -ρεύεσ | -θαι αὐ | -τόν || ...εἰκότως ὑψηλὴ εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ καλλιεπὴς καὶ εὐγενής, ὡς (οὕτως?) ἐκλέγων τοὺς ῥυθμούς. Demetr. π. ἑρμηνείας 40 (after quoting Thuc. ii 48 ἤρξατο δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας) σχεδὸν γὰρ ὅλως τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῷ ποιεῖ ἡ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ μακρότης. Dionys., de Dem. 39, remarks that the αὐστηρὰ ἁρμονία is for the most part averse to the 'periodic' and prefers to express itself κομματικῶς. Quintilian's criticism on Cicero's views as to the style of Herodotus and Thucydides has been already quoted (on § 186). To a certain extent Thucydides doubtless affected a periodic style, but it was an undeveloped style as compared with that of Isocrates and Demosthenes (Blass *Att. Ber.* i 215—9).

apte, 149, **ceciderunt**, 168.

§ 220. **formae...orationis** (cf. 164, 181), certain of the figures of speech (135) enumerated below: παρίσωσις, ἀντίθεσις and ὁμοιόπτωσις.

ita concluditur, 'is thus finished', not in the sense of 'terminated', but in that of 'elaborated'. See note on § 20 conclusa. **numerose cadat**, 215.

supra, 165—7.

nec tamen haec— 'These rules (of rhythm) however are not so strict and

laxare nequeamus: multum interest utrum numerosa sit, id est, **similis** numerorum, an plane e numeris constet oratio. alterum **si fit**, intolerabile vitium est; alterum nisi fit, dissipata et inculta **et fluens** est oratio.

Sed quoniam non modo non frequenter, verum etiam raro in LXVI **veris** causis ac forensibus circumscripte numeroseque dicendum 6 **est**, sequi videtur, ut videamus quae sint illa, quae supra dixi **incisa**, quae membra; haec enim in veris causis maximam partem **orationis** obtinent. constat enim ille ambitus et plena compre**hensio** e quattuor fere partibus, quae membra dicimus, ut et auris 10 **impleat** [et] neve brevior sit quam satis sit neque longior: quam**quam** utrumque non numquam vel potius saepe accidit, ut aut **citius** insistendum sit aut longius procedendum, ne brevitas defrau**dasse** auris videatur neve longitudo obtudisse; sed habeo mediocri-

1 *multumque* Stangl. 4 *diffluens* Bake. 6 *ac* scripsit r (II); idem scribit Madvig, adv. crit. iii 99: *aut FPO; et* Sch.; 'fortasse *id est*' Reid. *aut forensibus* secl. K (st). *aut* forensibus* J. *forensibus disputationibus* P coni. 8 *hae F, hec O[1], he O[2].* 9 *optinent* H. 10 *partibus; senariis versibus* conicit Stangl, coll. § 223, Quint. ix 4 § 125 (infra ad § 222 laudato), et Diom. ed. p. 466, 21 modum eius Cicero quattuor senariis versibus terminavit. 11 *et* secl. st. *neve FPO; ne* vulg.; *nec* malebat M, *neque* scripsit H. *ne brevitas—obtudisse; quamquam utrumque—procedendum* Bake. 13 *defraudasse O[1]* (OKJP), *defrudasse FP[2]O[2]* (MH), *defr[a]udasse P[1]*.

binding. &c.'; de Or. iii 190 'nec sunt haec rhythmicorum aut musicorum acerrima norma dirigenda'. **astricta**, ib. 184 'illud adsentior Theophrasto, qui putat orationem, quae quidem sit polita atque facta quodam modo, non *astricte*, sed remissius numerosam esse oportere', ib. 175 'numero et *astricto* et soluto'. **laxare**, 176 relaxarat.

numerosa, 198. **vitium**, 189 vitiosum (of verse in prose).

dissipata, 'disordered', 233, 235, like *dissoluta* in 196, 198; Brut. 216 (Curio) 'in struendo dissipatus', de Or. i 187 (*not in a rhetorical sense*) 'omnia fere, quae sunt conclusa nunc artibus, dispersa et *dissipata* quondam fuerunt'.

inculta, 'unpolished'. **fluens**, 'straggling', 198.

§§ 221—226. *On the proper employment of* membra *and* incisa *in the oratory of real life.*

veris causis, legal causes arising in real life, as contrasted with the themes of the *γένος ἐπιδεικτικόν* (37 f., 207). In the next few words something has perhaps dropped out. If so, we may either accept 'aut *civilibus aut* forensibus' (Jahn) or 'ac forensibus *disceptationibus*' (Piderit). But there seems little objection to the combination 'in veris causis ac forensibus'; or again 'aut forensibus' may be only due to a marginal explanation of *veris causis*. Below we have *in veris causis* without any addition, and none seems to be wanted here.

circumscripte, 38. **supra**, 211.

ambitus, 204. **comprehensio**, ib. and 149.

quattuor, Demetr. π. ἑρμηνείας 16: *τῶν δὲ περιόδων αἱ μικρότεραι μὲν ἐκ δυοῖν κώλοιν συντίθενται, αἱ μέγισται δὲ ἐκ τεττάρων· τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τέτταρα οὐκέτ' ἂν ἐντὸς εἴη τῆς περιοδικῆς συμμετρίας.* Quint. ix 4 § 125 'habet periodos membra minimum duo. medius numerus videntur quattuor, sed recipit frequenter et plura. modus ei a Cicerone aut quattuor senariis versibus aut ipsius spiritus modo terminatus praestare debet', de Or. iii 182 'longissima est complexio verborum quae volvi uno spiritu potest', Dion. Hal. de comp. verb. 23 p. 171 f.

auris impleat, 104.

insistendum, 170; the four clauses between *aut citius* and *obtudisse* form an effective *chiasmus*. **defraudasse**, 178 (mutilis et decurtatis) 'tamquam debito fraudetur, offenditur'. **obtudisse** II Verr. iii 157 (with *aures*), iv 109.

tatis rati onem; nec enim loquor de versu et est liberior aliquanto
oratio. e quattuor igitur quasi hexametrorum instar versuum
quod sit, constat fere plena comprehensio. his igitur singulis
versibus quasi nodi apparent continuationis, quos in ambitu
5 coniungimus; sin membratim volumus dicere, insistimus, atque
cum opus est, ab isto cursu invidioso facile nos et saepe diiungi-
mus. sed nihil tam debet esse numerosum quam hoc, quod
minime apparet et valet plurimum. ex hoc genere illud e
Crassi: 'missos faciant patronos: ipsi prodeant'. nisi intervall
10 dixisset 'ipsi prodeant [illegible] profecto se fudisse senarium
omnino melius cadere [illegible] ipsi'; sed de genere nunc d
puto. 'cur clandestinis [illegible] nos oppugnant? cur de perfu

2 *e quattuor* &c. corrupta [illegible] *e quattuor—comprehensio* secl. Sta
ceterum cf. Rufin. vi 565 [illegible] hexametris hunc (sc. ambitum) vers
aspicis aequum'. 5 [illegible] t et Stangl: *idque FPO* (xio); *et* Ba
itaque Jahn (Kr). 7 [illegible] ulam coni. Stangl. *debet esse* co
(MOKHSt): *solet esse* P (J); [illegible] 10 *profecto se fudisse* cod. Laur. 50
(MOKJPSt): *profecto effugisse* [illegible] ctos *effugisse F*. 12 *perfugis* Quin
Rufin.: *perfugiis FPO*.

ne brevitas— 'to prevent the ea[illegible] being either baulked by undue brevity [illegible] rendered listless by undue length'. De Or. iii 191 'ne circuitus ipse verborum sit aut brevior, quam aures exspectent, aut longior, quam vires atque anima patiatur'.

mediocritatis, de Off. i 89 'mediocritatem illam tenebit, quae est inter nimium et parum', the *μεσότης* of Aristotle's Ethics.

liberior, de Or. iii 184 'neque vero haec tam acrem curam diligentiamque desiderant, quam est illa poetarum, quos necessitas cogit et ipsi numeri ac modi sic verba versu includere, ut nihil sit ne spiritu quidem minimo brevius aut longius, quam necesse est. liberior est oratio'.

§ 222. **e quattuor**— sc. ex eo quod quattuor quasi hexametrorum versuum instar sit. Quint. ix 4 § 125 quotes Cic. as making the period consist of four *senarii*. With *constare* in the sense of 'be composed of', Cic. always uses *ex* (Roby § 1217).

versibus, 'lines', here used not of the verses of poetry, but of the *membra* corresponding to those verses in length.

At the end of each of these four divisions appears one of the points of juncture called by Cic. the *nodi continuationis*, 'the knots of binding', i.e. the 'binding knots' (or 'knots in the continuity of the sentence'), just as when several bands are bound together to form a garland or a pendent ribbon. The *nodi* on these (as stated by Jahn) are often to be seen in works of ancient art, e.g. in a painting discovered at Resina we have two l[illegible] *genii* making long strands of wool [illegible] knotting them at regular intervals (co[illegible] in Rich dict. s. v. *infula*). **nodi**, Qu[illegible] ix 4 § 127 'laxioribus nodis relaxem[illegible]'

continuatio is the consecutive serie[s of] words which only becomes an *ambitu[s by]* reason of its being parted into sev[eral] clearly marked portions which are bo[und] together by what Cic. calls *nodi*.

insistimus and **invidiosus**, 170.

missos — prodeant. Meyer's *O[rat.] Rom. fragm.*[2] p. 316, quoted among [the] *fragmenta incerta*. The two short clau[ses] are examples of *incisa*.

ipsi, the *equites* whose retention of [the] *iudicia* was resisted by Crassus.

intervallo. Quint. ix 4 § 108 'paulul[um] morae damus inter ultimum ac proxim[um] verbum, et *turpe* illud intervallo quod producimus'.

fudisse. De Or. iii 194 versus...fund[ere], Tusc. Disp. i 64 carmen fundere, De [Or.] iii 175 'ille rudis incondite fundit qu[an]tum potest' (Nagelsbach *Stil.* § 130, [...]). See Reid on Acad. ii 74.

omnino, 'on the whole', 'to be sur[e]'.

caderet, 149, 194 fin.

de genere—disputo, i.e. I am [not] going into detail just now on points [of] rhythm, but only discussing *in gene[re]* the difference between the *membra* [and] *incisa* of forensic oratory.

§ 223. **cur—oppugnant?** an insta[nce] of a *membrum*; **cur—contra nos**, a sh[ort] period. 'ex concione contra popular[...]

nostris copias comparant contra nos?' prima sunt illa duo, quae *κόμματα* Graeci vocant, nos incisa dicimus; deinde tertium *κῶλον* illi, nos membrum: sequitur comprehensio non longa, ex duobus enim versibus, id est, membris, perfecta est et in spondeos cadit; et Crassus quidem sic plerumque dicebat, idque 5 ipse genus dicendi maxime probo. sed quae incisim aut membratim efferuntur, ea vel aptissime cadere debent, ut est apud me: 'domus tibi deerat? at habebas. pecunia superabat? at egebas'. haec incise dicta sunt quattuor. at membratim quae secuntur duo: 'incurristi amens in columnas: in alienos insanus 10 insanisti'. deinde omnia tamquam crepidine quadam comprehensione longiore sustinentur: 'depressam, caecam, iacentem domum pluris quam te et fortunas tuas aestimasti'. dichoreo finitur. at spondeis proximum illud. nam in his, quibus ut pugiunculis uti oportet, brevitas facit ipsa liberiores pedes. saepe 15

1 *comparent FPO* et Rufin.: *comparat is* codd. Quint. *AG* (M), *comparatis* codd. Quint. *MS*. 2 *deinde tertium*: 'hoc ipsum periit' Bake. 3 *quod κῶλον* Schenkl. (*κῶλον illi, nos membrum*) Stangl. ante verbum *sequitur* lacunam indicavit Bake (K). post *sequitur* posuit *comprehensio* Sch. (PH), post *perfecta* habent *FPO* et Rufin. (MOKJ). *sequitur non longa* (*ex duobus enim versibus, id est membris, perfecta est*) *comprehensio et* Lambinus (St). *comprehensio est et FPO* et Rufin. 4 *spondios* H (St). 5 *cadit*: exemplum deesse indicavit Bake (K); *cadens* Schenkl. ante *et Crassus* lacunam indicat K. 9 *incisa PO*. 10 *sequuntur* cet. *alienis* Rufin. *antis aëneis* coni. Sch. (St). *insanus* om. Rufin. 13 *quam fortunas FPO* (MH): *quam* om. Rufin. 14 *finitum* Rufin. *spondeis* Rufin. (OJH), *spondius FPO*: *dispondeo* Steph. Lamb. Ern. M; *dispondeis* KP. *his FPO* (ut testatur Stangl) et Vit. (HSt): *eis* KJP, *iis* MO. 15 *pugiunculis* Rufin.: *pungiunculis FPO*. *facit* F²POM, *fecit* F¹, *faciet* Rufin. (Stangl).

factionem petita credas, nisi forte sunt ex oratione in Philippum' cf. Ellendt *Eloq. Rom. Hist.* pp. 71, 74 (Meyer *u. s.* p. 316).

κῶλον. *quod* has perhaps fallen out before this word; it has in any case to be mentally supplied (Piderit).

in spondeos cadit (215), Quint. ix 4 § 101 'duo spondei non fere iungi patiuntur, quae in versu quoque notabilis clausula est, nisi cum fieri potest ex tribus quasi membris: *cur de perfugis nostris copias compar|-ānt cōntrā nōs?* una syllaba, duabus, una'.

Crassus, Brut. 162 'comprehensio et ambitus ille verborum, si sic *περίοδον* appellari placet, erat apud illum contractus et brevis, et in membra quaedam, quae *κῶλα* Graeci vocant, dispertiebat orationem lubentius'.

efferuntur, de Or. iii 40 verba efferamus. **aptissime cadere**, 149, 168. **apud me**, pro Scauro 45. The speech, which has come down to us in a fragmentary condition, was delivered in defence of M. Aemilius Scaurus who was prosecuted on a charge of *repetundae* in B.C. 54. **domus—egebas** is also quoted in Quint. ix 2 § 15 and 4 § 122.

§ 224. **incurristi**—'You have madly dashed your head against the post' (cf. Casaubon on Suet. Aug. 23 'caput foribus illideret').

crepidine, 'a basement', here applied to the period, which with its more extensive breadth supports the minor parts in the structure of the sentence.

dichoreo, aēstĭ|-māstī||. **spondeis**, īnsā|-nīstī||.

pugiunculis. The short and pointed clauses or *incisa* are compared to tiny daggers. Fragm. orat. in toga candida 21 'illo Hispaniensi pugiunculo' (of Cn. Piso who joined Catiline in his *consilium senatus interficiendi*, p. Mur. 81, and was afterwards killed in Spain). The word does not appear to be used elsewhere.

volt, alterum paene Demosthenem, saltat incidens particulas; et is quidem non minus sententiis peccat quam verbis, ut non quaerat quem appellet ineptum, qui illum cognoverit. sed ego illa Crassi et nostra posui, ut qui vellet auribus ipsis, quid numerosum etiam in minimis particulis orationis esset, iudicaret. 5

Et quoniam plura de numerosa oratione diximus quam quisquam ante nos, nunc de eius generis utilitate dicemus; nihil enim est aliud, Brute, quod quidem tu minime omnium ignoras, pulchre et oratorie dicere nisi optimis sententiis verbisque LXVIII

1 *Demosthenen* II. 6 *et* om. KI[2]: *at* coni. Schenkl.

τοῦτο τῆς συνθέσεως μικρόκομψον, ἀγενές, μαλθακόν. τούτων γὰρ τῶν λήρων ἱερεὺς ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ, τοιαῦτα γράφων· 'ἐξ ἀγαθῆς ἑορτῆς ἀγαθὴν ἄγομεν ἄλλην.—ἀπὸ Μαγνησίας εἰμὶ τῆς μεγάλης Σιπυλεύς.—οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν εἰς Θηβαίων ὕδωρ ἔπτυσεν ὁ Διόνυσος· ἡδὺς μὲν γάρ ἐστι, ποιεῖ δὲ μαίνεσθαι'. And further, in c. 18: ὁ Μάγνης σοφιστὴς Ἡγησίας, ὑπὲρ οὗ—οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι χρὴ λέγειν, πότερον τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν ἀναισθησία καὶ παχύτης, ὥστε μὴ συνορᾶν, οἵτινές εἰσιν εὐγενεῖς ἢ ἀγενεῖς ῥυθμοί, ἢ τοσαύτη θεοβλάβεια καὶ διαφθορὰ τῶν φρενῶν, ὥστ' εἰδότα τοὺς κρείττους, ἔπειτα αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς χείρονας, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον πείθομαι. He adds that, in all his writings, μίαν οὐκ ἂν εὕροι τις σελίδα συγκειμένην εὐτυχῶς, and quotes a long description of Alexander's siege of Gaza which he says is written ταπεινῶς καὶ καταγελάστως, and not σεμνῶς καὶ ὑψηλῶς. He is one of the inflated writers criticized by the author of the περὶ ὕψους (3 § 2) in the words: πολλαχοῦ ἐνθουσιᾶν δοκοῦντες οὐ βακχεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ παίζουσιν. Cf. Theon progymn., *Rh. Gr.* ii 71 Sp, ἐπιμελητέον καὶ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων πάντα διδάσκοντα ἐξ ὧν διαφεύξονται τὸ κακῶς συντιθέναι καὶ μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἔμμετρον καὶ ἔνρυθμον λέξιν, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Ἡγησίου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τῶν Ἀσιανῶν καλουμένων ῥητόρων. Brut. 286 'At Charisii volt Hegesias esse similis, isque se ita putat Atticum, ut veros illos prae se paene agrestes putet. At quid est tam fractum, tam minutum, tam in ipsa, quam tamen consequitur, concinnitate puerile?' The abrupt and jerky style which he was apt to affect, is parodied in a letter written by Cic. to Atticus at the time when his friend was reading the *Orator*: ad Att. xii 6 § 1 'de Caelio vide, quaeso, ne quae lacuna sit in auro: | ego ista non novi; | sed certe in collubo est detrimenti satis. | huc aurum si accedit | —sed quid loquor? | tu videbis. | habes Hegesiae genus! quod Varro laudat'.

This is hardly an exaggeration as may be seen from the following passage, quoted by Strabo, p. 396: ὁρῶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ περιττῆς τριαίνης ἐκεῖθι σημεῖον· | ὁρῶ τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα, | καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γέγονα μύστης· | ἐκεῖνο Λεωκόριον· | τοῦτο Θησεῖον· | οὐ δύναμαι δηλῶσαι καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον. (Cf. Blass *Att. Ber.* iii II 318 f., *Gr. Ber.* pp. 25—33; and *supra* p. xxxv.)

ille quoque, as well as the Atticists of Cicero's time. **imitari Lysiam**, only in the structure of his sentences. Not contented with the long and skilfully artistic periods of Demosthenes, he admired the simpler style of Lysias and himself wrote in a still simpler manner, breaking up his composition into short clauses and studiously avoiding long and elaborate periods. (Blass *Gr. Ber.* 27.)

alterum paene Dem.— and therefore himself by no means devoid of periodic rhythm.—Brut. 35 (of Lysias) 'prope... perfectum'. On Lysias cf. 29, 30, 41, 90, 110.

saltat—'hacks his style into jerky fragments'. *saltat*, 'hops' here and there in a fitful manner, instead of adopting a style that is *aequaliter* and *constanter ingrediens*. This metaphorical use of the word is apparently not found elsewhere. **incidens particulas**, 'chopping his style into little fragments', concisely put for *orationem in particulas incidens*. The *particulae* are the *incisa*, so that the former is in sense a cogn. acc., cf. *comparet similitudines* (138 med.).

verbis, by affectedly placing them in unusual positions. **ineptum**, 29.

§§ 227—236. *On the utility of a rhythmical prose style.*

enim, 'in fact' (like γάρ *inchoativum* in Gk.), marks the beginning of the unfolding of the thesis just stated, viz. the utility of rhythm.

lectissi nis dicere; sed nec sententia ulla est, quae fructum orator ferat, nisi apte exposita atque absolute, nec verborum lumen ap paret nisi diligenter collocatorum, et horum utrumque numeru illustrat; numerus autem—saepe enim hoc testandum est—no 5 modo non poëtice vinctus, verum etiam fugiens illum eique om nium dissimillimus; non quin eidem sint numeri non mod oratorum et poëtarum, verum omnino loquentium, denique etiar sonantium omnium, quae metiri auribus possumus, sed ord pedum facit, ut id, quod pronuntiatur, aut orationis aut poëmat 10 simile videat : compositionem sive perfectio nem sive num t, [et] adhibere necesse est, ornate velis dic quod ait Aristoteles et Theo phrastus, ne infi men oratio, quae non aut spirit pronuntiantis rari, sed numero coacta deb 15 insistere, veru lto maiorem habent apta vi quam soluta. u ec multo secus gladiatores vid

1 *lectissimis* cod. *e FPO.* *sed* Madvig, adv. crit. II (r[2]HST) : *et FPO;* de tius, nuper defendit Stamm. 3 *om.* 4 *inl.* KH. (...*testandum*... 5 *vinctus* C F W Mueller, coni. Tu p. 25 (JF[2]HST) : *innctus FPO.* 6 *sint* (i in ras.) *P*; *sunt FO.* 10 *sive om.* 11 *et* secl. Lamb. 14 *librari* J: *-ii* ceteri. *concta FPO*[2], *acta O*[1].

lectissimis, 170.

apte, 149, **absolute**, 'with finish' of style, 171.

saepe, as in §§ 67, 172, 187, 194, 198, 202, 221.

vinctus, 195 (poema) 'nimis est vinctum'.

eidem—poëtarum, 188 'nullus est numerus extra poeticos'.

sonantium omnium, de Or. iii 185 'numerosum est in *omnibus sonis* atque vocibus, quod habet quasdam impressiones et quod *metiri possumus* intervallis aequalibus'.

§ 228. **perfectionem**, 'finish' of style, 168 'perfecto completoque verborum ambitu'.

ait Aristoteles, Rhet. iii 8 § 2 τὸ δὲ ἄρρυθμον ἀπέραντον, δεῖ δὲ πεπεράνθαι μὲν μὴ μέτρῳ δέ· ἀηδὲς γὰρ καὶ ἄγνωστον τὸ ἄπειρον... § 6 δεῖ τῇ μακρᾷ ἀποκόπτεσθαι καὶ δήλην εἶναι τὴν τελευτήν, μὴ διὰ τὸν γραφέα, μηδὲ διὰ τὴν παραγραφήν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ῥυθμόν.

Theophrastus, περὶ λέξεως. As the passage of Ar. has nothing corresponding to *ut flumen* (53), or *spiritu pronuntiantis*, possibly these come from Theophrastus; but the general purport of the passage of Theophrastus was probably identical with that of Ar.

feratur, 67.

aut spiritu— de Or. iii 173 'inter rationis enim, non defatigationis nos neque librariorum notis, sed verborum sententiarum modo interpunctas claus in orationibus esse voluerunt' (supra Ar. Rhet. iii 9 § 5 λέξις εὐανάπνευστο

interductu librari, the 'transcri interlinear mark of punctuation', an rate rendering of Aristotle's παραγρ cf. Isocr. de perm. 59 ἀρξάμενος ἀπ παραγραφῆς ἀνάγνωθι. In the pap of the Funeral Oration of Hyper preserved in the British Museum, approach of the end of a sentence is indicated by a short interlinear below the first word of the line nea close of the sentence.

insistere, 207. **apta**, 149.

ut enim—Quint. ix 4 § 8 'in certa armorum atque in omni palaestra satis recte cavetur ac petitur, cui artifex motus et certi quidem p adsint?'

athletas, in Tusc. Disp. ii 56 trasted apparently, as a general term, special types of athletes, namely *cur* and *pugiles*.

[illegible] nihil nec vitando facere caute nec petendo vehementer, in
[illegible] non motus hic habeat palaestram quandam, ut, quicquid in
[illegible] rebus fiat utiliter ad pugnam, idem ad aspectum etiam sit
[illegible]stum: sic orator nec plagam gravem facit, nisi petitio fuit
[illegible], nec satis tecte declinat impetum, nisi etiam in cedendo 5
[illegible] deceat intellegat. itaque qualis eorum motus, quos ἀπα-
[illegible]στρους Graeci vocant, talis horum mihi videtur oratio, qui non
[illegible]dunt numeris sententias, tantumque abest, ut, quod ei, qui
[illegible] aut magistrorum inopia aut ingeni tarditate aut laboris fuga
[illegible] sunt adsecuti, solent dicere, enervetur oratio compositione 10

[illegible] *orator* Bake (KP²HSt): *oratio* codd. *fuit* MO K? HSt cum *FPO* (testatur St): *fiat* [illegible] Vit. (J); *fit* P; *fuerit* Ald. Vict. Manutius. 5 *tecti FPO*, *tecte* Ald. Vict. [illegible]. Lamb. (JPSt), cf. 146 *tectiores* quod in *rectiores* mutavit *P*; *tute* cod. Vit. [illegible] Romana et M: *recte* ed. Med. OKH. 6 *apalaestros FI*ⁿ, *a palaestros P*¹, *apa*-[illegible] *O*. 8 *ut* Manutius: *ne* codd. *ei*: *ii* cod. Laur. 50, 31 (MOH), *hi FPO*. [illegible] J: -*ii* ceteri. 10 *ads*. K: *ass*. cet.

[illegible]ando...petendo, here, as often, used [illegible] technical terms like our 'parry' and [illegible]'.

[illegible]palaestram, 186, the skill that comes [illegible] training.

[illegible]stum, de Or. iii 200 'hic nobis [illegible] ita conformandus est et verbis et [illegible]tiis, ut, quemadmodum qui utun[illegible] armis aut *palaestra*, non solum sibi [illegible]*ndi* aut feriendi rationem esse haben[illegible] putant, sed etiam, ut cum *venustate* [illegible]veantur, sic verbis quidem ad aptam [illegible]positionem et decentiam, sententiis [illegible] ad gravitatem orationis utatur'. For another comparison in which the [illegible]*dium* is compared to the *prolusio* of a gladiatorial combat, cf. ib. ii 317.

petitio, 'unless the blow is neatly directed', de Or. iii 206 'orationis ipsius tamquam armorum est vel ad usum comminatio et quasi *petitio* vel ad venustatem ipsa tractatio'. Cat. i 15 'quot ego tuas *petitiones* ita coniectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt, corpore effugi'. (Servius on Verg. Aen. ix 439 'petitiones proprie dicimus impetus *gladiatorum*';) Div. in Caecil. 44 'novi omnes hominis petitiones rationesque dicendi'. **tecte**, 'with an adequate guard'; the adverb is rare (*aperte*, *tecte* occurs in ad Att. i 14 § 4), but a similar though not identical metaphor is used in de Or. ii 296 'te in dicendo mihi videri tectissimum': *tecte* corresponds to the preceding *caute*, just as *plagam gravem* recals *vehementer*. The alternative reading **recte**, 'correctly', 'in proper form', is however supported by Quint. ix 4 § 8, quoted above.

§ 229. **ἀπαλαίστρους**, 'untrained', 'unschooled'. De Or. i 73 'ut qui pila ludunt, non utuntur in ipsa lusione artificio proprio palaestrae, sed indicat ipse motus, didicerintne palaestram an nesciant' ('palaestram didicisse' Quint. v 10 § 121), de opt. gen. 8 (Attici) 'qui eatenus valuerunt, sani et sicci habeantur, sed ita ut palaestritae: spatiari in xysto ut liceat, non ut Olympiis coronam petant', and esp. Quint. ix 4 § 56 'sicut etiam quos palaestritas esse nolumus, tamen esse nolumus eos, qui dicuntur ἀπάλαιστροι'. The reading ἀπάλαιστοι is retained in this last passage by Spalding, Bonnell and Halm, though it gives a less satisfactory sense than Cicero's ἀπάλαιστροι. ἀπάλαιστος ought to mean 'not to be thrown in wrestling' as in Pind. Nem. iv 154. In Anth. Pal. xii 222, however, we have ἀπάλαιστος in the sense of *inscius palaestrae*; ἀπάλαιστροι occurs once in the *Corpus Inscr. Gr.* 3086 in the form ΑΠΑ|ΛΕΣ|ΤΡΩΙ, opp. to οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ γυμνασίου ib. 3085. It occurs in another sense, 'contrary to the rules of the palaestra', in Anth. Pal. v 214. Also in Hesych. s.v. Κύπρια πάλη· ἣν ἔνιοι πάμμαχον καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἄγροικον καὶ ἀπάλαιστρον· διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ ἀτέχνως παλαίειν. 'Jacobs ad Anth. p. 101 would everywhere read ἀπάλαιστος' L. and S. where the ref. to Cic. Brut. is a slip for Cic. Orat.

claudunt, 20, 198; 177 concluse, 212 conclusiones, 230 f.

enervetur—compositione, Quint. ix 4 § 6 'fortius vero quid incompositum potest esse quam vinctum et bene collocatum?'

verborum, ut aliter in ea nec impetus ullus nec vis esse possit.

LXIX Sed magnam exercitationem res flagitat, ne quid eorum, qui genus hoc secuti non tenuerunt, simile faciamus, ne aut verba
5 traiciamus aperte, quo melius aut cadat aut volvatur oratio; quod se L. Caelius Antipater in prooemio belli Punici nisi necessario facturum negat. o virum simplicem, qui nos nihil celet; sapientem, qui serviendum necessitati putet! sed hic omnino rudis: nobis autem in scribendo atque in dicendo necessitatis excusatio
10 non probatur: nihil est enim ... et si quid esset, id necesse tamen non erat confiteri; et ... em, qui hanc a Laelio, ad

4 *ne aut* codd.: [*ne*] *ut* Manutius ... *elius* M. *proemio F*, *prohēmio P*, *premio O*. 7 *celet* cod. Eins.; *ce* ... O. 8 *servienti P*[2].

secuti, 4. **ne aut.** We here ... *anacoluthon*, as the correspond... does not follow. Cic. wishes to ... duce a warning against two illegitimate ways of giving a rhythmical character to prose: (1) transposing words into an unnatural order, (2) dragging in otiose words to eke out the rhythm, and certain other faults exemplified by one or other of the orators of the Asiatic school. The digression on Antipater prevents his immediately following up this clause with *aut inania quaedam inculcemus* &c. Cf. Brut. 53.

aperte, 38, 65, 'obtrusively'. **cadat**, 168, of the concluding cadence of a sentence, **volvatur** (217) of the smooth and flowing rhythm of the sentence as a whole.

§ 230. **Caelius**. Out of the ten places in which the name is found in the inscriptions of the Roman republic, one of uncertain date has CAELIVS (*C. I. L.* i 845), another KAILIVS (ib. 844), and the rest COELIVS or COILIVS (ib. 270, 382 a coin of 109 B.C., 479 about 54 B.C., 571 of 94 B.C., 641, 858, 1125). Thus it would appear that in the time of Antipater the form *Caelius* had given way to *Coelius* (Peter *Hist. Rom. Rell.* ccxiii note).

Antipater dedicated to his friend Laelius his history of the second Punic War, a work composed in seven books. He is described by Fronto p. 62 as an imitator of Ennius. De Or. ii 54 'paulum se erexit et addidit historiae maiorem sonum vocis vir optimus, Crassi familiaris, Antipater; ceteri non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt...sed...neque ...xit historiam varietate colorum neque verborum collocatione et tractu orationis leni et aequabili perpolivit illud opus; sed ut homo neque doctus neque maxime aptus ad dicendum, sicut potuit, dolavit; vicit tamen...superiores'. de Leg. i 6 'Fannii aetate coniunctus Antipater paulo inflavit vehementius, habuitque vires agrestes ille quidem atque horridas sine nitore ac palaestra, sed tamen admonere reliquos potuit, ut accuratius scriberent'. Brut. 102 'L. Caelius Antipater scriptor...fuit, ut temporibus illis, luculentus, iuris valde peritus, multorum etiam ut L. Crassi magister'. Teuffel *Röm. Lit.* § 132, 4, Peter *Hist. Rom. Rell.* p. ccxiii—ccxxxvii, 147—164.

simplicem, ironical; 'how charmingly candid of him to take us so completely into his confidence'.

rudis, opp. to *politus* (172).

necessitatis excusatio (Rab. Post. 27); 'the plea of necessity'. Similarly *exc. difficultatis* ad Quir. 23, *honoris*... *aetatis* (Deiot. 9), Sull. 26 and Piso 36, *valetudinis* (Piso 13)...*senectutis* Sest. 112, *morbi* Mur. 47, *familiaris funeris* Rab. perd. 8. Verbal substantives are followed by the gen. of the object, which has the same meaning as the acc. after the corresponding verb (Madv. § 283, *obs.* 3), e.g. *excusare morbum* (Phil. ix 8).

Laelius, the consul of B.C. 140, the well-known friend of Scipio Africanus the younger (see Introd. to Reid's *Laelius* p. 14 ff.). As one of the heroes of the third Punic War, he was marked out as a fitting recipient for the dedication of the history of the second.

ripsit, cui se purgat, veniam petit, et utitur ea traiectione
n et nihilo tamen aptius explet concluditque sententias.
ɔs autem et Asiaticos maxime numero servientis incul-
:rias inania quaedam verba quasi complementa numero-
ınt etiam qui illo vitio, quod ab Hegesia maxime fluxit, 5
ıdis concidendisque numeris in quoddam genus abiectum
*ver*siculorum simillimum. tertium est, in quo fuerunt

it FPO (ut testatur st): *scribit* Ern. et Bake susp., cum cod. Eins. K. *ad it* secl. Schuetz (Stangl). *cui FO, qui P. cui se purgat* interpolata ıtur H. 3 *maxume* JH. *servientis* K: -*es* cet. 4 *verba* om. *O*. 7 *versiculorum* optime Jahn (Klotz PHSt): *siculorum FPO*(M): 'fortasse r' K. 'ne cum *versiculis* quidem apte comparatur oratio membratim nimis ıihi in mentem venit *assiculorum*, ut assularum similis oratio huiusmodi ırum feliciter Madvig, adv. crit. iii 100.

scripsit. So, of the dedica- : *de Senectute* to Atticus, de Catone maiore qui est *scriptus* nectute', similarly de Sen. 3 m *ad te* de senectute *misimus'* :xx. in Reid's note).
149. **explet,** 40. **concludit, tias.** The fragments of Caelius ıble us to illustrate Cicero's s very few sentences of his ed us exactly as he wrote e writers who quote him :ote him for facts which they ir own language (Peter *u. s.* p.

os, in contrast to those who, tter, indulge in *traiectio ver-* ıave the Asiatic school. Three ıt school are here enumerated. **numerorum,** Dion. Hal. de . 22 (of the αὐστηρὰ ἁρμονία) ἑκαις τισὶν ὀνομάτων, ἵνα ὁ ηρωθῇ, μηδὲν ὠφελοῦσαις τὸν η, de Isocr. 3 παραπληρώμασι ὠφελοῦσιν χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀπο- ῥα τοῦ χρησίμου τὸν λόγον. ault is here specially ascribed certain orators of the Asiatic he reference is possibly (as y Blass *Gr. Ber.* p. 65) to of Knidos and Aeschines of ıose style was marked by a called by Cic. an *admirabilis* rsus (Brut. 325).
, 80, 189.
, explained by *infringendis* The second fault of the ol is traced to Hegesias.
idis, Dion. Hal. de Dem. 43 ῥυθμῶν πολλαχῇ μὲν τοὺς ıl ἀξιωματικοὺς καὶ εὐγενεῖς, που τοὺς ὑπορχηματικοὺς καὶ

Ἰωνικοὺς καὶ διακλωμένους. **concidendis numeris,** 226 incidens.
abiectum, 'spiritless', 'tame', 'insipid', 184.
versiculorum, 39 'minuta et versiculorum similia'. This is Jahn's very plausible emendation for the manuscript reading *Siculorum*. He quotes in support of it Theon *progymn.* 2, 10: διδάσκοντα ἐξ ὧν διαφεύξονται τὸ κακῶς συντιθέναι καὶ μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἔμμετρον καὶ ἔνρυθμον λέξιν, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Ἡγησίου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τῶν Ἀσιανῶν καλουμένων ῥητόρων. Blass, writing in 1865 (*Gr. Ber.* p. 27 note), after stating that the manuscript reading is obviously corrupt, adds that no satisfactory correction had yet been proposed, and Kayser in 1860 marked the passage as unemended, though he mentions Jahn's proposal, which was unknown to Blass at the time when the above work was written.

The manuscript reading *Siculorum simillimum*, 'very like (that of) the Sicilians'—a construction resembling the *comparatio compendiaria* of § 41,—can only refer to the Sicilian rhetoricians, namely Corax and Tisias of Syracuse, Gorgias of Leontini, and Polus of Agrigentum. The first two are specially mentioned as *Siculi* in Brut. 46, and Gorgias is described (with Thrasymachus) as *concisus minutis numeris* in § 40. Further, in the treatise περὶ ὕψους 3 § 2, in the same context as the passage referring to Hegesias and others already quoted in § 226, we have two specimens of the turgid style of Gorgias (Ξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεύς and γῦπες ἔμψυχοι τάφοι).

§ 231. **tertium.** The third fault of the Asiatic school is monotony of rhythm.

fratres illi Asiaticorum rhetorum principes Hierocles et Menecles minime mea sententia contemnendi; etsi enim a forma veritatis et ab Atticorum regula absunt, tamen hoc vitium compensant vel facultate vel copia; sed apud eos varietas non erat, quod omnia 5 fere concludebantur uno modo: quae vitia qui fugerit, ut neque verbum ita traiciat, ut id de industria factum intellegatur, neque inserciens verba quasi rimas expleat, nec minutos numeros sequens concidat delumbetque sententias, nec sine ulla commutatione in eodem sem|per verse [illegible] re numerorum, is omnia fere 10 vitia vitaverit: nam de laudi [illegible] a diximus, quibus sunt alia perspicue vitia contraria.

LXX Quantum autem sit apte [illegible] xperiri licet, si aut compo- 232 siti oratoris bene structam [illegible] nem dissolvas permutatione

1 *Menecles FPO.* 4 *f*[illegible] 9 *-per versetur* hinc pergit deinceps cod. Abrincensis omissi[illegible] 131 *sem-* (cf. codicis imaginem c). 10 *vitia vitaverit FPO: vitiaver*[illegible] *FPO* et *A: illa* fortasse recte cod. Eins. (1[st] 1151), idem coniecerat Mad[illegible] *apta* errore typographico M, Klotz et K. *compositi A, compositio FPO.* 13 *conl.* KH. *dissolvat FPO.*

Hierocles et Menecles, of Alabanda in Caria; de Or. ii 95 'ut hodie (B. C. 90) Alabandensem illum Meneclem et eius fratrem Hieroclem, quos ego audivi, tota imitetur Asia'. Brut. 325 'genera Asiaticae dictionis duo sunt: unum sententiosum et argutum, sententiis non tam gravibus et severis quam concinnis et venustis, qualis ..in dicendo...pueris nobis Hierocles Alabandeus, magis etiam Menecles frater eius fuit, quorum utriusque orationes sunt in primis ut Asiatico in genere laudabiles'; ib. 326 'habebat (Hortensius) et Meneclium illud studium crebrarum venustarumque sententiarum'. Strab. xiv 2, 26 p. 661 ἄνδρες δ' ἐγένοντο λόγου ἄξιοι δύο ῥήτορες ἀδελφοὶ Ἀλαβανδεῖς, Μενεκλῆς τε καὶ Ἱεροκλῆς, καὶ οἱ μετοικήσαντες εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον ὅ τε Ἀπολλώνιος (de Or. i 75) καὶ ὁ Μόλων (Brut. 245, 307, 316). Blass, *Gr. Ber.* 62 *f.* Cf. *Introd.* p. xxxv.

a forma veritatis, 'from the type (9) of real life', 'from the type of nature'. De Or. ii 94 'qui se ad causas contulerunt, ut Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Aeschines, Dinarchus aliique complures, etsi inter se pares non fuerunt, tamen omnes sunt in eodem *veritatis imitandae genere versati*'.

regula, de opt. gen. 23 (Dem. and Aeschines) 'quorum ego orationes si, ut spero, ita expressero,...erit *regula*, ad quam eorum dirigantur orationes, qui Attice volent dicere'.

uno modo. The favourite ending of the Asiatic school was the double trochee (212).

delumbet, 'to lame', 'weaken', 'enervate', not found elsewhere in this metaphorical application. A similar use of the adj. *delumbis* occurs however in Persius i 104 'summa delumbe saliva', and as an epithet of *dictio* in Sidonius, Ep. viii 16.

quibus. 'to which certain *other* faults are clearly opposed'. If we read *alia*, *nam* explains *omnia fere vitia*; the meaning being, 'For there are certain other faults the nature of which may be gathered from their opposites, namely the points of excellence in style, on which we have said much already'.

§ 232. **apte**. 149. **si aut**, followed after a long interval by **aut si** in § 233. cf. *ut aut...aut ut* (149). **compositi**. The epithet which is usually applied to the *oratio* (as in 208, de Or. i 50) is here transferred to the *orator* in the sense of 'careful and exact' in the choice and combination of words. Quint. x 2 § 16 'fiunt ... pro ... compositis exultantes', ib. 1 § 119 'Vibius Crispus compositus et iucundus et delectationi natus' (ib. § 44 'lenis et nitidi et compositi generis').

structam, 20. Brut. 274 (quoted in note on *quam lepide*, in § 149 ad fin.).

verborum; corrumpatur enim tota res, ut et haec nostra in Corneliana et deinceps omnia: 'neque me divitiae movent, quibus omnis Africanos et Laelios multi venalicii mercatoresque superarunt'; immuta paululum, ut sit, 'multi superarunt mercatores venaliciique', perierit tota res; et quae secuntur: 'neque vestis 5 aut caelatum aurum et argentum, quo nostros veteres Marcellos Maximosque multi eunuchi e Syria Aegyptoque vicerunt'; verba permuta sic, ut sit, 'vicerunt eunuchi e Syria Aegyptoque'; adde tertium: 'neque vero ornamenta ista villarum, quibus L. Paullum et L. Mummium, qui rebus his urbem Italiamque omnem 10 refserserunt, ab aliquo video perfacile Deliaco aut Syro potuisse superari'; fac ita, 'potuisse superari ab aliquo Syro aut Deliaco':

1 *corrumpetur* coni. Hoerner (Stangl). *et* om. *A*. 3 *omnis* K. 4 *immuta—superarunt* om. *A*. *paululum* cum codd. MKH, *paullulum* OJP, *paulum* Stangl. 5 *et A*, *aut FPO*. *sequuntur* cet. 8 *permulta A*. *sit* om. *A*. 9 *paulum FPO* et *A*, *paululum* H. 11 *facile A*. 12 *ita FPO*, *etiā A*. *superari ab aliquo* om. *A*.

Corneliana, 103, **neque me—superari,** Or. ii pro Cornelio fragm. 8 Baiter.

omnis Africanos—men like the elder and younger Africanus and Laelius.

venalicii, 'slave-dealers', Plin. N. H. xxi § 170, Suet. rhet. 1, Nonius s. v.

immuta—perierit (for the constr. cf. 159). Quint. ix 4 § 14 'quod cuique erit visum vehementer, dulciter, speciose dictum, solvat et turbet: abierit omnis vis, iucunditas, decor. solvit quaedam sua in Oratore Cicero: *neque—superarunt*, et insequentes deinceps periodos; quas si ad illum modum turbes, velut fracta aut transversa tela proieceris'.

Marcellos — Maximosque, men like Claudius Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse; and Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator.

L. (Aemilius) Paullus, victor over Perseus, king of Macedonia, in the battle of Pydna (B.C. 168). With the context, cf. de Off. ii 76 'omni Macedonum gaza, quae fuit maxima, potitus Paullus tantum in aerarium pecuniae invexit, ut unius imperatoris praeda finem attulerit tributorum, at nihil domum suam detulit praeter memoriam nominis sempiternam'. Vell. Pat. i 9 'cuius triumphus priores excessit vel magnitudine regis Persei, vel specie simulacrorum (cf. ornamenta villarum) vel modo pecuniae'.

L. Mummius (Achaicus), the destroyer of Corinth (B.C. 146). De Off. ii 76 'quid? L. Mummius num quid copiosior, *cum copiosissimam* urbem funditus sustulisset? *Italiam ornare* quam domum suam maluit'. Plin. N.H. xxxiv 36 'Mummius Achaia devicta *replevit urbem* non relicturus filiae dotem'. II Verr. iii 9, iv 4. Strabo viii 6, 23 p. 381 (from Polybius) *σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἄριστα ἐντεῦθεν* (from the spoils of Corinth) *ἀφῖχθαι· τινὰ δὲ καὶ αἱ κύκλῳ τῆς Ῥώμης πόλεις ἔσχον.* The fact that the works of art taken from Corinth were distributed by Mummius over the cities of Italy is proved by dedicatory inscriptions still extant (two found at Trebula, also one at Nursia and another at Parma, *C. I. L.* i 543—5).

Deliaco. Delos (like Corinth) was celebrated for its bronzes, p. Sex. Rosc. 133 'Deliaca et Corinthia vasa', cf. II Verr. iv 1; ib. ii 83 'Deliaca supellex ex aere'; Plin. N. H. xxxiv 9 'antiquissima aeris gloria Deliaco fuit, mercatus in Delo concelebrante toto orbe'. *Deliacus* is therefore to be here understood of a wholesale vendor of the bronzes of Delos. The word is formed like Aegyptiacus, Corinthiacus, Niliacus; the corresponding Gk. form is Δήλιος, the exact Latin equivalent of which is not used by Cic. except as an epithet of Apollo (II Verr. i 47, Nat. Deor. iii 88). **Syro** may contain (as suggested by Jahn) an allusion to the magnificent art-treasures of Syria in the time of the Seleucidae. It is here associated with a certain amount of contempt, Syria being one of the chief sources of the supply of slaves at Rome.

videsn rdine verborum paululum commutato, eisdem verbis,
stante ntia, ad nihilum omnia recidant, cum sint ex aptis
dissoluta t si alicuius inconditi adripias dissipatam aliquam
sententia eamque ordine verborum paululum commutato in
5 quadrum ligas, efficiatur aptum illud, quod fuerit antea dif-
fluens ac lutum. age sume de Gracchi apud censores illud:
'abesse non potest quin eiusdem hominis sit probos improbare,
qui impr s probet'; quanto aptius, si ita dixisset: 'quin eius-
dem homi bet, probos improbare!'
10 Hoc m m noluit nemoque potuit quin
dixerit; qui , hoc adsequi non potuerunt.
ita facti sunt i vero Trallianus fuerit Demo-
sthenes! cui fulmina illa, nisi numeris con-

1 *paululū A* (or). *ordine—commutato* secl. Sch.
O¹MJ; *eadem verb* *eisdem verbis* secl. Bake (K et st).
eisdem: *iisdem* M, : *tamen verbis A* (H). 3 *adr.* KP.
dissipatā A, *dissolutā O.* 4 — *am licet FPO.* *paululum A* (H),
paulum FPO. 5 *quadram FA.* *antea FPO, ad A.* 7 *abesse FPO,*
habens se A. *probos improbare—hominis sit* om. *O.* 8 *qui improbos*: *quam*
probos F. 10 *unquam* MO. *voluit P.* *nemo qui A* et (*i* in ras.) *P.*
11 *didicerit* coni. Stangl. *ads.* KPH.

§ 233. **ad nihilum recidant**, Phil. vii 27 'tantum apparatum ad nihilum recidere', ad Att. iv 16 § 12 ad nihil, Lucr. i 857 ad nilum. **aptis**, 149. **dissoluta**, 196.

inconditi, contrasted with *compositus*, and like it commonly applied to the *oratio* (as in 150) rather than to the *orator*. It is very rarely used of persons, in any sense (see Tac. H. ii 16 milites inconditi).

dissipatam, 220. **in quadrum**, 208.

efficiatur. Piderit suggests the future *efficietur*, as the more usual construction.

diffluens, 20 fluens; **solutum** 77, 228. Both words are used in Brut. 274 'nec vero haec soluta nec diffluentia, sed astricta numeris'.

de Gracchi, sc. *oratione*. Quint. ix 4 § 15 'idem (Cic.) corrigit, quae a Graccho composita durius putat. illum decet; nos hac sumus probatione contenti, quod in scribendo, quae nobis solutiora obtulerunt, componimus'.

apud censores. In 126 B.C. Gaius Gracchus went as Quaestor to Sardinia, and returned to Rome in 124 without having been formally recalled. On the Censors, accordingly, proposing to remove his name from the register of the equestrian order, he defended himself with complete success. (Plutarch's life, 2.) Meyer's *Orat. Rom. fragm.*[2] p. 230—3.

§ 234. **adsequi non potuerunt**. Cic. has already referred to the *imbecillitas* of the Atticists of his time (23).

facti sunt repente, implying that they are upstart sciolists whose familiarity with the models of Attic oratory is of very recent date.

Trallianus. As though Dem. were no true Attic orator, but only an orator of the Asiatic school, from the Carian town of Tralles, near the northern bank of the Maeander. Tralles is here selected as a typical Asiatic town. It produced two somewhat celebrated orators of the Asiatic school: Dionysokles and at a later date Damasos, Strabo, 649 ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ῥήτορες ἐπιφανεῖς Διονυσοκλῆς τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Δάμασος ὁ σκόμβρος. The latter was also a famous *declamator* and is often referred to by Seneca (Blass, *Gr. Ber.* 72).

vibrarent. Brut. 326 'oratio incitata et vibrans'. Quint. xi 3 § 120 'sententias vibrantes digitis iaculantur', x 1 § 61 (of Archilochus) 'cum validae tum breves vibrantesque sententiae', xii 9 § 3 'vibrantibus concitatisque sententiis velut missilibus utetur'. As a transitive verb,

ıtur. sed si quos magis delectant soluta, sequantur ea LXXI
o sic ut si quis Phidiae clipeum dissolverit, colloca-

quantur FPO: quem...sequatur A (H et St). 2 *sic ut A*, om. *FPO*.
modo sic excidisse nonnulla in hanc certe sententiam: *ut singula lumine* *sententiarum commendentur*' Bake; lacunam indicat K. (*sequtur ea sane* *Phidiç clipeū A.*) *clipeum A* et (ut testatur Stangl) *OPM* (KP):)JHSt); *clypeum F*[1] (M). *conl.* K.

by Cic. to *hastas* in de Or. f. ii 29, and by Ovid to the piter (Met. ii 308). **fulmina,** Per. 8 *κεραυνὸν ἐν γλώσσῃ* 'thundering' of Pericles); *ὁ* § 2 Δημοσθένους fulmina. *ήψους* 34. (Dem.) *καταβροντᾷ* *τε τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ῥήτορας*, n's *Par. Reg.* iv 270 the rs' of Athens are described hose 'resistless eloquence' r Greece To Macedon and hrone'.
quoted by Quint. ix 4 § 55 Demosthenis fulmina tanto ra dicit, nisi numeris con-ır'; and Hieronym. ep. ad xx 6 'contortae Demosthenis sententiae tardius languidius-' (Heerdegen).
contorta, his thunderbolts ave been launched with so ad it not been for the rhythm they are whirled and sped iint. ix 4 § 9 'mihi compo-amentis quibusdam nervisve ncitari sententiae videntur', 42 'cum amentatas hastas e eas oratoris lacertis viribus-' (see Rich's *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. d note on Eur. Bacch. 1205; 's interesting paper on the *stata* in the *Verhandlungen ogen-versammlung* at Würz-p. 226—239).
, or the thunderbolt, like the ur rifled guns, has a rotating nparted to it by the whirling ibed in *contorquere*, which ter certainty in hitting the rly, says Cic., the sentences thenes owe their force and their rolling rhythm.
For the impf. subj. in both otes on 27 fin. and 29 init. p. to *apta* 174; **sequantur,** 4. arse'; they are welcome, for follow such models.
clipeum, the shield of the tine image of Athena in the *De Or.* ii 73 'in his operibus si quis illam artem comprehenderit, ut tamquam Phidias Minervae signum efficere possit, non sane, quem ad modum *ut* in clipeo idem artifex minora illa opera facere discat, laborabit'. Tusc. Disp. i 34 'Phidias sui similem speciem inclusit clipeo Minervae', Plin. xxxvi 18 'in scuto eius Amazonum proelium (Pausan. i 17, 2) celavit in tumescente ambitu, in parmae eiusdem concava parte deorum et Gigantum dimicationes'. Plut. Pericl. 31 *τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας μάχην ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι ποιῶν αὑτοῦ τινα μορφὴν ἐνετύπωσε πρεσβύτου φαλακροῦ πέτρον ἐπηρμένου δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους εἰκόνα παγκάλην ἐνέθηκε μαχομένου πρὸς Ἀμαζόνα. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς χειρὸς ἀνατεινούσης δόρυ πρὸ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ Περικλέους πεποιημένον εὐμηχάνως οἷον ἐπικρύπτειν βούλεται τὴν ὁμοιότητα παραφαινομένην ἑκατέρωθεν.* Dio Chrysost. Orat. 12, 6 *Περικλέα δὲ καὶ αὑτὸν λαθὼν ἐποίησεν, ὥς φασιν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος.* [Arist.] *περὶ κόσμου* 6 p. 399 (and to the same effect in *de mirab. auscult.* 155 p. 846 *a*) *φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀγαλματοποιὸν Φειδίαν κατασκευαζόμενον τὴν ἐν ἀκροπόλει Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν μεσότητι ταύτης τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πρόσωπον ἐντυπώσασθαι καὶ συνδῆσαι τῷ ἀγάλματι διά τινος ἀφανοῦς δημιουργίας, ὥστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης, εἴ τις βούλοιτο αὐτὸ περιαιρεῖν, τὸ σύμπαν ἄγαλμα λύειν καὶ συγχεῖν.* Cf. Thuc. ii 13 (of the gold of the statue) *περιαιρετὸν ἅπαν*; Valer. Max. viii 14 § 6 'clipeo Minervae effigiem suam inclusit, *qua convulsa tota operis conligatio solveretur*' (Engelmann in *Arch. Zeit.* 1868, xxvi 107); Apul. de mundo 32 'Phidian illum, quem fictorem probum fuisse tradit memoria, vidi ipse in clipeo Minervae, quae arcibus Atheniensium praesidet, oris (sui) similitudinem * * colligasse ita ut, si quis olim artificis voluisset exinde imaginem separare, *soluta compage simulacri totius incolumitas* interiret'; Ampelius, lib. memorial. 8, 10 'in...clipeo medio Daedali est imago ita collocata, quam si quis imaginem a clipeo velit tollere, *perit totum opus, solvitur enim signum*' (Overbeck, *Schriftquellen* §§ 661 ff., Michaelis, der Parthenon p. 268 f.).

tionis universam speciem sustulerit, non singulorum operum venustatem; ut in Thucydide orbem modo orationis desidero, ornamenta comparent. isti autem cum dissolvunt orationem, in qua nec res nec verbum ullum est nisi abiectum, non clipeum, 5 sed, ut in proverbio est—etsi humilius dictum est, tamen simile est—scopas, ut ita dicam, mihi videntur dissolvere. atque ut plane genus hoc, quod ego laudo, contempsisse videantur, aut

3 *comparant A.* 5 *dictu A.* *tamen simile est* om. *A* et Nonius (u et s). 6 *copias A.* *ut ita dicam* secl. Ernesti (Sch. 381). *dissipare* Non. 7 *quod ego laudo* om. *A*.

Cicero here ironically tells those who prefer a loose and uncompacted style that they are welcome to adopt it, provided their composition is like the shield of Phidias, which, if separated into its component parts, loses only in general effect and not in beauty of detail. In the British Museum we have a large fragment of a marble shield which was first identified by Conze as a copy of the shield of Phidias (*Arch. Zeit.* 1865 p. 33 ff., and *die Athenastatue des Phidias im Parthenon*). An engraving of this is given on p. 246. In the centre we have the head of the Medusa; below it a Greek warrior, bald-headed, who raises both hands over his head to strike with a battle-axe, corresponding to the figure of Phidias in the original design. Next on the right is a Greek wearing a helmet, cuirass and high boots, planting his left foot on the body of a fallen Amazon and dealing a blow with his right hand; his right arm is raised across his face and conceals the greater part of it;—a figure corresponding with sufficient closeness to that of Pericles as described in the passage quoted from Plutarch (*British Museum, Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* p. 104 f.). The beauty of the separate figures, especially that of the fallen Amazon with her hands clasped over her head, which occurs elsewhere on vases, fully justifies Cicero's phrase: *singulorum operum venustatem.*—In a statuette of Pentelican marble now in the Theseum, which is a rude copy of the Parthenos of Phidias, the battle of the Amazons may be recognised on the shield, with Phidias himself hurling a stone, not wielding an axe as in the copy in the British Museum (Conze, *die Athenastatue*; Michaelis *u. s.* Taf. 15, 1[b]). A fragment of a similar shield has been discovered in the Vatican (Museo Chiaramonti; Michaelis *u. s.* Taf. 15, 35, p. 284); also in the Capitoline Museum (Klügmann in *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1874 p. 147, cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 p. 114). For a special monograph on the statue, see Schreiber, *die Athena Parthenos des Phidias und ihre Nachbildungen*, 1883, esp. p. 57—61. The writer, however, seems hardly justified either in inferring from the present passage the existence, in Cicero's time, of free copies of the work of Phidias, or in implying that it is the cramped and contracted reproduction of the many exquisite details of the shield that Cic. here describes as marring the beauty of the original design. *Dissolverit* can only refer to the taking to pieces of the several parts of the composition, and it seems from some of the passages already quoted that the original was so contrived that this was possible. For a general account of the work cf. Perry's *Gk. and Roman Sculpture*, p. 185 f.

clipeum. This spelling is supported by an inscription near the end of the first century A.D. (*Inscr. Regni Neap.* 5250). *Clupeus* is however found in the *Mon. Ancyranum* vi 20 and in the *C. I. L.* ii 1263, 1286. *clypeus* is a barbarism (see further in Wilkins' de Or. ii 73).

Thucydide, 219. **orbem**, 149. **ornamenta**, Dion. Hal. de Thuc. 24 *εὕροι δ' ἄν τις οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν θεατρικῶν σχημάτων κείμενα παρ' αὐτῷ...τέτταρα μέν ἐστιν ὥσπερ ὄργανα τῆς Θουκυδίδου λέξεως· τὸ ποιητικὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων, τὸ πολυειδὲς τῶν σχημάτων, τὸ τραχὺ τῆς ἁρμονίας, τὸ τάχος τῆς σημασίας*, ep. ad Pomp. 3 *τὸ μὲν Ἡροδότου κάλλος ἱλαρόν ἐστι, φοβερὸν δὲ τὸ Θουκυδίδου.*

abiectum, 184.

scopas—dissolvere, 'breaking in pieces a broom', the component parts of which are absolutely useless. ad Att. vii 13 § 6 (written 3 years before) 'L. Caesarem vidi Minturnis...cum absurdissimis mandatis, non hominem sed scopas solutas'.

aliquid vel Isocrateo more vel quo Aeschines aut De-
es utitur, tum illos existimabo non desperatione reformi-
;enus hoc, sed iudicio refugisse; aut reperiam ipse eadem
ne qui uti velit, ut aut dicat aut scribat utra voles lingua
e, quo illi volunt; facilius est enim apta dissolvere quam 5
ι conectere. res autem se sic habet, ut brevissime dicam
ıtio: composite et apte sine sententiis dicere insania est,
›se autem sine verborum et ordine et modo infantia, sed
li tamen infantia, ut, ea qui utantur, non stulti homines
ossint, etiam plerumque prudentes; quo qui est contentus, 10
:loquens vero, qui non approbationes solum, sed admira-
lamores, plausus, si liceat, movere debet, omnibus opor-
:bus excellat, ut ei turpe sit quicquam aut spectari aut
›entius.
es meum de oratore, Brute, iudicium: quod aut sequere, 15

A. *ex aestimabo A.* *reformidavisse A* et *OP* (H): *formidavisse F.*
ipse A (O¹JHSt), idem probaverat Bake: *reperiam ipsa FPO* (Lamb. O²²KP);
sa cod. Vit. (Ern. Sch. M); *reperiant, ipse* Madvig adv. crit. ii 191; *re-*
i P². 4 *conditione A.* *ut aliquid scribat* Bake. *utra volet* 'auctore
cipiendum fuit' Bake. 6 *connectere F, cōnectere O.* *connectere* MOP.
e FPO; Res (in marg.) *Se autem A* (St). 7 *composite et* om. *A.*
m. *A.* 13 *quidquam* MJP. *spectari A* (MOKJPSt), idem probaverat
ctare FPO; exspectari codd. Laur. 50, 31 et Eins. (H). 14 *audire FPO.*
e A.

'on principle'.
a ipse. If, in their despair,
: from composing in the highly
anner of Isocrates &c, Cicero,
:, offers to find some one (ironi-
ning himself), who is willing
ıce to accept their own condi-
to shew how easy it is to imi-
oose and disconnected style.
les lingua. Here the context,
ention of Greek orators, makes
; that the two languages are
Greek; but even without such
the phrase is quite intelligible,
so found in Hor. Od. iii 8, 5
mones utriusque linguae', and
I. xii 1, 5 § 9 'utriusque linguae
ıis'. **voles** is the indefinite use
nd person.
—conectere, quoted by Servius
Aen. iv 482.
19. **dissipata,** 220. For this and
rds, cf. de Or. i 187 'dispersa et
(opp. to *conclusa*)...diffusa...',
dissolutam divolsamque'.
composite, 208.
...**infantia,** the point of the an-
increased by the similarity in
ch sharply marks out the two
contrasted words.

ordine refers back to *composite.*

modo, 'rhythm', as in 203, referring back to *apte.*

utatur, somewhat similar in sense to Hor. Ep. i 6, 67 'si quid novisti rectius istis, Candidus imperti; *si non* = (sin his *contentus* es), *his utere* mecum'.

eloquens, de Or. i 94 quoted on § 18.

admirationes—de Or. i 152 'haec sunt quae *clamores et admirationes* in bonis oratoribus efficiant'. Cf. note on admirarentur (97).

§§ 237—238. *Concluding observations addressed to Brutus. Cicero has endeavoured to state his own opinion as to the ideal type of orator, and cannot pretend to have done anything more. If he has failed to give satisfaction, then either the task is in itself impossible, or in seeking to oblige a friend, the author has overestimated his own capacity.*

habes is frequently used to introduce the conclusion of a treatise: e.g. in de Or. ii 361 'habetis sermonem bene longum, &c.', de Sen. and de Am. ad fin. 'haec habui de senectute (de amicitia) quae dicerem' (Seyffert Schol. Lat. i § 40, 2).

si probav[illegible] aut tuo stabis, si aliud quoddam est tuum; in quo neque pugn[illegible]bo tecum neque hoc meum, de quo tanto opere hoc libro adsev[illegible]avi, umquam adfirmabo esse verius quam tuum; potest enim non solum aliud mihi ac tibi, sed mihimet ipsi aliud alias 5 videri; nec in hac modo re, quae ad volgi adsensum spectet et ad aurium voluptatem, quae duo sunt ad iudicandum levissima, sed ne in maximis quidem rebus quicquam adhuc inveni firmius, quod tenerem aut quo iudicium meum dirigerem, quam id, quodcumque mihi [illegible]i videretur, cum ipsum illud 10 verum in occulto [illegible] velim, si tibi ea, quae dispu-[illegible]

1 *probabis A*, *coer*[illegible] *m* codd.: *quidem* J. 2 *tantopere* *PO* et *A*. 3 [illegible] O. *adf.* KPH. 4 *mihimet A* (Just): *mihi FPO* [illegible] *ads.* KPH. 6 *levissima FPO* 7 *quidquam* (MJP). [illegible] ll. § 9). 10 *verum PMO*; *verum tam* (= *tamen*) *A* (St[illegible] 31 (H), *cum F*.

tuo stabis, Tusc. Disp[illegible] iudiciis'. Madv. § 267, [illegible]

potest—Thus the ideal in [illegible] turns out to be something very far from permanent and unchanging, it varies with different persons, and even at different times with the same person, in short it is not 'objective', but 'subjective', and as such it has no claim to be a true ideal in Plato's sense of the term.

ad aurium voluptatem, 162, de Or. iii 177.

ad iudicandum levissima, of most trivial importance towards forming a sound judgment, 'too variable to establish an opinion', ad Fam. iii 10 § 8 'ad indicandum odium apertissimum, ad nocendum levissimum'; Roby § 1377. *ad iudicandum* has an active sense, while in such passages as de Off. iii 30 'haec ad iudicandum sunt facillima' the gerund appears to assume a passive meaning (Roby ii p. 64).

simillimum veri. The Academic School, to which Cic. belonged, held that it was impossible to attain to the *verum* but only to the *veri simile*. Tusc. Disp. v 11 'nos id potissimum consecuti sumus, quo Socrates usum arbitrabamur, ut nostram ipsi sententiam tegeremus, errore alios levaremus et in omni disputatione quid esset *simillimum veri* quaereremus. 'In order to act sensibly we need no knowledge. For this purpose probability is quite enough; and anyone can follow probability even though he is conscious of the uncertainty of all knowledge. Thus probability is the highest standard for practical life.' (On the New Academy, [illegible]cesilaus, in Zeller's *Stoics, Epicureans* [*an*]*d Sceptics* p. 505 Eng. ed.) 'We [sha]ll withhold all assent, not allowing any [id]eas to be true, but only to have the appearance of the truth (ἀληθῆ φαίνεσθαι) or probability (ἔμφασις, πιθανότης)', id. p. 523 (of Carneades). 'quidquid acciderit specie probabile, si nihil se offeret quod sit probabilitati illi contrarium, utetur eo sapiens ac sic omnis ratio vitae gubernabitur', Acad. ii 99.

ipsum illud verum, αὐτὸ τὸ ἀληθές.

in occulto lateret, 'was hidden in obscurity'. Acad. i 45, ii 32 'interdum cum adhibemus ad eos (certain Sceptics) orationem eius modi: "Si ea quae disputentur, vera sint, tum omnia fore incerta", respondent: "Quid ergo istud ad nos? num nostra culpa est? naturam accusa, quae *in profundo veritatem*, ut ait Democritus, penitus abstruserit', ib. i 44 (of Democritus, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, as well as Socrates) 'qui nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt; angustos sensus, imbecillos animos, brevia curricula vitae et, ut Democritus, *in profundo veritatem* esse demersam, opinionibus et institutis omnia teneri, nihil veritati relinqui (where Reid remarks that the common trans. *well* is weak; *abyss* would suit better). Diog. Laert. ix 72 Δημόκριτός φησι· ἐτεῇ δὲ οὐδὲν ἴδμεν· ἐν βυθῷ γὰρ ἡ ἀλήθεια. Cf. Seneca N. Q. vii 32 § 4 'vix ad fundum veniretur, in quo veritas posita est', de Ben. vii 1 § 6 'involuta veritas in alto latet'. Scandinavian legend also has its 'well'. At the root of the celestial ash-tree, was the well of Mimir, in which all wisdom lay concealed.

minus probabuntur, ut aut maius opus institutum putes
ci potuerit, aut, dum tibi roganti voluerim obsequi,
a negandi scribendi me imprudentiam suscepisse.

entiam FOP[1], *al. impudētiā* in marg. *P*[2]: *impudentiā A*; '*verecundiae*
ır opponi *impudentia*' O; idem habent H et st.

M • Tvlli • Ciceronis • orator • explicit • feliciter •
F, Orator ad M. Brvtvm feliciter explicit &c *M* (cf. p. lxxxv).
ıtoris explicit liber hu[tus] *A*; recentioris manus atramentum nigrum
tteris indicavi.

inus probabuntur. Several
ergence between the opinions
Brutus have been observed in
' this commentary, e.g. their
the subject of Isocrates (40).
ι. The concluding sentence
' the first two sections of the

tiam is defended by § 2 'malo
a te *prudentiam* meam', and
tri error in § 25. In support
of the alternative reading *impudentiam*, Heerdegen quotes de Or. ii 361 'habetis sermonem bene longum hominis utinam non *impudentis*, illud quidem certe: non nimis *verecundi*'; but, in the present passage, so sharp a contrast is somewhat out of place, and it may be doubted whether Cicero would, even in irony, have laid himself under the imputation of 'impudence' for endeavouring to delineate the ideal orator.



SHIELD OF ATHENE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

(*See note on page* 243.)

LA[illegible]N AND ENGLISH INDEX.

Wherever there is no indication to the contrary, the numbers refer to the *sections*, and to the notes upon them. In the case of some sections, which extend over several pages, the number of the *page* is added.
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